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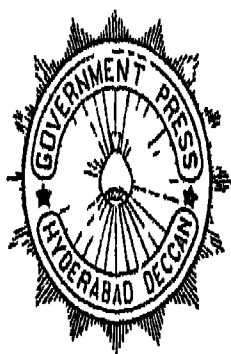
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SOME ASPECTS OF ISLAMIC POLITICAL THOUGHT

ISLAM as a way of life expresses itself in the *Shari'a*, the revealed law based upon the *Qur'an*, the *Sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad and the *Hadith*, the body of authentic traditions. The authoritative interpretation of the *Shari'a* is contained in the *Fiqh*, arrived at by the *Ijmā'*, consensus of the jurists as the authoritative representatives of the *Jamā'a*, the Muslim community.

An independent political theory cannot, therefore, be expected in Islam. But constitutional law forms a necessary part of every exposition of *Fiqh*. This constitutional law presupposes the existence of the state within which the earthly life of the *Jamā'a* runs its course, in preparation for the other world, for the life to come. In the Muslim state supreme authority, temporal as well as spiritual, is vested in the *Khalifa*, the vicerent of the Prophet of Allah.

As far as the Islamic state is concerned, the jurists never ask themselves the question whether a state must be, nor how it originates. It is, and its function is to guarantee the maintenance of pure Islam, the application of its Law, the *Shari'a*, and the defence of orthodoxy against heresy. Rights and duties of the caliph are clearly defined and laid down by the *Ijmā'* of the jurists of Sunnitic Islam. With schism raising its head soon after the death of Muhammad, who made no provision for his successor as the Commander of the Faithful, the problem of lawful succession to the *Khilāfah* was very pressing and serious. Apart from strictly theological divisions and controversies, it was principally the theory and practice of the *Khilāfah* which divided orthodox from heterodox Islam with its many sects.

For the purpose of this paper, we must confine ourselves to a brief consideration of the theory of the *Khilāfah* in orthodox Islam. We follow, as the representative exposition, what Al-Māwardī laid down in his *Al-Aḥkām as-Sultāniyah*, (*Ordinances of Government*)* a treatise devoted to

* Edited by Enger, Bonn, 1853. See also French translation by Count Leon Ostrorog, Paris, 1901 with a general introduction to Islamic Political Law.

constitutional and administrative law. Prof. Gibb* has made it abundantly clear that this work is anything but an academic exposition of the theory of Government according to the *Shari'a*. It is rather an attempt at vindicating the orthodox position in the light of contemporary events and at re-asserting the claim of the caliph to spiritual and temporal overlordship against Sunnite no less than Shi'ite conquerors and rulers of Muslim territories within his realm. The authority of Muslim law had to be upheld against princes and generals who, by brute force, had established their own authority over parts of the Abbasid Empire. An orthodox Muslim could not submit to an authority other than that conferred by the *Jamā'a* upon the lawful caliph. And yet, he could not deny that in reality neither the caliph nor even the *Jamā'a* were at times unable to assert this authority which was alone recognised by law. Nor, could he overlook the *de facto* authority and effective power and control of these rulers. If, however, the conquerors acknowledged the supreme authority of the Abbasid Caliph in matters spiritual and temporal by mentioning his name in prayer and by entering into a contract with him, their rule was legalised inasmuch as it rested upon delegated authority. Thus, the unity of the community of the Faithful was preserved. The legal fiction was maintained, that the Caliph ruled supreme and no conflict of loyalties plagued the *Jamā'a* since the men, who would otherwise be usurpers and rebels, were clothed with the mantle of legality.

Yet, it was not only authority established upon force and conquest that challenged the orthodox political theory of the God-ordained *Khilāfa*. As is well known, under the influence of Greek and Hellenistic philosophy, Reason claimed the right to inquire into the laws of Politics. The philosophers wanted to know, by independent rational inquiry, why should there be a state and what was its purpose. Whilst they did not deny that the Islamic state was the outcome of Revelation, they averred at the same time that Reason necessitated it just as much. Likewise, they admitted that the *Khalifah* ought to administer the state in such a way that the purpose of the Law would be fulfilled, i.e., to improve the Faithful by watching over their right conduct so that they, in turn, helped, as moral beings, to maintain the state and that they prepared themselves in the moral state for the world to come. Yet, the *Falāsifa* insisted not only on perfection in morals but demanded perfection in knowledge and understanding as well. This threefold perfection was to them the indispensable condition for the *imitatio Dei* as the ultimate goal of the individual person.

Al-Māwardī's statement that the institution of *Imām*—*Imāmah* equals *Khilāfa*—is required by revealed law (*Shar'*) not, as some profess, by Reason (*aql*) is clearly directed against the *Mu'tazila* but no doubt also against the *Falāsifa* generally. The basis for his claim is to be found in

* See his succinct analysis of Al-Māwardī's doctrine in his article *Al-Māwardī's Theory of the Khilāfa* published in *Islamic Culture*, XI, 3 (1937), which I have used. The reader might wish to consult Al-Māwardī's other treatise on morals, his *h. Adab ad-Dunyā wad-Din*, edid. O. Rescher.

three passages in the *Qur'ān* (Sura II, 28 ; IV, 62 and XXXVIII, 25). The last-named is specially significant in that the *Khalifah* is not only to judge truthfully but that David is chosen and not Moses. This may suggest that David here stands for the highest temporal authority: the *Khalifah*, as the successor of the Prophet, is, at the same time also the successor of David as king and judge. He is *to defend the Faith and to administer this world*. Al-Māwardī goes on to stress the superiority of the Revealed Law over Reason. For, Reason demands government against lawlessness and anarchy and the wise guards himself against strife and discord being guided by his own reason. But Revealed Law has bestowed temporal authority upon him to whom it has delegated spiritual power. *We are therefore obliged to obey those Imāms who rule over us.*

Properly-qualified persons elect from among the properly-qualified candidates the one who is most suitable to fill the vacancy created by the death or the disqualification of the reigning caliph. One of these conditions enjoins knowledge of the relevant qualities which *Fiqh* has laid down for the caliph. This was probably in actual fact even more often absent than '*adalah*' in the elector.

Of the seven qualifications a candidate must possess the first is '*adalah*' and the second is knowledge ('*ilm*') which enables him to make independent decisions and pass judgments on points of Law (*ijtihād*). This was, in practice, left to the *mujtahids*, the professional jurists, and to the *muqallids*, their successors. Moreover, the caliph must possess physical health and must be capable of discharging his duties which comprise governing his subjects and directing the affairs of state in person. Besides, he must have courage and determination to protect the territory of Islam and to wage the holy War (*jihād*). Finally, he must be a descendant of the *Quraish*.*

The election is completed by a contract, voluntarily entered into, without force or constraint.

If there are two equally-qualified candidates the electors choose according to the exigencies of the times. At the time of external danger and of political upheaval, preference is given to the courageous one; if the times are quiet they prefer the learned candidate who is capable of putting down heresy and of upholding the Faith.

Once elected the caliph has to safeguard Islam in conformity with the *Ijma'* of the *Jamā'a*. He must see that justice is being done. He must restrain the strong and protect the weak. He must nominate the right persons for the offices of the state, must take personal interest in the administration. Though he can delegate authority the responsibility is ultimately his.

* Cp. Ibn Khaldūn's treatment in his *Muqaddima*, (Beyrut, 1879), pp. 168/71 which is based on Al-Māwardī's exposition but elaborates greatly on the last condition. See also my *Ibn Khaldūn's Gedanken über den Staat. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Staatslehre*. (Beiheft, 25, of the *Historische Zeitschrift*), 1932, München/Berlin., esp. chapter on *State and Law*, pp. 648.

It is clear from the foregoing that, according to the orthodox view, the spiritual and temporal powers are united in the person of the caliph. His chief task is to create the conditions necessary for the full working of the *Shari'a* which aims at the willing submission of the entire Muslim community as well as of the individual to the supreme will of Allah Whom to serve means right-doing.

This ideal was rarely attained. Yet, this should not detract from its intrinsic value as a fully-developed Theocracy. And even if it only lived on as a fiction it is precisely this fiction which has saved Islam from the ruinous struggle between Papacy and State in the west and from disintegration with the extinction of the caliphate.

II

Siyāsa, government, in the orthodox view is conditioned by the *Shari'a* and the 'Defender of the Faith' has to be guided by the moral obligations of the *Shari'a* in his execution of the duties of government. But *siyāsa* can also be understood in a secular sense as political government and administration executed by a ruler who, be he Muslim or not, is actuated by the will for power. He claims authority as the man who holds power in his hands. His problem is *how* to govern. The Persians have given much attention to this question and have treated of it in the so-called "Mirrors for princes and magistrates." It is only natural that Muslim writers should have taken up this literary form. One of them is relevant to our purpose. He is Ibn at-Ṭīqṭāqa who wrote in 1302 a book for him *who governs the people and directs the affairs*. The treatise is dedicated to the ruler of Mossul after whom it is called *k. al-Fakhri*.^{*} It was the intention of the author neither to discourse on the origin of the royal dignity and its essence nor on its division into religious and secular authority, nor was he concerned with what is in agreement with the requirements of the Revealed Law and what is not, but rather to treat of *the principles of government and rules of conduct (ādāb) from which one derives advantage in happenings and events, in the government of the subjects, in the protection of the kingdom and in the improvement of morals and conduct*. It goes without saying that the *Khilāfa*, conditioned by the *Shari'a*, is outside the purview of Ibn at-Ṭīqṭāqa. He is concerned with the kingdom (*mulk*), its ruler and his subjects. But even so, the tasks of both kinds of institutions are, on the whole, the same: political and moral concerns, with this difference that the *malik* is not called upon to defend the Faith—this is the duty and the privilege of the *Khalīfah*—whose sovereignty the *Amir* of Mossul, theoretically at least, recognises nor does he look upon

^{*} Edited by Ahlwardt and more recently anew by H. Derenbourg, Paris. Ibn Miskawaih does not contain anything new beyond Ibn at-Ṭīqṭāqa. His ethical treatise *k. Tahdhīb al-Akhlaq* contains some interesting remarks on social obligations of the individual which have a 'political' colouring.

the inhabitants of the kingdom as the community of the Faithful. They represent for him the king's subjects rather than the servants of Allah. He likens the relationship between the ruler and the subjects to that between the physician and the patients rather than to between the despot and the slaves. The successful government—both from the point of view of political success in terms of power and influence and from that of the improvement of morals—depends on the character and ability of the ruler. All his actions must be directed by the best interests of the state. He must possess intelligence ('*aql*) *through which empires are governed*; justice ('*adl*) to ensure prosperity and sound finances as well as the good conduct of men; knowledge enabling him to converse with the scholars—a social accomplishment and a means to attract to his court savants and poets rather than a political qualification. Ibn at-Tiqṭaqa also mentions *the fear of God as a quality which is the root of all good and the key to every blessing, for if the king fears Allah the servants of Allah have confidence in him*. Here we see clearly the political importance and usefulness of religion, an idea greatly expanded in Ibn Khaldūn* and strongly reminiscent of Machiavelli. Next we would mention *Fear and Respect through which the order of the kingdom is preserved and guarded against the ambition of the subjects*. The prince must also be versed in the art of government (*siyāsa*) which is *the capital of the king*. On it he relies in order to maintain (sound) finances, to preserve morals, to prevent evil, to subjugate wrong-doers and to forestall injustice which leads to civil war and rebellion.

The man so gifted has the duty to protect the country, to ensure the fortification of the frontiers and the security of the roads. In return, he is entitled to the obedience of his subjects. Strict justice and impartiality, the protection of the weak and humble against injustice as well as the assistance equally of those near to and far away from him—all these are essential duties of the good ruler.

The qualities required of a successful ruler form the subject of the first part of the *k. al-Fakhṛī*. The second and main part of the author's *History of Dynasties* describes the reign and administration of caliphs, sultans, emirs, governors and wazirs and there are but few signs of originality. But now and again a lively interest in politics can be detected. The principles laid down for good and successful government are, no doubt, at least partially derived from observation of actual historical events and of the reaction of rulers to them. These rulers are being judged by their success or failure to meet contingencies. Their political ability is the author's primary concern. And yet, the *Shari'a* with the *Khilāfa* as the institution to implement it, was a living reality for Ibn at-Tiqṭaqa no less than for any and every Muslim. Its superiority over man-made *mulk* was self-evident. But it was an ideal far removed from political reality. And it is just this political reality with which he is concerned.

* See my *Ibn Khaldūn's Gedanken, etc.*, loc. cit. chapter *State and Religion*, p. 50 ff. Beirut edition, pp. 137/9; 176/8; 180/1; 190; and *State and Law*, Beirut, 165/6; 109/11.

It is immaterial whether the ethical trend of his political thought is due to his Islamic environment and to his Muslim faith or rather to the influence of the philosophers: the Power-State and its successful government form the object of his study, the subject of his advice to rulers and the content of his treatise. His intention was to supply rulers with a guide for the business of government. To probe into the foundations of the state, its origin and development was outside his interest.

That the *Falāsifa* touch on this side of Political Philosophy is equally due not so much to a genuine interest as to the fact that their Greek masters Plato and Aristotle are vitally concerned about these matters. It is more by way of transmission of Platonic thought in particular and in commenting upon it than by way of an independent inquiry that this topic is dealt with in Muslim philosophy of east and west. It was, in fact, left to Ibn Khaldūn to evolve a political philosophy properly so called within the framework of a philosophy of History.

III

The *Falāsifa* occupy a peculiar position in the realm of Political Thought. This position might be delineated as intermediary between the theological-juristic treatment of the State on the basis of the Divinely Revealed Law and the historical-political approach as the result of the study of the actual State built upon Power. It cannot, however, be stressed too emphatically that, from whatever angle the writers approach the problem of government, they are all Muslims and they are all convinced of the superiority of the Ideal Islamic State as envisaged and demanded by the *Shari'a* over all other states, even over Plato's Ideal State, his *Republic*. As educated Muslims they are all trained in the science of *Fiqh* and the other disciplines of Islamic culture. Some were practising judges, professional jurists. This is of importance in the case of the philosophers in particular since they are—though primarily interested in the individual soul and its perfection—at least in their political conceptions guided by the central idea of Law on the one hand and of the individual as a citizen of a state founded on and guided and directed by Law on the other. This Law—be it revealed or laid down by the wise—has universal validity and absolute authority. With the notable exception of two of the western *Falāsifa*, Ibn Bājja and Ibn Ṭufail, highest perfection of the individual is possible only in the state. Just as Plato's philosopher attains happiness only in the Ideal *Politeia* so Averroes'—and before *Alfārābī's*—adept of the speculative sciences gains ultimate perfection and happiness only in the perfectly led and administered Ideal State which is ruled over by the philosopher-king who is identical with the Lawgiver and *Imām*.

It is not possible to deal with the most important *Falāsifa* extensively in this short survey. We must confine ourselves to Ibn Rushd, the

disciple of Alfārābī and Ibn Bājja. Alfārābī, 'the second teacher,' was influenced by *Politeia* and *Nomoi* and as a result wrote two political treatises, *Madīna Fāḍila* and *k. al-Siyāsāt*, also called *k. al-Mabādi*. Averroes states in the beginning of his *Paraphrase* of Plato's *Politeia* that he had not come across Aristotle's *Politics* and had consequently to comment on the *Politeia* as the second, practical part to the first theoretical part of the foremost of all arts, *Politics*.² The theoretical part is contained in Aristotle's *Nicomachian Ethics*.³ Both stand in the same relationship to each other as do in Medicine the *Book of Health and Illness* to that of *Maintenance of Health and Removal of Illness*. The principle of the practical science of *Politics* is Will and Choice, its subjects are the things of the will dependent on our action. In his *Commentary* on the *Nicomachian Ethics*, Averroes defines Virtue as the purpose of *Politics* (*Hahan-hagah ham-Mēdinūt*). The highest Good, peculiar to man is—according to another of Averroes' statement—the activity of the national soul demanded by Virtue. This is, however, possible in the perfect state only. He makes it quite clear—as he likewise does in the *Paraphrase*—that highest intellectual perfection is possible only in the Ideal State. Man is, therefore, a part of the State, he cannot live without it and he must contribute his share to its maintenance and functioning in his own as well as in the interests of the citizens as a whole. To be a citizen is part of the purpose of man. This undoubtedly goes beyond the commonly-made assertion that man is a *zōon politikon*. For, whilst all the *Falāsifa* agree that man cannot exist by himself—he needs help and support to obtain food, clothing and dwelling—this only means that man must join with others and form a society built upon the principle of mutual help to obtain the necessities of life. However, it does not explain the necessity of the state. Man's faculties are manifold, so are his needs. In order to provide for all, leadership and organisation are necessary so that everyone does that for which he is best fitted by nature. Averroes accepts Plato's plea for one activity for each person. If the state is to fulfil its purpose of guaranteeing man's welfare and happiness, it must provide facilities for the development of man's faculties, the material as well as the spiritual ones. Man is gifted with Reason and his aim is to reach happiness with the help of his reasoning faculty. If the state were nothing but the provider of the material needs of man and the protector of life and property against the superior force of the stronger, then man would never reach his goal. This goal

1. See my *Maimonides Conception of State and Society* in *Moses Maimonides*, ed. I. Epstein, London, 1935, where this point is dealt with and also the indebtedness of Averroes to Alfārābī. Further, cp. my *Politische Gedanken bei Ibn Bājja* (MGWJ, 1937, Festschrift for Prof. E. Mittwoch) where Averroes' attitude to Ibn Bājja is fully discussed.

2. See my *Averroes' Paraphrase on Plato's "Politeia,"* JRAS, Oct., 1934. Quotations from the *Paraphrase* in the subsequent pages are based upon the text which is now being finally prepared for publication from seven Hebrew MSS.

3. I have used the Bodleian MS. (Mich. 277). The quotations are to be found on pp. 23b, 30a.

is, according to Aristotle, the perception of all existing things in a state of blissful contemplation, or according to the *Falāsifa* a stage higher even than the perception of God. We cannot here enter into a discussion of the various stages of that perception until, especially among the Jewish thinkers, this knowledge of God is extended to the Love of God expressed in a never-ending striving to become like God as much as is humanly possible through the conscious imitation of His ways. We are here exclusively concerned with the bearing which this striving for personal happiness of the rational soul has on the state. It is clearly not sufficient that there exists any kind of state. For, the success or failure of man's striving to attain his goal depends—at least in the view of Averroes—entirely upon the right kind of state. The perfect state as envisaged in the *Shari'a* has—philosophically speaking—its equivalent in the Ideal state of Plato. Both are conditioned by a universally binding, valid and authoritative Ideal Law. The state which Plato wants to establish is built on the Law which the philosophers, the wise, have devised. Averroes, as a skilled jurist and a keen observer of the Islamic states of his time, stresses the extreme difficulty of such an undertaking. He underlines it, moreover, by emphasising how it is indispensable for the king to possess perfect intelligence and the full knowledge contained in the speculative sciences. The ideal ruler is—to repeat it—not only wise in that his intellect is perfect, is ever ready to concentrate upon perceiving the *intelligibilia*. He is also the Lawgiver. Now, we find in *Ma'monides* the equation between philosopher and prophet, based upon Alfārābī. He is a prophet whose intellect and imagination have both received the full force of the emanation of the *Active Intellect*. If that emanation is confined to the intellect alone the result is a Lawgiver. Averroes is doubtful whether the ideal ruler must possess the gift of prophecy. He assigns this matter of serious deliberation a place in the first part of Political Science. That he was familiar with Alfārābī's theory of prophecy is evident. His equation of the philosopher-king with the Lawgiver and *Imām* is literally taken over from Alfārābī as we know from the latter's *k. Taḥsil as-Sa'ādah*.¹ All depends therefore on the correct interpretation of *Imām* which the Hebrew translator of Averroes' *Paraphrase* renders by *kohen*. The Hebrew text is corrupt. But its meaning can be gathered from Alfārābī's just referred to *k. Taḥsil as-Sa'ādah*.² *Imām* is he whom one follows as chief. In its technical sense, we know it denotes the leader in the communal prayer behind whom one prays. The question arises whether Averroes has substituted prophet by *Imām* whilst modifying Alfārābī's conception of prophecy? Does he consequently imply that Plato's philosopher-king is—translated into Islamic terminology and adapted to Islamic conditions—identical with the *Khalīfah* one of whose principal

1. Edition, Hyderabad, 1345 A.H., p. 43

2. Dr. Paul Kraus has, at the time, ingeniously recognised the original Arabic version, since confirmed by the Alfārābī's passage (see previous note) Cp. also above, p. 9

functions is to act as *Imām* in the Friday-prayer? If this were so, Averroes would still be within the orthodox political conception even though he stresses the intellectual and ethical qualifications of the ideal ruler and passes over in silence any religious duties of the head of the state. Moreover, in his discussion of the aim and purpose of man—without which he considers education for citizenship to be futile and useless—Averroes reviews the various opinions held on this subject. As behoves a Muslim he first states the aim to be the will of God as postulated by the religious laws in force in his own time. But, he goes on to declare that the perception of this divine will is possible through prophecy only. The will of God demands a twofold effort on the part of man. First comes the acquisition of *abstract knowledge alone like the knowledge of God commanded by our Law* and then action required by Ethics. He avers that both postulates, i.e., that of religious law and that of philosophy, are identical in character and purpose.

If we had to define the common ground between Islam and Platonic political philosophy which alone enabled the *Falāsifa* especially Averroes—to insist on this identity of purpose, we would call this basis nomocracy. And this in spite of the emphasis Averroes lays on the monarchy (kingship) as the ideal constitution, followed closely by aristocracy. The former is conditioned by Islamic history which forms the background of Averroes' experience and supplies him with examples for his illustrations to Plato's ideas and arguments. The latter is due to the fact that the *Paraphrase* is an interpretation of Plato's *Politeia*, supplemented by the *Nomoi*, and by Aristotle's *Nicomachia*. The two last-named works were commented upon by Alfārābī already.

Whilst thus the ideal state in the orthodox view is a theocracy, the emphasis of the *Falāsifa* shifts to the *Nomos* and their ideal state is a nomocracy. It is, indeed, the central place of law in Islam as well as in Greek political philosophy as understood by the *Falāsifa* which has made possible the reception of Aristotelian and Platonic ideas in Muslim philosophical thought. The connexion between political leadership and law is very close. In his *Commentary* on the *Nicomachia* Averroes stresses that the *mudabbir* is concerned about Virtue to the exclusion almost of everything else. It is the leader's desire and will to make the citizens *good, excellent and submissively bent under the laws*. In another passage he discusses the functions of the *absolute ruler* who is in the first place *the guardian of equity*. *And when he guards equity he guards justice. Political equity is identical with legal equity*. This last-mentioned comment shows the close affinity of Politics and Law in the thought of Averroes. Plato no less than Aristotle was his teacher whose theories could not fail to strike home with a professional Muslim jurist. Another remark in this *Commentary* illustrates this: *Political equity is partly (of the realm of) natural law partly (of that of) human law*.*

* Loc. cit., pp. 38a, 98a, b.

Next to moral leadership, wisdom as a 'political' virtue is linked to the realm of law. Averroes interprets Plato's wise polis which possesses knowledge and wisdom as a state whose wise citizens thoroughly understand all the laws and statutes. This equals good government and good counsel for which knowledge of the speculative sciences is required. Thus, he says: *Good government and good counsel are undoubtedly a kind of knowledge, only we cannot say that this city-state possesses good government and good counsel on account of wisdom in the practical arts such as agriculture, carpentry and others. If this be so, then it possesses wisdom only in that knowledge which we will set forth (i.e., theoretical knowledge of the speculative sciences). It is evident that this wisdom can only be achieved through knowledge of the human aim since this government tends in that direction. It is likewise evident that we understand the human aim only through the speculative sciences. Thus, this city-state is necessarily... wise in two (kinds of) knowledge simultaneously, i.e., practical and theoretical knowledge. Consequently, this wisdom will be found in the smallest part of the city-state among the philosophers. The reason is that these (philosophical) natures do exist much less frequently than the other natures, the artisans. It is obvious that this wisdom fittingly persists in the leaders of the city-state who rule over it. If this be so, then the leaders of the city-state are necessarily the wise. The qualification of knowledge ('ilm) which the khalifah must possess is thus interpreted in the Platonic sense. Likewise, Averroes has no difficulty to square the law of the Shari'a with the law as laid down by the philosophers in the ideal Republic. He distinguishes between general laws of a normative character and particular laws which the citizens can easily derive from the general (and authoritative, valid) laws. Such partial laws and good moral instructions like to honour one's parents, to keep silence before adults the citizens will, no doubt, evolve themselves. It is therefore not appropriate to lay down laws for such like partial matters because once the general laws are laid down and firmly established the citizens will, by their own initiative, proceed towards making those partial laws. For, everybody will only be moved in the direction nature and education move him, if good then good if bad then bad. He, however, who seeks to promulgate these partial laws without having (first) laid down the general laws—as happens to many lawgivers—resembles (the physician) who heals sick persons who, because of their excessive desires, cannot receive any benefit from the remedies with which they are treated.*

Averroes' continual adaptation of Platonic views to Muslim conceptions and Islamic conditions can equally be seen from his comment on Plato's statement about the temples, prayers and sacrifices. He replaces—naturally—the gods by The Most High and what He commanded through prophecy as if Plato were thinking those were divine matters and should therefore be respected as such in the State. Averroes further puts the laws which entrench in the souls humility and glorification of God be He exalted on a level with all the other laws and injunctions. In his Commentary on the Nicomachia he expressly states that these regulations for prayer and

sacrifices vary with every nation, religion, time and place.

When Plato distinguishes between instruction by persuasion and by coercion, Averroes draws a parallel with the *Shari'a* which enjoins persuasion and war as the two ways leading to God. In general, it is worth noting that Averroes is primarily interested in the practical problems raised by Plato and he concentrates on the concrete application to existing states and to current political situations rather than on the philosophical discussion of abstract ideas. Needless to say that he abandons the dialogic form of Platonic argumentation, that he replaces Greek poetry by pre-Islamic poetry and that he fully shares the orthodox condemnation of them as harmful. And yet, they are harmful and dangerous from the point of view of the state and citizenship—just like in the *Politeia*—and not from the point of view of Revealed Religion and theological dogma. He is interested in the philosopher as the ideal ruler, the perfect example of the good citizen rather than as a metaphysicist.

He shows considerable historical understanding when he takes Galen severely to task for censoring Plato who thinks that a thousand guardians are sufficient and who assigns a certain circumference to the *polis*. He rejoins that Plato wrote for his own time and drew his conclusions on the basis of then prevailing conditions. He would, so Averroes reasons, certainly have revised his views if he had lived at the time of the *Oikoumene*.

The discussion of the imperfect states and of bad constitutions offers Averroes an opportunity to criticise contemporary political institutions and economic and social conditions. Such bad conditions point to the correctness of Plato's views about the guardians, e.g., that they should have no property nor possessions of any kind. Or, when he states: *Equity and true belief which are the business of Justice are nothing else than what we said before concerning the government of this city-state. That is that it is fitting for every citizen to adhere to one civic activity. And this is the activity for which he is prepared by nature. Now, this is the equity which bestows upon the city-state salvation and perpetuity as long as there is present in it continuity. If this is so . . . then equity exists in this city-state in that every one of its citizens does only that for which he is singled out by nature. This is civic justice just as perversion (of justice) in states which is the cause of iniquity is nothing else but that every one of its citizens is trained in more than one thing.* In this connexion Averroes stresses the excellence of Plato's *Republic* and its superiority over the states of his own time in which evils afflict their citizens. He also agrees with Plato in training women like men for one occupation and deplores that women in Muslim states are destined for procreation only the more so since they are twice as numerous and would be very useful if engaged in one of the occupations necessary for the existence and preservation of the state. Deeply conscious of the foundation of the just state upon a General Law, Averroes' repeated insistence upon this point of one civic occupation for every citizen, man and woman alike, may be taken as evidence for his admiration for Plato's law of the state. Muslim tradition of the *Khilāfa* and the

discrepancy between it and the existing *mulk* in his own day must have sharpened his mind specially to appreciate Plato's plea for justice and equity based upon law in the Ideal State.

Here is clearly that common ground which guided the *Falāsifa* in their approach to Greek and Hellenistic political philosophy.

As for Averroes in particular, man interested him as a citizen with duties towards the state. The good citizen serves the community by willingly discharging the allotted duty to the best of his natural ability which is fostered by education. The state ruled by a moral law aiming as it does at the moral perfection of the citizen must afford man the best opportunity for the attainment of his legitimate goal: highest intellectual perfection in the form of the perception of God. Repeatedly, in his *Paraphrase* no less than in his *Commentary* on the *Nicomachia*, Averroes insists on man being of necessity a citizen. He stresses, against Ibn Bājja, that it would be impossible for man to live without the state.¹ He deprecates the solitary life both from the individual and from the group angle. Just as man cannot attain perfection by segregating himself from the community even in the imperfect state, so can social life not flourish without every citizen sharing in the common tasks of producing the necessities and amenities of life and without contributing to the defence and protection of the state as organised society. It is true, Averroes does not deny that it is impossible to attain perfection in an imperfect state, but he denies—equally emphatically—that it is possible even for the metaphysicist to attain perfection outside a political organisation. He has, thus,—as I have stated elsewhere²—taken up the main trend of Alfārābī's political thought in deliberate opposition to Ibn Bājja and Ibn Ṭufail who not only maintain that man can rise in a solitary life to the dwindling heights of mystical contemplation of the Divine, but even advocate his segregation. This is a line of thought indicated in Alfārābī under *ṣūfī* influence and developed by the *Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*. The *Pure Brethren* are, in turn, greatly indebted to Alfārābī's interpretation of Plato's political ideas and devote a whole chapter of their *Encyclopedia* to the Law and the Lawgiver which they seem to have lifted bodily from Alfārābī's *Madina Fāḍila* (ch. 28). Alfārābī refers to the elect who live in an imperfect community as *strangers*. Ibn Bājja defines, in his *Hanhagat ham-Mitbōdēd* these strangers as men far removed from their surroundings spiritually although they are physically present in the state.³ Ibn Ṭufail goes a step further and draws the logical conclusion of picturing his hero as a kind of Robinson Crusoe turned speculative mystic. It is to be noted that Ibn Bājja despite his considerable borrowing of Platonic thought and imagery, has divested this material of its political connotation and

1. Cp. my *Politische Gedanken bei Ibn Bājja*, loc. cit pp. 153/68

2. *Ibid*, p. 164f.

3. *Ibid*.

relevance. His interest is a purely speculative one. He concentrates on the individual soul seeking union with the Divine through union first with the Active Intellect. Qualities of the ruler, constitutional forms, duties of ruler and ruled are not subjects for his inquiring mind. We find no place allotted to the Law, its educative function and its political relevance. Lacking this central position it does—for Ibn Bājja—not provide the basis and background for man who strives to attain his destiny.¹ The speculative sciences—demanded by the Law according to a notable passage in Averroes' *Paraphrase*—help man in the wise city-state to reach his goal, i.e., to perceive God through self-perception. This is precisely the view of Ibn Bājja who declares that knowledge gained through the speculative sciences leads the striving intellect nearer to God Whose most beloved creature he is. The ideal philosopher must be guided, however, by those laws and statutes which govern the ideal state without, however, being obliged to live in such a political community. And it is merely to illustrate by analogy that Ibn Bājja mentions the perfect state and some of its characteristic features. Averroes, as has been remarked before, will not admit that man can reach perfection and happiness in solitude and he refutes Ibn Bājja's claim that whilst it is easier even for the philosopher to reach his goal in a political organisation, especially in the perfect state after the model of the *Politeia*, this intellectual seeker can achieve happiness in isolation. Ibn Bājja ignores the state when he credits the metaphysicist with striving in constant intellectual endeavour to approximate God implying, however, that the mass of ordinary intellects needs the state in order to realise their intellectual nature. He has not only introduced the west to the mystic trend in Muslim philosophy, he has also undoubtedly sharpened the critical eye of Averroes to perceive clearly the dangers of solitary life and to understand and repeat with obvious approval the insistence of Aristotle—in the wake of his teacher Plato—that man is a *zōon politikon* and has, as an intellectual person, definite obligations towards the political community.²

IV

State and society as phenomena in their own right, subject to laws of their own have only slowly been recognised in a world bound by an all-embracing Law to which every manifestation of the human mind was subjected. It would certainly be tempting to see a deliberate and conscious development from the theological-juristic conception of the Muslim state over the reception (and characteristic adaptation) of Platonic-Aristotelian

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 159f; 162, 164/5; 167.

2. See my *Averroes Paraphrase*, etc., *loc. cit.*

thought-categories *via* Ibn at-Tiqṭaqa's unsystematic attempt at historical-political realism to the grandiose political theory of the systematic philosopher of history Ibn Khaldūn. But the time has not yet come to pronounce with any reasonable degree of probability on such a straight line of development in political thought however attractive it may appear to a western mind. The idea must, therefore, be left to further detailed investigation which has to be applied to the whole literature under review and which must never lose sight of the all-important fact that we deal with Muslims for whom Islam offers the ideal solution.

That Ibn Khaldūn has appropriated the whole theological, juridical, philosophical and historical material which the fourteenth century Islam offered is an undisputed fact. How far his sovereign grasp of this weighty tradition can account for his own system is another matter.*

It is his original approach to history and to human culture that sets him apart. This approach is new in conception no less than in method and cannot be explained as either a systematic *Summa* of traditional Islamic doctrine and teaching or as a new attempt to blend Hellenistic science and philosophy with Islamic civilisation. That both have left their indelible mark on his mind and writings goes without saying. That he has emerged as an empiric individual thinker is partly at least due to his training in Aristotelian thinking seen through the eyes of the Commentator Averroes. That he could train his observing eye on the historical process as a whole, that he could discover an underlying law in the political and social organism, that he could see the group as well as the individual as a distinct factor in social and political life, all this is unquestionably the result of his strong Arab consciousness and of his intimate knowledge of the political and cultural history of Islam from its foundation to his own day. That he took an active part in moulding history in North Africa as general, judge, diplomatist and scholarly historian and philosopher has given him that valuable experience of the living forces at work in the human group as distinct from the aspirations of the individual soul which enabled him to probe deeply—with rare independence and absence of prejudice—into the causes and motives of political life. What strikes the eye of the average observer of the historical process as a composite and very complicated phenomenon which he registers in more or less accurate description,—usually with an axe to grind,—Ibn Khaldūn subjects to the dissecting knife of the impersonal scientist. His aim is to lay bare the various constituent elements which make up human life in group-association. He discovered that the state has a life of its own which is governed by unalterable laws like the human organism. The state has its origin in necessity, it grows out of the free association of like-minded people who are bound together by one common bond, it develops by a determined

* For a full account see my *Ibn Khaldūn's Gedanken*, etc., loc. cit. and also my article in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXIV, 2, Oct., 1940, under the title: *Ibn Khaldūn: A North African Muslim Thinker of the Fourteenth Century*.

effort of the acknowledged leader who gradually changes into an absolute monarch, reaches its climax, inevitably declines and decays. The peak-period of the state is characterised by a flourishing economic life, a high standard of education, by refined manners, a prosperous, yet dignified mode of living, by great cultural achievements in art and science, and all classes of citizens work harmoniously together for the common good, driven by a common determination. The decline sets in with a slackening of effort on the part of the ruling monarch and his dynasty which rapidly affects all the classes of the population. The inevitable result is a growing corruption and demoralisation. The ruler tends to intervene actively in the economic life of the state, creating monopolies which are detrimental to those engaged in this branch of trade and commerce. Taxes are raised and in consequence the artisans and traders lose interest and the economic life declines. Laxity in morals destroys the foundations of family and group life, discord grows and disunity takes the place of a common bond and endeavour. In short, the life of the state proceeds in cycles. Like natural organisms states rise, grow and develop, decline and fall in an eternally repetitive regular cycle. It is characteristic of Ibn Khaldūn's detached approach to the historical process that he does not put any valuation on the results of his critical inquiry. History—for him—is not to be understood as the progressive deployment of the best in human nature, both intellectually and ethically, with inevitable retrogression at times, but showing an upward trend, consciously fostered by religio-ethical teaching. Ibn Khaldūn does not even put the question of progress, he says nothing about successive dynasties which are building upon foundations laid by their predecessors. No doubt, every new dynasty which comes to power by conquest, revolution or intrigue or also by the driving force of a religious ideal as was the case with the Almoravids and Amohads, inherits the material civilisation prevailing in the time of its predecessor in power. He is not interested in moral judgments, it is quite immaterial to him whether the moral and cultural achievements are higher or lower than under a previous dynasty. What matters is that it is the same driving force—*'aṣabiyya*—that prompts a new dynasty to wrest power from another disintegrating ruling family and to establish its own authority instead. The achievements of its reign depend upon the character of that *'aṣabiyya*. If its contents is sheer will to power alone, reinforced by the united élan of the clan, it will spend its force and precipitate the inevitable turning of the cycle. If it is—on the other hand—strengthened and often gradually supplanted by the religious ideal—as is the case with Muslims generally—the natural process of growth, peak, decay and fall is spread over a longer period. But the five phases of the state run their course during four generations of a dynasty. Where religion as an active influence comes in life is certainly fuller, the achievements are more considerable. The scholar has, for the first time in history, chosen as the field of his penetrating study human society as a whole, the political scientist has made an equally fruitful discovery, viz., the casual

interdependence of the contributing factors in the closely-woven fabric of the state. As a Muslim and a student of Greek philosophy at the same time the paramount importance of Law for the maintenance of social life, for the security of individual life and for the protection of property is evident for him. But he sees Law not in the form of the *Shari'a*—admittedly the ideal constitution of the perfect Islamic state—it is for him one of several important factors in the state and in its natural development. He realised, for the first time in history, the principal importance of a stable economy, not only in itself but in relation to a well-balanced budget and to an efficient, loyal army. Sound finance and disciplined army are the two pillars of the Power-State. A free economy without monopolies dominated by the ruler is equally essential to the security and property of the state. All these factors must be in a state of equilibrium if the stability of the state is to be ensured. The least disturbance of one of them has serious repercussions upon the others. This is, in fact, the important original contribution which Ibn Khaldūn has made to the understanding of history in general and to the history of political theory in particular. Unlike the ideal state of the *Shari'a* or of the *Falāsifa* as the disciples of the Greek philosophers Ibn Khaldūn's state is the actual state, the State in the Flesh, not in the Spirit. Ibn Khaldūn studies the history of Islam, its institutions and especially its many states of his time. He boldly drew general conclusions from his impartial study and crystallised his own experience into a novel theory about *'umrān*, the sum-total of human achievement in history. Although Islamic society provided him with the material for his observations and deductions he considered his conclusions to be applicable to every state. He makes allowance for the innate urge to power in strong individuals but he does not allow—we think—sufficient scope for the *imponderables* in human nature generally and in the group-mind in particular and its manifestations in religious and political movements. He could not make this allowance if his New Science was to provide a sure basis for the understanding of the historical process, especially in its political aspect. The law of absolute causality brooks no rivals, neither in the form of the absolute will of the Creator-God Who rules the Universe, nor in the shape of the arbitrary whim of the despot who is animated by the lust for power. And yet, it must not be forgotten that as a devout Muslim he saw in Islam the most perfect system of life. But this did not blind him to the reality of political life. As a shrewd observer of the state as it was—not as it ought to be—he would assign Religion only a place of utmost importance, no doubt—alongside with other powerful factors which together determine and make up the life of human society. The ethical teachings of Religion, its command to study and apply the Law in order to enable man to come near to God through knowledge of Him exerted an incomparably strong influence on the spiritual nature of man. Moral and intellectual perfection are unthinkable without this religious knowledge. But at the same time Ibn Khaldūn fears that its appeal to faith and obedience may be detrimental to the active participation

of man as a citizen in the affairs of the political community. It is this aspect which is uppermost in the mind of Ibn Khaldūn as a political thinker who would not allow the ideal to obscure the lessons of history.

ERWIN I. T. ROSENTHAL.

'OMAR KHAYYĀM AND SOME OF HIS ENGLISH TRANSLATORS

THERE are many English translations of 'Omar Khayyām. There are the admirable prose translations of Justin McCarthy and Edward Heron-Allen ; after FitzGerald they wisely chose the medium of prose : there is the ponderous and pedestrian verse translation of John Payne which, indeed, is hardly recognisable as poetry and moreover is very difficult to read : there is the rather cumbrous, though close, translation in verse of E. H. Whinfield : there are the insipid verse translations of J. L. Garner and Jessie E. Cadell : there is the execrable translation in verse of John Pollen, who was an enthusiast of Esperanto, but unfortunately turned his attention to the translation of 'Omar Khayyām. He has adopted, as he calls it, "the four-beat measure," which in his hands becomes a jerky, halting doggerel. Then York Powell, who was Professor of History at Oxford, has translated twenty-four quatrains. There is also the precious, pretty-pretty, rather 'ninetyish" paraphrase in verse of Richard Le Gallienne, of whom a wit once said that "his profile was better than his poetry." Then comes the magnificent rendering of Edward FitzGerald : I advisedly call it a rendering, for it is not really a translation, though in some of the renderings FitzGerald has come astonishingly close to the original. FitzGerald himself says, "I suppose very few people have ever taken pains in translation as I have : though certainly not to be literal."

Let us now see who Khayyām was before we turn to his poetry and its content. 'Omar Khayyām was born at Nishāpūr, but the date of his birth is uncertain ; it is conjectured to be between A.D. 1015 and 1020 ; it is said that he lived to be a centenarian and died in 1123. He was a philosopher, astronomer and mathematician. When the Persian king of his time—Sultān Malik Shāh—wished to reform the calendar, 'Omar was selected as the fittest person to undertake the task ; the result of his labours was the Jelālī era, about which the historian Gibbon says, "It was a computation of time which surpasses the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian style."

Legends grow around great men after their death, and strange incidents and anecdotes are related of them ; and legends have grown round

'Omar Khayyām. One rather doubtful but picturesque legend says that 'Omar with two other boys of his age was the pupil of the renowned teacher, 'Imām Mowaffaq, about whose pupils it was said that they achieved great positions in life. The three boys, it is said, made a pact that whichever of them was the most successful in life and attained a high position and great power would help the other two. Years rolled by and one of the friends, Nizām-ul-Mulk, became the prime minister of the Seljuki king, Sultān Alp Arsalān, and later of his successor, Sultān Malik Shāh : another of the trio was Ḥasan bin Šabbāḥ, whose life and activities form such a lurid chapter in the history of eleventh-century Persia, and who later became the notorious chief of the Assassins, and was known to the Crusaders as "the Old Man of the Mountains." Ḥasan bin Šabbāḥ reminded Nizām-ul-Mulk of their ancient pact and asked him for a high position at Court, and when he had obtained it he began to intrigue against his patron : eventually Nizām-ul-Mulk fell to the dagger of the Assassins. 'Omar, not being ambitious and worldly, was not desirous of position or power, but asked for and obtained a small pension on which he lived contentedly and carried on his mathematical and astronomical researches in his native town of Nishāpūr, where eventually he died and was buried in 1123.

A reference in passing may be made to the vexed and controversial question whether Khayyām was a mystic. Some English writers consider that he was, and that the words wine, tavern, temple, etc., that occur in his verse are purely mystic terms. It is, however, well to remember that most of these so-called mystic symbols were the commonplaces and conventions of Persian poetry, so that every poet who used these terms in the conventionally mystic sense was not necessarily a mystic. Indeed, in one of the earliest references to 'Omar, that in the *Miršād-ul-'Ibād* (مرصاد الابداد) written in 1233, Najmuddin Rāzī, himself a Šūfī mystic, says, "Omar was an unhappy philosopher, atheist and materialist." It is only reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the wine did not always stand for divine love, but that sometimes it referred to the renowned grape-juice of Shirāz !

Lionel Johnson judiciously says, "Critics have differed upon the quality of faith that was in 'Omar : a frank materialist and sensualist, say some ; a mystic veiling the ineffable truths in terms of earth, say others. Both views may be right ; certain it is that 'Omar was a true Epicurean, loving life and its brief pleasures, the sole tangible realities in a mysterious universe."

It is interesting to know how FitzGerald came to translate 'Omar Khayyām. In 1853, FitzGerald spent some weeks at Oxford with his friend E. B. Cowell, a scholar of Sanskrit who, in 1856, was appointed Professor of History at the Presidency College, Calcutta, which had just then been established, and a little later was made Principal of the Sanskrit College there. It was under Cowell's guidance that FitzGerald started the study of Persian, and though he never became a scholar, he

acquired a working knowledge of it, and greatly improved his acquaintance with Persian literature.

"The story of FitzGerald's acquaintance with the original book," says A. C. Benson, "is interesting enough. His friend Cowell, who introduced him to the study of Oriental poetry, had found in the Bodleian, in the Ouseley collection, a rare manuscript, written on yellow paper 'with purple-black ink profusely powdered with gold.' Before leaving England for India, he made a transcript of this for FitzGerald, who carried it about with him, brooded over it, and worked slowly and leisurely at the task of adaptation."

The Bodleian manuscript, the oldest known copy of the *Rubā'iyāt*, written by the famous calligraphist, Shaiikh Mahmood Yarboodagi, at Shirāz in A.H. 865 (A.D. 1460) contains 158 *rubā'iyāl*. The first edition of FitzGerald's *Rubā'iyāt of Omar Khayyām*, published in 1859, contains the rendering of only 75 *rubā'iyāt*; in the second edition of 1868, the number increases to 110; in the third and fourth editions, published respectively in 1872 and 1879, there are translations of 101 *rubā'iyāl*.

"The origin of the poem," says A. C. Benson, "can be very simply stated. FitzGerald happened to light upon an ancient poet, through whose writings, in spite of much tedious iteration and dreary moralising, much sensual imagery and commonplace Epicureanism, ran a vein of thought strangely familiar to his own temperament. 'Omar was a sentimentalist, and a lover of beauty, both human and natural; so was FitzGerald, 'Omar tended to linger over golden memories of the past, and was acutely alive to the pathos of sweet things that have an ending; and such was FitzGerald. 'Omar was penetrated with a certain dark philosophy, the philosophy of the human spirit at bay, when all refuge has failed; and this was the case with FitzGerald.

The result was that out of the ore which was afforded him, FitzGerald, by this time a practised craftsman without a subject, was enabled to chase and chisel his delicate stanzas, like dainty little vessels of pure gold. He brought to the task a rich and stately vocabulary, and a style adapted to solemn and somewhat rhetorical musings of a philosophical kind. FitzGerald's love of slow-moving verse adorned by beautiful touches of natural observation and of pathetic presentment stood him in good stead. The result was that a man of high literary taste found for once a subject precisely adapted to his best faculty; a subject, the strength of which was his own strength, and the limitations of which were his own limitations.

Moreover, the poem was fortunate both in the time and manner of its appearance; there was a wave of pessimism astir in the world, the pessimism of an age that dare not live without pleasure, in whose mouth simplicity is a synonym for dulness, tortured alike by its desires and by the satiety of their satisfaction, and overshadowed by the inherited conscience which it contemns but cannot disregard.

Further, it was fortunate in the manner of its appearance. If FitzGerald had presented the world with an original poem of dreary scepticism

and desperate philosophy, he would have found but few hearers. But the sad and wasted form of his philosophy came slowly forwards, dimly smiling, draped in this rich Oriental fabric, and with all the added mystery of venerable antiquity. It heightened the charm to readers, living in a season of outworn faith and restless dissatisfaction, to find that eight hundred years before, far across the centuries, in the dim and remote East, the same problems had pressed sadly on the mind of an ancient and accomplished sage. They did not realise to what an extent FitzGerald had concentrated the scattered rays into his burning-glass ; nor how much of the poignant sadness, the rich beauty of the thought had been overlaid upon the barer texture of the original writer by the far more sensitive and perceptive mind of the translator. It was as though FitzGerald had found some strict and solemn melody of a bygone age, and enriched it with new and honeyed harmonies, added melancholy cadences and sweet interludes of sorrow. He always tended, as Cowell wrote to Mr. Aldis Wright, "to put in some touch of his own large hand . . . beyond the author's outline."

There is little that need be said, little indeed that can be said about the style which FitzGerald adopted for his *'Omar*. It is not due to any special poetical tradition ; the poem is written in a grave, resonant English of a stately kind, often with a certain Latinity of phrase, and yet never really avoiding a homely directness both of diction and statement. His aim appears to have been to produce melodious, lucid, and epigrammatic stanzas, which should as far as possible follow the general lines of the original thought ; but at the same time he did not hesitate to discard and suppress anything that interfered with his own conception of structure ; no doubt the exigencies of rhyme to a certain extent influenced the line of his thought, because the triple rhyme which he employed is bound to impose fetters on the fancy, but he seems to have given no hint as to how he worked ; the wonder rather is that anything which is of the nature of a paraphrase should succeed in achieving so profound an originality."

The translation of FitzGerald came at a time which was fortunate for the fame both of Khayyām and of FitzGerald. The cynicism of *'Omar* appealed to the sceptical mid-nineteenth century. Even then, it was by a fortunate accident that this translation was "discovered." The publication and "discovery" of the *Rubā'iyāt* is quite a romance. FitzGerald says that he had originally sent the manuscript in 1858 to Parker who had asked him for a contribution to *Fraser's Magazine*. But finding a year later that *Fraser's* had not published the quatrains, he asked for the return of the manuscript and got Bernard Quaritch to publish it in a small brown-wrapped quarto, the edition consisting of two hundred and fifty copies priced at five shillings each. So in 1859 *The Rubā'iyāt of 'Omar Khayyām* was published as a little anonymous pamphlet. It seems to have attracted little notice until in 1860 the poet-painter, Dante Gabriel Rossetti came across it and gave a copy of it to the poet, Algernon Charles Swinburne who, seeing the great beauty of the poems, praised them and talked of

them in his usually exuberant manner, and 'Omar was acclaimed a great poet. On such slender accidents sometimes depends the fame of a poet !

Swinburne himself thus relates the incident in a letter to a friend. "Two friends of Rossetti's —Mr. Whitley Stokes and Mr. Ormsby—told him (he told me) of this wonderful little pamphlet for sale on a stall in St. Martin's Lane, to which Mr. Quaritch, finding that the British public unanimously declined to give a shilling for it, had relegated it to be disposed of for a penny. Having read it, Rossetti and I invested upwards of sixpence apiece—or possibly threepence—I would not wish to exaggerate our extravagance—in copies at that not exorbitant price. Next day we thought we might get some more for presents among our friends, but the man at the stall asked twopence ! Rossetti expostulated with him in terms of such humorously indignant remonstrance as none but he could ever have commanded. We took a few and left him. In a week or two, if I am not much mistaken, the remaining copies were sold at a guinea ; I have since—and I daresay you have—seen copies offered for still more absurd prices. I kept my pennyworth (the tidiest copy of the lot), and have it still."

Justin McCarthy in the introduction to his excellent prose translation of the *Rubā'iyāt* says, "It has been done in English verse once and for ever, and to attempt verse again is at best to put oneself in comparison with FitzGerald, which, in the pithy phrase of the great Hellenic humourist, is absurd."

H. W. Nevinson, in an excellent essay on FitzGerald, says, "We cannot recall any other poem but FitzGerald's which is both a translation (of a kind) from a remote and ancient language, and at the same time a genuine classic amongst the people with whom the poem lives transplanted. Except the Authorised Version of the Bible, has any other translation ever become a classic ? FitzGerald's has reached that distinction."

This is high praise indeed, but it is praise that is well deserved. It is undoubtedly through the poetic genius of FitzGerald that 'Omar *Khayyām* is now perhaps the one Eastern poet that is really known and loved throughout Europe and America. But the more one reads *Khayyām* in the original, the more one admires the exquisite melody of FitzGerald's verse, which the original lacks. In spite of the opinion of some European critics, 'Omar *Khayyām* is not a great poet. Professor George Browne, perhaps the greatest scholar of Persian that England has produced, rightly estimates *Khayyām* as a second-rate poet, an opinion that is also held by competent Persian critics themselves. Professor Browne, in his very able and scholarly *Literary History of Persia*, says, "The European estimate of the greatness of a Persian poet is often very different from that of his own countrymen, since only beauties of thought can be preserved in translation, while beauties of form almost necessarily disappear, however skilful the translator may be. Thus it happens that 'Umar *Khayyām*,' who is not ranked by the Persians as a poet of even the third class, is now, probably, better known in Europe than any of his fellow-countrymen as

a writer of verse." Again he says, "Umar Khayyām, thanks to the genius of FitzGerald, enjoys a celebrity in Europe, especially in England and America, far greater than that which he has attained in his own country, where his fame rests rather on his mathematical and astronomical than on his poetical achievements."

'Omar was a profound mathematician and astronomer, a great philosopher and thinker, but, judged by standards of Persian poetry, compared, for instance, with such splendid lyrists as Sa'dī and Hāfiz, it has to be admitted that he is a very mediocre poet. The very form that he chose as the medium of his poetry, namely the *rubā'ī*, clearly shows that lyrical poetry was not his forte. Poetry was to him merely a relaxation from his real, his more serious, work. It is undoubtedly due to FitzGerald that 'Omar is among the immortals. On the other hand, it is the translation of 'Omar that gives FitzGerald an abiding place in the world of letters.

Some English writers on Khayyām make the mistake of calling this collection of quatrains a *poem*: it is not a connected poem with a coherent sequence linking it together into one consistent whole as, for instance, the sonnet-sequence of Shakespeare is. FitzGerald himself says of the *Rubā'iyāt* that they are "independent stanzas, consisting each of four lines of equal, though varied, prosody; sometimes *all* rhyming, but oftener (as here imitated) the third line a blank. . . . As usual with such kind of Oriental verse, the *Rubā'iyāt* follow one another according to alphabetic rhyme—a strange succession of grave and gay." Professor Browne puts it more clearly. "Only the veriest tyros," he says, "need to be reminded that in Persian the quatrain is always an absolutely isolated unit, that there is no such thing as a poem composed of a number of quatrains, and that in collections of quatrains the only order observed or recognised is the alphabetical, according to the final letter of the three rhyming half-verses."

"The essential quality of the *Rubā'iyāt* in point of form," says Lionel Johnson, "is a swift brevity. The poet lets fall a stanza now, a stanza then, each isolated, self-sufficient, perfect; strung together they are but a chain of variations upon the same theme. There is no laborious argument, no philosophic plan, no systematic unfolding of a scheme of thought. It is philosophy in snatches of song; doctrine by epigram, dropped casually with a charming nonchalance and from the lips of a semi-serious epicurean mystic."

Let us now turn to 'Omar's poetry. When he was tired of his mathematical or astronomical studies and could relax after the day's serious work was over, he would turn to poetry as a relaxation, and would put down his occasional thoughts in the pithy and compact form of the *rubā'ī* or quatrain. The language that he uses is very simple and it is this very simplicity that gives to his poetry an astonishing force and vigour.

These *rubā'īs*, as the name implies, are poems of four lines each, written on a definite rhyme-scheme, each poem being independent, complete and self-contained. They are not, and were never meant to

be, a connected poem, a consistent whole ; they were composed at different times, in different moods and on different subjects ; each deals with a single idea—"with love and wine, beauty and charm, life and death, and what lies beyond." They are, therefore, the poetical expression of diverse moods and varied emotions. Some of them are informed with a yearning nostalgia, others with a dreamy wistfulness, still others are imbued with scepticism and freethinking, others again with an unquestioned resignation to destiny. There is in some of them the freethinking of an agnostic ; in some of them a fierce indignation as sardonic and stinging as Swift's and a satire as vitriolic and vituperative as Voltaire's, directed chiefly against hypocrites, the self-righteous and the 'unco guid.' Far, therefore, from forming a consistent whole of logical sequence, these *rubā'is* were occasional verses—like the epigrams of the Greeks—which were lightly thrown off, at different times of his life, in his hours of relaxation from his serious studies, and in which he clothed some idea that occurred to him at the moment, or sometimes expressed a moral—perhaps with his tongue in his cheek ! There is also in these *rubā'is* a humour that laughs at life, even at death, and expresses itself sometimes in sarcasm, sometimes in something mordant and bitter, and in jeers at hypocrites and prigs. He sometimes smiles indulgently, if a little contemptuously, at the pomp and vanity of the transient things of life, but loves them at the same time, just because they are transient ; as Cory, echoing the Greeks, says,

All beauteous things for which we live
By laws of time and space decay.
But oh, the very reason why
I clasp them, is because they die.

Of the variety of images in the *Rubā'iyāt* of 'Omar, Lord Oxford and Asquith in an interesting address delivered to the 'Omar *Khayyām* Club says, "As regards substance, where else in literature has the littleness of man, contrasted with the baffling infinitude of his environment, and the resulting duty of serenity and acquiescence, been more brilliantly painted or more powerfully enforced ? The million bubbles that the Eternal *Sāki* pours from his bowl ; the clay which lies passive under the thumping of the Potter ; the ball that is thrown hither and thither about the field ; the helpless pawns that the great Player moves into impossible positions with an inscrutable purpose ; the endless processions of the empty pageants ; the sultans and heroes who, with all their pomp and pride, are after all but passing inmates of this 'batter'd caravanserai'—such is the crowd of vivid and moving images which Omar's panorama presents us."

There are certain ideas that keep recurring in *Khayyām's* poetry : the futility of worldly ambitions, of expectations and hopes in a world where man has his brief hour or two and then is gone to return no more.

presents to us the vanity of worldly pageantry, the vivid pictures that form the kaleidoscope of life—all too soon to pass away into nothingness, leaving not a trace behind.

ای دل همه اسباب جهان ساخته گیر دنیا همه سر بسر ترا خواسته گیر
وانگاه بروی آن چو در صحرا برف روزی دوسه بنشسته و برخاسته گیر

¹ The worldly hope men set their hearts upon
Turns ashes—or it prospers; and anon,
Like snow upon the desert's dusty face
Lighting a little hour or two—is gone.

این کهنه رباط را که عالم نام است آرا مگه ابلق صبح و شام است
بزمیست که وامانده صد جمشید است قصریست که تکیه گاه صد بهرام است

Think, in this batter'd caravanserai
Whose portals are alternate night and day,
How sultan after sultan with his pomp
Abode his destined hour, and went his way.

آن قصر که با چرخ همی زد پهلوی برد رگه او شهان نهادندی رو
دیدیم که بر کنگره اش فاخته. آواز همی داد² که کوکوکو کو

The palace that to Heaven his pillars threw,
And kings the forehead on his threshold drew—
I saw the solitary ringdove there,
And "coo, coo, coo," she cried, and "coo, coo, coo."

آن قصر که بهرام در او جام گرفت روبه³ بچه کرد و شیر آرام گرفت
بهرام که گور میگریی دایم امروز نگر که گور بهرام گرفت

They say the lion and the lizard keep
The courts where Jamshyd gloried and drank deep:
And Bahram, that great hunter—the wild ass
Stamps o'er his head, but cannot break his sleep.

یاران موافق همه از دست شدند در پای اجل یکان یکان پست شدند
بودند به یک شراب در مجلس عمر دوری دوزما پیشترک مست شدند
آنها که درآمدند و در جوش شدند آشفته ناز و طرب و نوش شدند
خوردند پیاله را و مد هوش شدند در خاک ابد جمله هم آغوش شدند

1. This and the other renderings that follow are those of FitzGerald, except where otherwise indicated.

2. بنشسته همی گفت. This and other variant readings noted in the footnotes are taken from different editions and MSS. available.

3. آهو.

4. بنگر که چگرنه.

Lo ! some we loved, the loveliest and the best
That from his vintage rolling time hath prest,
Have drunk their cup a round or two before,
And one by one crept silently to rest.

می خور که به زیر گل بسی خواهی خفت بی مونس و بی حریف و بی همدم و جفت
زنهار به کس مگو تو این راز نهفت هر لاله که پژمرده نخواهد بشگفت

Oh threats of Hell and hopes of Paradise !
One thing at least is certain—*This* life flies ;
One thing is certain and the rest is lies ;
The flower that once has blown for ever dies.

A large number of 'Omar's quatrains embody Horace's philosophy of *carpe diem*, of living in the moment and for the moment. Since the past, he implies, is only a faint memory and the future a vague and shadowy uncertainty, we should, without concerning ourselves much with past or future, enjoy the present.

ای دوست غم جهان بیهوده محور بیهوده غم جهان فرسوده مخور
چون بود گذشت و نیست نابود پدید خوش باش و غم جهان نابوده مخور
روزی که ز تو گذشته است یاد مکن فردا که نیامده است فریاد مکن
از آمده و گذشته بیداد مکن حالی خوش باش و عمر برباد مکن
با باده نشین که ملک محمود اینست وز چنگ شنو که لحن داؤد اینست
از آمده و رفته دگر یاد مکن حالی خوش باش زانکه مقصود اینست

The true Epicurean that he is, he says that as we are so soon to pass away from this beautiful world never to return, let us enjoy the present while it lasts.

مگزار که غصه در کنارت گیرد و اندیشه جور * روزگارت گیرد
می خور به کنار سبزه و آب روان زان پیش که خاک در کنارت گیرد

Ah, make the most of what we yet may spend,
Before we too into the dust descend ;
Dust into dust, and under dust to lie,
Sans wine, sans song, sans singer, and—sans end.

ای دوست بیا تا غم فردا نخوریم وین یکدمه عمر را غنیمت شمریم
فردا که ازین روی زمین در گذریم با هفت هزار سالگان سر بسریم

Ah, my beloved, fill the cup that clears
To-day of past regrets and future fears :

*. واند و نه محال .

To-morrow ! why, to-morrow I may be
Myself with yesterday's seven thousand years.

لب بر لب کوزه بردم از غایت آرزو طلبم واسطه عمرو راز
لب بر لب من نهاد و میگفت به راز می خور که بدین جهان نمی آئی باز

Then to the lip of this poor earthen urn
I leaned, the secret of my life to learn ;
And lip to lip it murmured—" While you live
Drink—for, once dead, you never shall return."

کم کن طمع از جهان و می زی رسند وز نیک و بد زمانه بگسل پیوند
می بر کف و زلف دلبری گیر که زود هم می رود و نماند ابن روزی چند

Perplexed no more with human or divine,
To-morrow's tangle to the winds resign,
And lose your fingers in the tresses of
The cypress-slender minister of wine.

Man, declares 'Omar, is a mere plaything in the hands of some higher power, who brings him into existence without his volition and then takes him away against his will.

آورد به اضطرابم اول به وجود جز حیرتم از حیات چیزی نفزود
رفتیم به اکراه و ندانیم چه بود زین آمدن و بودن و رفتن مقصود

Into this universe, and *why* not knowing
Nor *whence*, like water willy-nilly flowing ;
And out of it, as wind along the waste
I know not *whither*, willy-nilly blowing.

چون آمدیم به من نه بد روز نخست وین رفتن بی مراد عزیمت درست
بر خیز و میان به بند ای ساقی چیست کاند و جهان به می فروخواهم شست

What, without asking, hither hurried *whence* ?
And, without asking, *whither* hurried hence !
Oh, many a cup of this forbidden wine
Must drown the memory of that insolence.

We human beings, says 'Omar, are utterly helpless in the hands of destiny, like marionettes moved here and there, this way and that, at the whim of the puppet-master.

این چرخ فلک که مادر او حیرانیم فانوس خیال از او مثالی دانیم
خورشید چراغ دان و عالم فانوس ما چون صوریم کاند ر او گردانیم

We are no other than a moving row
Of magic shadow-shapes that come and go

Round with the sun-illuminated lantern held
In midnight by the master of the show.

Or man is like a ball that is hit here and there by the player.

ای رفته به چوکان قضا همچون گو چپ میخور و راست میرو و هیچ مگو
کانکس که ترا فگند اندر تگ و دو او داند و او داند و او داند و او

The ball no question asks of ayes and noes
But here or there as strikes the player goes ;
And He that tossed you down into the field,
He knows about it all—He knows—He knows.

Or human beings are like pieces moved on the ' chequer-board ' at
the whim of the player.

از روی حقیقتی نه از روی مجاز مالعبتگا نیم و فلك لعبت باز
باز بچه همی کنیم بر نطع وجود رفتیم به صندوق عدم یک یک باز

But helpless pieces of the game He plays
Upon this chequer-board of nights and days ;
Hither and thither moves, and checks and slays,
And one by one back in the closet lays.

Then again, man is but passive clay in the hands of the Potter Who
gives it what shape He pleases ; it may turn out beautiful, or, without any
fault of its own, it may be ugly, awry or shapeless. From this naturally
follows the conviction of predestination. Man's fate was settled for him
long before he came into the world and nothing can alter it or change it.

زین بیش نشان بود نیها بودست پیوسته قلم زینک و بد آسودست¹
در روز ازل هر آنچه بایست بداد غم خوردن و کوشیدن مایه هوداست

The moving Finger writes ; and, having writ,
Moves on : nor all thy piety nor wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line
Nor all thy tears wash out a word of it.

But predestination presents a difficulty : if it was predestined that man
should sin, is it his fault if he does ? Punishment then savours of injustice.

دارنده چو ترکیب طبایع آراست از بهره² او فگندش اندر کم و کاست
گرنیک آمد شکستن از بهره سود³ ورنیک نیامد ابن صور عیب کراست

After a momentary silence spake
Some vessel of a more ungainly shape ;
" They sneer at me for leaning all awry :
What ! did the hand then of the Potter shake ? "

1. آسود.

2. باز از چه سبب.

3. بود.

حکمی که از او محال باشد پرهیز فرسوده و امر کرده کزوی بگریز
آنگاه میان امر و نهیش عاجز این قصه چنان بود که کج دار و مریز
* * * * *

ایزد چو گل وجود ماسی آراست دانست ز فعل ما چه خواهد برخاست
بی حکمش نیست هر گناهی که مراست پس سوختن روز قیامت ز کجاست

What ! out of senseless nothing to provoke
A conscious something to resent the yoke
Of unpermitted pleasure, under pain
Of everlasting penalties, if broke !

بر رهگذرم هزار جا دام نهی گوئی که بگیرمت اگر گام نهی
یک ذره ز حکم تو جهان خالی نیست حکم تو کنی و عاصم نام نهی

O thou, who didst with pitfall and with gin
Beset the road I was to wander in,
Thou wilt not with predestined evil round
Enmesh, and then impute the fall to sin !

Not only man, says 'Omar, but the very heavens themselves are helpless.

نیکی و بدی که در نهاد بشر است شادی و غمی که در قضا و قدر است
با چرخ مکن حواله کاندر ره عقل چرخ از تو هزار بار بیچاره تراست

And that inverted bowl they call the sky,
Whereunder crawling cooped we live and die,
Lift not your hands to it for help—for it
As impotently moves as you or I.

Not a few of the *rubā'īs* deal with the subject of death. Our sojourn in this world, he says, is brief, and our presence or absence is not of the slightest significance. Men pass through glory to dust and their departure leaves no memory or trace behind.

خِیام تنّت به خیمه ماند راست جان سلطان است و منزلش دار فناست
قَواش اجل ز بهر دیگر منزل این خیمه ییغند چو سلطان برخاست

'Tis but a tent where takes his one day's rest
A Sultan, to the realm of death address ;
The Sultan rises, and the dark Ferrash
Strikes, and prepares it for another guest.

خِیام اگر چه خرگه چرخ کبود زد خیمه و در بست در گفت و شنود
چون شکل حباب باده در جام وجود ساقی ازل هزار خِیام نمود

And fear not lest existence closing your
Account, and mine, should know the like no more ;
The Eternal Saki from that bowl has pour'd
Millions of bubbles like us, and will pour.

دریاب که از روح جدا خواهی رفت در پرده اسرار خدا خواهی رفت
منی خور که ندانی ز کجا آمده خوش‌زی که ندانی که کجا خواهی رفت

When you and I behind the veil are past,
Oh, but the long, long while the world shall last,
Which of our coming and departure heeds
As the sea's self should heed a pebble-cast.

ای پس که نباشیم و جهان خواهد بود بی نام ز ما وی نشان خواهد بود
زین پیش نبودیم و نه بد هیچ خلل زین پس چون‌باشیم و همان خواهد بود

The world will last long after my poor fame
Has passed away, yea, and my very name.
Aforetime, ere we came, we were not missed :
When we are dead and gone, 'twill be the same.

E. H. Whinfield.

Neither in life nor after death, says 'Omar, can we know for certain
the secret of life and death.

دل سر حیات اگر کجایی دانست در موت هم اسرار الهی دانست
امر وز که باخودی ندانستی هیچ فردا که زخود روی چه خواهی دانست

But if in vain, down on the stubborn floor
Of earth, and up to Heav'n's unopening door,
You gaze to-day while you are you—how then
To-morrow, when you shall be you no more.

'Omar is ever sceptical of the dogmatic assertions of the self-righteous bigots who pose as if they had discovered the secret of existence. The ultimate conclusion is the scorn of the poet for all human solutions of the inexplicable and insoluble enigma of life and death ; indeed, his confession is that all we know is that nothing can be known

هر چند 1 دلم ز عشق محروم نشد کم ماند ز اسرار که مفهوم نشد
و اکنون که به چشم عقل در مینگریم 2 معلوم شد که هیچ معلوم نشد

* * *

اسرار ازل رانه تودانی و نه من وین حرف معانه توخوانی و نه من
هست از پس پرده گفتگوی من و تو چون پرده برافتد نه تو مانی و نه من

There was the door to which I found no key ;
There was the veil through which I might not see :

1. اکنون .

2. و اکنون که می بگریم از روی خرد .

Some little talk awhile of me and thee
There was—and then no more of thee and me.

یکچند به کود کی به استاد شدیم یکچند به استادی خود شاد شدیم
بایان سخن نگر که مارا چه رسید چون آب در آمدیم و چون باد شدیم

This has been freely rendered by FitzGerald in two quatrains :—

Myself when young did eagerly frequent
Doctor and saint, and heard great argument
About it and about : but evermore
Came out by the same door wherein I went.

and

With them the seed of wisdom did I sow,
And with mine own hand wrought to make it grow ;
And this was all the harvest that I reap'd—
“ I came like water, and like wind I go.”

One of the remarkable qualities of 'Omar is his wide tolerance. We must, he says, be tolerant of the inherent frailties of our fellow human beings. It is not for men to judge one another.

بامن توهر آنچه گوئی از کین گوئی پیوسته مرا ملحد و یبدن گوئی
من معترفم هر آنچه هستم لیکن انصاف بده ترا رسد کین گوئی

Himself a sceptic, he is tolerant of other men's beliefs ; this is exemplified by such *rubā'is* as,

از منزل کفر تا به دین یک نفس است وز عالم شک تا به بقین یک نفس است
این یک نفس عزیز را خوش میدار کز حاصل عمر ما همین یک نفس است

Would you that spangle of existence spend
About the secret,—quick about it, friend !
A hair perhaps divides the false and true—
And upon what, prithee, may life depend ?

دل گفت مرا علم لدنی هوس است تعلیم کن اگر ترا دسترس است
گفتم که الف گفت دگر هیچ مگو. در خانه اگر کس است یک حرف پس است

and

A hair perhaps divides the false and true ;
Yes ; and a single Alif were the clue—
Could you but find it—to the treasure-house,
And peradventure to the Master too.

'Omar is tolerant not only of freethinkers and sceptics, but his tolerance extends even to sinners : even for a sinner, he says, there is forgiveness, if he have real faith.

گر کوهر طاعتت نسفتم هرگز گرد گنه از چهره نرقم هرگز
با ان همه نوید نم از کرم زیرا که یکی را دونه گفتم هرگز

If I myself upon a looser creed
Have loosely strung the jewel of good deed,
Let this one thing for my atonement plead,
That One for Two I never did misread.

'Omar is, however, intolerant of prigs and hypocrites, but of these only. His most withering shafts of sarcasm are aimed at those complacent bigots who preen and pride themselves on their orthodoxy and self-righteousness, and look down with contempt on the inborn weaknesses of human nature, yet at the same time close their eyes to their own frailties.

شخصی به زن فاحشه گفتا مستی هر لحظه به دام دیگری پیوستی
گفتا شیخا هر آنچه گوئی هستم اما تو هر آنچه میناوی هستی

A shaikh beheld a harlot, and quoth he,
"You seem a slave to drink and lechery."
And she made answer, "What I seem I am,
But, Master, are you all you seem to be?"

E. H. Winfield.

Avoid hypocrisy, 'Omar advises.

پندی دهمت اگر به من داری گوش از بهر خدا جامه تزویر مپوش
دنیا همه ساعت است و عمر تو دمی از بهر دمی عمر ابد را مفروش

And again

می خوردن و گرد نیکوان گرد بدن به زانکه به زرق زاهدی ورزیدن
گر عاشق و مست دوزخی خواهد بود پس روی بهشت کس نخواهد دیدن

If but the vine and love-abjuring band
Are in the Prophet's Paradise to stand,
Alack, I doubt the Prophet's Paradise
Were empty as the hollow of one's hand.

Of those who are so certain of their orthodoxy he says,

قومی متفکر اند در مذهب و دین جمعی متحیر اند در شک و یقین
ناگاه منادی برآید ز کمین کای پیخبران راه نه آنست و نه این

Alike for those who for to-day prepare,
And those who after some to-morrow stare,
A muezzin from the tower of darkness cries,
"Fools! your reward is neither here nor there."

'Omar in the following *rubā'ī* makes a confession of his peculiar faith ; it may not be orthodox, but it is at least honest.

با توبه خرابات اگر گویم راز به زانکه به محراب کنم بی تو نماز
ای اول و آخر همه خلق توئی خواهی تو مرا بسوز و خواهی بنواز

And this I know : whether the one true light
Kindle to love, or wrath consume me quite,
One flash of it within the tavern caught
Better than in the temple lost outright.

There are occasional moods of pessimism in 'Omar due no doubt to his bitter experiences of this life of travail and tribulation.

چون حاصل آدمی درین شورستان جز خوردن غصه نیست یا کندن جان
خرم دل آنکه زین جهان زود برفت واسوده کسی که خود نیا مد به جهان

Since all we gain in this abode of woe
Is sorrow's pangs to feel and grief to know,
Happy are they that never came at all,
And they that, having come, the soonest go.

E. H. Whinfield.

But even if disillusioned, the poet is not bitter for long. His deep wisdom brings him a noble resignation, a serene acquiescence. Instead of allowing himself to be embittered, he is content to stand aloof and be a spectator merely of life.

بشنو زمن ای زبده یاران کهن دل تنگ مکن زین فلک بی سروین
بر گوشه عرصه سلامت بنشین بازچئه دهر را تماشا میکن

Contentment with one's lot is what he emphasises.

چون رزق تو آنچه عدل قسمت فرمود یک ذره نه کم شود نه خواهد افزود
آسوده زهر چه نیست میباشد شد وازاده ز هر چه هست میباشد بود

And

در دهر هر آنکه نیم نانی دارد یا در خور خویش آشیانی دارد
نئی خادم کس بود نه مخدوم کسی گو شاد بزی که خوش جهانی دارد

Let us now turn to the rendering of the *Rubā'iyāt* by FitzGerald and compare them with those translated by others, even though this will involve a repetition of some of the quatrains quoted above. This comparison will, it is hoped, convince the reader of the immeasurable superiority of FitzGerald over other translators of *Khayyām*.

Take the original,

آمد سحری ندا ز میخانه ما کای رند خراباتی دیوانه ما
برخیز که بر کنیم پیمانه زمی زان پیش که پر کنند پیمانه ما

John Payne's translation is,

There came from out our winehouse a call at break of day :
 " Ho, topers ! tavern-hunters ! Ho, madcaps ! " it did say ;
 " Up, up, that we the measure with wine may fill ere they
 " (The Fates, to wit) *our* measure fill up and cast away."

FitzGerald's version in the first edition is,

Dreaming when Dawn's left hand was in the sky
 I heard a voice within the tavern cry,
 " Awake, my little ones, and fill the cup
 Before life's liquor in its cup be dry."

This was changed in later editions to

Before the phantom of false morning died,
 Methought a voice within the tavern cried,
 " When all the temple is prepared within,
 Why nods the drowsy worshipper outside ?"

'Take this *rubā'ī*:—

خورشید کمند صبح بر بام افکند کیخسرو روز سهره * در جام افکند
 می خورکه منادی سحر که خیزان آوازه اشربو در ایام افکند

Whinfield's translation is,

The sun doth smite the roofs with Orient ray,
 And Kasra—like his wine—red sheen display ;
 Arise and drink ! The herald of the dawn
 Proclaims the advent of another day.

FitzGerald's free but beautiful rendering of it is,

Awake ! for morning in the bowl of night
 Has flung the stone that puts the stars to flight ;
 And lo ! the Hunter of the East has caught
 The Sultan's turret in a noose of light.

Take again this *rubā'ī*:—

چون عمر به سر رسد چه بغداد و چه بلخ بهانه چو برشود چه شیرین و چه تلخ
 می نوش که بعد از من و تو ماه بسی از سلخ به غره آید از غره به سلخ

John Pollen has translated it as,

What's Balkh to me ? or what Baghdad ?
 Life passes—be wine good or bad ;
 Then drink ! when we've passed away
 The moon will change from day to day.

* باده

Better than the doggerel of Pollen is the freer version of J. L. Garner :—

Our life will end, it flies on foot amain,
What boots it whether passed in joy or pain
At Balkh or Naishapur? Come, fill your cup,
We die,—but still the moon will wax and wane.

But better still is the translation of Whinfield :—

When life's once gone, what's Balkh or Naishapur?
What's sweet or bitter, if the cup runs o'er?
Drink on! There's many a moon will wax and wane
In times to come, when we are here no more.

It is faithful to the original but the magic of FitzGerald's music is missing. FitzGerald in the following rendering has caught the spirit rather than kept to the letter of the original. He has substituted for the harsh 'Baghdād' and 'Balkh' the musical 'Naishāpūr' and 'Babylon.' He has also omitted the last two lines of the original, but has got pure poetry out of it. His unforgettable rendering is

Whether at Naishapur or Babylon,
Whether the cup with sweet or bitter run,
The wine of life keeps oozing drop by drop,
The leaves of life keep falling one by one.

Take this *rubā'ī* :—

زبان پیش^۱ نشان بود نیها بودست پیوسته قلم ز نیک و بد نا سود^۲ست
در روز ازل هر آنچه بایست بداد غم خوردن و کوشیدن مایه بودست

Pollen's translation is

'Twas writ "Whatever will be will ;"
The pen moves on, come good or ill ;
From first 'twas fixed—Creation's plan ;
To grieve or strive behoves not man.

Jessie Cadell translates it as

Long, long ago, Man's fate was graven clear,
The pen left nought unwrit of joy or woe ;
Since from eternity God ruled it so,
Then senseless are our grief and striving here.

Whinfield's translation is

'Twas writ at first, whatever was to be,
By pen, unheeding bliss or misery,
Yea, writ upon the tablet once for all,
To murmur or resist is vanity.

۱. بر لوح .

۲. آسود .

John Payne's is

Whatever betides on the Tablet of Destiny writ is ;
Of good and of evil thenceforward the Pen Divine quit is :
In fate foreordained whatsoever behoveth It 'stablished :
Our stress and our strife and our thought-taking vain every whit is.

This painful, halting verse is hardly recognisable as poetry. With what relief from this pedestrian verse one comes to FitzGerald's memorable lines :—

The moving finger writes ; and, having writ,
Moves on : nor all thy piety nor wit,
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all thy tears wash out a word of it.

Take the following *rubā'ī* :—

این قافله عمر عجب میگذرد در باب شی که باطرب میگذرد
ساقی غم فردای قیامت چه خوری درده قلع باده * که شب میگذرد

Garner translates it as :—

Life's caravan unheeded glides away,
And barren hopes alone remain—but nay—
Fear not the pain the future has in store,
But drink—upon us steals the twilight gray.

York Powell has

Life's caravan speeds strangely swift—take care ;
It is thy youth that's flitting, Friend, beware ;
Nor vex thyself for woe to come, in vain,
For lo, the night rolls on and dawn breaks bare.

Here is the superb rendering of FitzGerald :

One moment in annihilation's waste,
One moment of the well of life to taste—
The stars are setting and the caravan
Starts for the dawn of nothing—oh, make haste.

Or take this *rubā'ī* :—

هر جا که گلی ولا له زاری بودست از سرخئی خون شهر یاری بودست
هر شاخ بنفشه کز زمین می روید خالیست که بر رخ نگاری بودست

Pollen's translation is,

Where blooms the rose or tulip-bed,
There crimson blood of Kings was shed ;
The violet springing from the earth—
Some mole of Beauty gave it birth.

* پیش آریاله را *

Whinfield translates it as:—

Where ruddy tulips grow and roses red,
Know that a mighty monarch's blood was shed;
And where the violet ears her purple tuft,
Be sure some black-moled girl doth rest her head.

Jessie Cadell's version is,

Where'er the tulips or the roses bloom,
Know that they sprout where blood of Kings hath flowed;
Each violet tuft that bursts in fresh perfume
Was once a mole where Beauty's visage glowed.

They are all fairly close to the original, but can they compare with the magnificent rendering of FitzGerald, which is

I sometimes think that never blows so red
The rose as where some buried Caesar bled;
That every hyacinth the garden wears
Dropt in her lap from some once lovely head.

Take the following *rubā'ī*, of which there are the two following versions in the original:—

گر دست دهد زبغز گندم نانی	وز شی کدوی زگو سفندی رانی
وانگه من و تو ¹ نشسته درویرانی	عیشی بود آن نه حد هر سلطانی
تنگی می لعل خواهیم و دیوانی	سدر بقی باید و نصف نانی
وانگه من و تو نشسته درویرانی	خوشر بود از مملکت سلطانی

It has been translated by Pollen as:—

Some ruby wine—a book of song—
With half a loaf—for these I long;
With these—in desert drear—and thee
Happier than Kingdom's King I'd be.

The jingle is execrable and jerky. Whinfield has two versions of the *rubā'ī*, neither of them much better than Pollen's. They are,

Give me a skin of wine, a crust of bread,
A pittance bare, a book of verse to read;
With thee, O Love, to share my lowly roof,
I would not take the Sultan's realm instead.

And

Give me a jug of wine, a crust of bread,
With this and a sweet book of verse to read,
And thee, O Love, to share my solitude,
I would not take the Sultan's realm instead.

1. با ماه رخی بالاله رخی .

2. عیشی ست که نیست .

Richard Le Gallienne's paraphrase is merely pretty:—

O come, my love, the spring is in the land!
Take wine, and bread, and book of verse in hand,
And sit with me and sing in the green shade;
Green little home amid the desert sand.

Garner's version is

A flask of wine, a book, a loaf of bread,
To every care and worldly sorrow dead,
I covet not, when thou, O love, art near,
The jewelled crown upon the Sultan's head.

Then comes FitzGerald with the well-known lines:—

A book of verses underneath the bough,
A jug of wine, a loaf of bread—and thou
Beside me singing in the wilderness—
Oh, wilderness were Paradise enow.

Take this *rubā'ī*:—

آن قصر که با چرخ همی زد پهلوی بر درگاه او شهبان نهادندی رو
دیدیم که بر کنگره اش فاخته آواز همی داد که کو کو کو کو کو

Whinfield's translation is,

Yon palace, towering to the welkin blue,
Where Kings did bow them down, and homage do,
I saw a ringdove on its turrets perched,
And thus he made complaint, "coo, coo, coo, coo."

It is a faithful rendering of the original, but FitzGerald's is incomparably better.

The Palace that to Heaven his pillars threw,
And Kings the forehead on his threshold drew,
I saw the solitary ringdove there,
And "coo, coo, coo," she cried, and "coo, coo, coo."

Take this *rubā'ī*:—

هر سبزه که بر کنار جوئی رسته است گوئی ز لب فرشته خوئی رسته است
هان بر سر سبزه پا به خواری ننهی کان سبزه ز خاک لاله روئی رسته است

Le Gallienne has paraphrased this in two quatrains:—

Yea, love, this very ground you lightly tread,
Who knows! is pillow to some maiden's head,
Ah! tread upon it lightly lest you wake
The sacred slumber of the happy dead.

* بنشسته همی گفت .

And

What long-dead face makes here the grass so green ?
On what earth-buried bosom do we lean ?
Ah ! love, when we in turn are grass and flowers,
By what kind eyes to come shall we be seen ?

Garner's version is,

The violets that by this river grow
Spring from some lip here buried long ago ;
And tread thou lightly on this tender green,
Who sleepeth here so still, thou ne'er wilt know.

Whinfield's is,

Yon turf, fringing the margin of the stream,
As down upon a cherub's lip might seem,
Or grown from dust of buried tulip cheeks :
Tread not that turf with scorn, or light esteem.

FitzGerald's version is,

And this reviving herb whose tender green
Fledges the river-lip on which we lean—
Ah, lean upon it lightly ! for who knows
From what once lovely lip it springs unseen !

Let us take the following *rubā'i*:—

هر روز بر آنم که کنم شب توبه از جام و پیاله لب لب توبه
اکنون که رسید وقت گل ترکم ده در موسم گل ز توبه یارب توبه

Whinfield's translation is,

Each morn I vow, "To-night will I repent
Of wine, and tavern-haunts no more frequent,"
But spring has come : release me from my vow !
While roses blossom, how can I repent ?

It is an astonishingly faithful translation, but lacks the beauty of
FitzGerald's lovely lines,

Indeed, indeed, repentance oft before
I swore—but was I sober when I swore ?
And then, and then came spring and rose-in-hand
My thread-bare penitence apieces tore.

Let us take one more *rubā'i* for comparison ; the original is,

افسوس که نامه جوانی طی شد وین تازه بهار ارغوانی دی شد
آن مرغ طرب که نام او بود شباب افسوس ندانم که کئی آمد کئی شد

Payne translates it as,

Alas, for youth's book is rolled up and cast by !
This fresh spring of joyance hath flitted fast by !
Yon bird of delight, adolescence yclept,
How came it I know not, nor how it past by !

Le Gallienne paraphrases it thus :—

Youth, like a magic bird, has flown away,
He sang a little morning hour in May,
Sang to the rose, his love, that too is gone—
Whither is more than you or I can say.

Whinfield's translation is,

Now is the volume of my youth outworn,
My happy spring by autumn overborne ;
Ah, bird of youth ! I marked not when you came,
Nor when you fled, and left me thus forlorn.

They are all fairly close translations, but cannot compare with Fitz-Gerald's haunting lines,

Alas ! that spring should vanish with the rose !
That youth's sweet-scented manuscript should close !
The nightingale that in the branches sang,
Ah whence, and whither flown again, who knows !

Let us now take a few quatrains that some of the other translators have not attempted. Take the following :—

ای دوست بیاتا غم فردا نخوریم و بن بکده نقد¹ را غنیمت نسیم
فردا که ازین روئی زمین² درگذریم با هفت هزار سالگان سر به سریم³

FitzGerald follows the original closely.

Ah, my beloved, fill the cup that clears
To-day of past regrets and future fears :
To-morrow ! why, to-morrow I may be
Myself with yesterday's seven thousand years.

Or take this.

کم کن طمع از جهان ویسی زی خرسند وز نیک و بد زمانه بگسل پیوند
مے بر کف و زلف دلبری گبر که زود هم می رود و نه نماید این روزی چند

FitzGerald's rendering is,

Perplexed no more with human or divine,
To-morrow's tangle to the winds resign,

1. عمر .
2. در فنا .
3. هم سفریم .
4. بگذرد .

And lose your fingers in the tresses of
The cypress-slender minister of wine.

The following quatrain is not a rendering of any particular *rubā'ī* of *Khayyām*, but how well FitzGerald has caught the spirit of the Persian poet.

Ah ! fill the cup—what boots it to repeat
How time is slipping underneath our feet ?
Unborn to-morrow, and dead yesterday,
Why fret about them if to-day be sweet ?

One last scene before we conclude. The poet Nizami of Samarkand says, "I often used to hold conversations with my teacher 'Omar *Khayyām*, in a garden ; and one day he said to me, ' My tomb shall be in a spot where the north wind may scatter roses over it.' I wondered at the words he spoke, but I knew that his were no idle words. Years after, when I chanced to revisit *Nishapūr*, I went to his final resting-place, and lo ! it was just outside a garden, and trees laden with fruits stretched their boughs over the garden wall, and dropped their flowers upon his tomb, so that the stone was hidden under them."

There we may leave him resting in his grave, with the flowers scattered on it that he loved so much in life, and when next we think of him, let us recollect the wish he expressed in the *rubā'ī*,

یاران چو به اتفاق دیدار کنید باید که ز دوست یاد بسیار کنید
چون بادۂ خوشگوار نوشید به هم نوبت چو به مارسد نگوئسار کنید

which has thus been rendered by FitzGerald :—

And when thyself with shining foot shall pass
Among the guests star-scattered on the grass,
And in thy joyous errand reach the spot
Where I made one—turn down an empty glass.

HOSAIN ALIKHAN.

PIRATICAL ACTIVITIES IN JAHĀNGĪR'S TIME

THE Mughal Emperors of India failed to realise the importance of a strong naval power. This was a serious flaw which could always be exploited by European merchants, trading in India. It was never the policy of the Mughals to discourage India's foreign trade and it could never pay them to displease India's foreign traders. As a matter of fact strict orders were issued to local authorities from time to time to provide adequate facilities to them. Strict observance of law, however, was not possible and irregularities occurred here and there. The European merchants might, at one time or another, run across some local authorities, who for selfish motives, placed certain disabilities in their way. This would enrage them and they would resolve on the capture of Indian vessels on the high seas. They sent regular instructions to their respective commanders for systematic plunder of Indian ships. For them it was a regular weapon to have their rights recognised and their wrongs redressed. The commanders would rifle the ships of their contents and take into custody prominent persons among the crew as hostages. These methods did not always yield happy results as the Mughal Government could not be awed into acceptance of their demands. If the pirates escaped the clutches of Mughal officials, their fellow-countrymen in India could not.

Besides, there were seasoned pirates who did serious damage to Indian shipping and incalculable harm to Indian trade. The might and majesty of the Mughal Emperors inspired no awe in them. On the other hand, in their audacity they even laid their hands on ships carrying Muslim pilgrims or looted vessels belonging to members of the royal family itself. They escaped invariably the hands of Nemesis which would recoil, again on their fellow-countrymen in India.

In the 16th century, it was only the Portuguese who held undisputed command of the Indian seas, and controlled all traffic from the Persian Gulf to Mozambique, and from Mozambique to Malacca. The king of Portugal held a monopoly of trade in certain goods and on certain routes. To ply trade outside these limits licenses on payment had to be obtained.

Unlicensed ships were 'treated as prizes of war, sunk, burnt or captured as circumstances might determine.' Corruption in administration, however, was a loophole almost always exploited by the Indians. They could pay for the privilege otherwise denied to them.¹

The situation underwent a change in the 17th century. The Portuguese power received a rude set-back at the appearance of the English who proved serious rivals. The Mughal ships were now subjected not only to the raids of the Portuguese but also to those of the English and the Dutch. The three European nations, although engaged in mutual rivalries and disputes, seemed to vie with one another in ruining Indian trade and shipping. The main culprits in the 17th century hailed from England and the burden of punishment fell naturally on the English merchants in India. Law had to run its course and they had to pay for the misdeeds of their brethren. Subsequent inquiries, however, proved that the pirates were not always Englishmen. They could be Dutch or Portuguese. This provided the English with a fresh excuse for piracy: this time, of course, to force the Mughals to let off their prisoners. This step might result in counter-reprisals from the other party.

The Mughal authorities thus always took a serious view of the situation and never took it lying down. "If they were not strong on sea, they were not weak on land. They did not sit idle after a ship belonging to India had been subjected to pirates' raids. They were not slow to inquire about the nationality of the culprits. This known, the Government compelled the members of that nation, living in India, to compensate the sufferers. If a ship was looted by some Englishman, the President of the English East India Company at Surat had to face a difficult situation. The merchants concerned demanded justice from the Mughal authorities. The latter at once ordered a guard to be placed over the English factory. The President was taken into custody and asked to make up the loss. Sometimes the members of the Council as well had to suffer imprisonment. If this proved unavailing, they would threaten the English trade throughout India. The English factors at Agra, Ahmadabad and other places were imprisoned and their goods sealed."²

Normally it was not profitable for European merchants to encourage looting of Indian ships. The fear of prison life and of financial loss and commercial breakdown held them in check. Even rumours of piracies sent a shiver through them as they feared to be kept fast, and their goods ceased upon.³ The East India Company had issued specific instructions to the pirates against robbing of Indian ships,⁴ although such a warning remained ineffective. Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador at

1. Moreland: *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 201. De Laet: 116, 244-45.

2. Cf. Present writer's article on "Piracy during the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb," in the *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1944, pp. 381-82.

3. *English Factories*, 1618-21, p. 339.

4. *The Embassy*, 390-391.

Jahāngīr's court, strongly condemned the senseless activities of the English pirates as they served no useful purpose. On the other hand, the possible disastrous consequences weighed heavily on his mind. He complained to the Company against the pirates 'for whose faults they may be engaged.' He warned the Directors that 'your goods and your persons' would have to answer for the nefarious activities of the sea-rovers, 'there must be no traders' and consequently 'your trade in India is utterly lost.'¹ Not only this. Sometimes effective steps had to be taken against the pirates. Roe refers to the activities of two Englishmen, Sir Robert Rich and Phillope Bernerdoe, who, although they set out against pirates, turned out pirates themselves. They chased the Queen Mother's ship and could have looted it but for the timely arrival of an English fleet from India. Roe 'ordered the seizure of the ships, prises and goods and converted them to your use.'² During his interview with Jahāngīr, Roe assured him regarding this incident that the captains were made prisoners 'in our ships, kept in irons; and that I would see send them home to His Majestie, who would make them an example of such bouldness to dare to disturbe the allies of his crowne.'³ Kerridge, the English President at Surat, and his Council sent instructions to Captain Clevenger (April 9, 1625) that ships belonging to the Great Mughal's dominions must not be molested.⁴

The strong position of the Europeans on seas placed a powerful weapon in their hands. If, on the one hand, they could harass the Mughal ships, on the other, they could offer them protection on payment basis. The Mughals on various occasions applied for safe conduct of their ships to different nations. We learn on the authority of De Laet that the Portuguese exacted huge sums from the Indians (including even the magnates and the King's sons) for safe conducts (commonly called passports). For these passports huge sums of money ranging from three to eight thousand *maḥmūdīs* were demanded. William Finch, who was in India from 1608 to 1611, holds testimony to the fact that the Portuguese wielded great power on seas and without their pass 'none may passe.'⁵

The Dutch also took advantage of the weakness of the Mughals and did not lag behind the Portuguese. They also sold passes to the Mughals assuring safe conduct and provided convoy to the Indian vessels when approached.⁶

To the English, the system of issuing passes seemed to provide an opportunity for commercial advantage. 'No ship dares go out the river of Surat without our pass,' boasted the English representative at Ahmadabad in November, 1613. Roe shared this opinion and held the belief

¹ *Ibid.*, 451-52

² *The Embassy*, 451-52, *Letters Received*, Vol VI, 173-74

³ *The Embassy*, 422-423

⁴ *De Laet*: 116.

⁵ *Early Travels*, 135, 203, *The Embassy*, XXV *Letters Received*, I, 300.

⁶ *English Factories*, 1624-29, 192, 356

that to convoy native traders on payment basis 'may help in the establishment of trade.'¹ He wrote to the Company (February, 1618) that the 'feare of us' had compelled the Mughals to apply for passes.²

In January, 1618, *Ikhlās Khān*, the Captain of the *Jahāngir*, applied to Roe for safe conduct to the Red Sea. The English ambassador sent instructions to all English merchants to refrain from molesting the vessel and its mariners.³

Next month, Roe assured I'timād-ud-Daula that the English stood by their promise to safe conduct Indian ships to the Red Sea.⁴

In March, 1625, the English vessel *Eagle* left Swally, being under orders to convoy a Surat junk 'on part of her way to the Red Sea.'⁵

In March, 1626, the English ship, *Discovery*, was ordered to Surat Bar to protect a junk belonging to the Governor of Surat, bound for the Red Sea.⁶

In 1617, at the entreaty of the merchants the English at Surat gave passes to two ships of 'Danda Raspone' for the Red Sea.⁷

The pass system, however, failed to provide adequate safeguard against the nefarious activities of the pirates. The loss caused by them to Indian trade and shipping was not negligible.

In a letter written to the Company in February, 1618, Sir Thomas Roe expressed fear that the English might not succeed in procuring a suitable port from Indian Government. The reason, he said, was 'that they are weary of us as it is, and indeed wee see wee have empoverished the ports, and wounded all their trade, soe that by much perswasion of the Governors the merchant goes to sea.'⁸

India had been enjoying a lucrative trade with the outside world from time immemorial. It was quite profitable even before the advent of the European merchants in the Indian commercial arena. The Dutch Pelsaert who wrote his account of India in 1626 bears testimony to this fact. By that time this trade had been reduced to only a fraction of its past greatness. And the major portion of blame for this damage, according to the same authority, must be borne by European traders whom the Indian merchants termed as the 'scourges of their seas and of their prosperity.' The leading native merchants would frankly lay bare their hearts before the European traders when they told them to their very face that 'they heartily wish we had never come to their country.'⁹

1. *English Factories*, 1618-21, 3; 12.

2. *The Embassy*, 439.

3. *English Factories*, 1618-21, 2.

4. *Ibid.*, 1618-21, 5.

5. *Ibid.*, 1624-29, 54.

6. *Ibid.*, 166.

7. *Ibid.*, 192.

8. *Ibid.*, 1618-21.

9. Pelsaert's *Jahangir's India*, 39-40.

Sir Henry Middleton, an English Captain, robbed a number of Indian vessels in the Red Sea in 1612. His activities were seriously resented by the Mughal authorities who were keen on restitution for the alleged losses. His fellow-countrymen in India had to pay for his misdeeds as they were put into prison and their goods confiscated, obviously to compel them to make up the loss.¹

The advent of the English in India and the favourable reception accorded to them was resented by the Portuguese here. They made vain efforts at persuading the Emperor to expel them from the country. Reduced to despair at the lack of success, they resorted to violence by seizing an Indian vessel near Surat. It had a rich cargo of coral, silver, gold and other articles, amounting to one hundred thousand pound sterling. After having robbed the ship they burnt it. Moreover, they took captive 700 persons whom they carried away to Goa, to turn men into slaves and convert women and children to Christianity. This was done in spite of the fact that the ship had a Portuguese pass and that the Queen Mother had a large interest in the cargo.

On receipt of the news Jahāngīr got incensed and issued orders to imprison immediately all the Portuguese in his dominions and seize all their goods. 'He hath likewise sealed their church doors and hath given order that they shall no more use the exercise of their religion in these parts.' Muqarrab Khān, the Governor of Surat, was given a horse and an elephant, and a dress of honour and ordered to proceed to Daman and lay siege to the city. The war came to a close after two years' fighting and a preliminary treaty between the two parties was signed in June, 1615. The Portuguese agreed to make compensation and to grant certain additional passes to native vessels, proceeding to the Red Sea.²

Early in 1617, Elexander Childe, 'master in the "James"' and a 'chief minister of the princes, receiver of his rents,' surprised a Surat vessel laden with timber in the Red Sea. He detained it for three months and spent 'the one half of her lading.' The Company was required to make compensation for it.³

Soon after, the Company's fleet seized yet another ship belonging to the same owner. The occupants who were Banyahs, clamoured for liberty. At night six of them leapt overboard and swam to the shore to apprise the Surat Governor of the situation. The latter sent for Kerridge, the English President, and expressed his rage in so many words. Kerridge however, satisfied him by his assurances. The subsequent news of the capture of some Indians by the Captain of the same ship obliged the Surat Governor to adopt a strict attitude. Their broker was kept in irons in order to force the English to make compensation.⁴

1. *Letters Received*, 1602-13, Vol. I, XXXIV, 279; *Early Travels*, 197, 203, 307.

2. *Early Travels*, 203; *The Embassy*, XXV, *Letters Received*, I, 300; 306; *Ibid.*, II, XVII, 06; *Ibid.*, III, XXXVII; *Jahāngīr's Memoirs* (Bev.) I, 255.

3. *Letters Received*, V, 206-7.

4. *Ibid.*

Early in October, 1621, the Surat President was informed by Captain Waddel at Swally that some English pirates had taken an Indian ship and sunk it along with its passengers. Property including two tons of gold and invaluable treasure fell into their hands. Waddel feared that their action 'will fall heavy upon us' if they were allowed to carry away the spoils. He was sensible of 'future inconveniences.....and the great disturbance of our long continued commerce in these parts.'¹

In the beginning of January, 1622, the President of the English Factory at Batavia informed the Company that the *London* and other English ships had taken, on the coast of India, three prizes worth 80,000 rials and a Chaul ship. They offered, he said, to restore them, if satisfaction could be made for 'your lost caphila,' which had been taken earlier by the soldiers of Malik 'Ambar.

In March, the English Factors at Ahmadabad were made to appear before Mod. Taqi, the Divan of the Suba, to make compensation for the alleged loss. They pretended ignorance and shifted the blame on to the Dutch. The Mughal official did not think it advisable to settle things in a hurry, and postponed the case till a further date.

They were again sent for after a fortnight. They refused to plead guilty whereupon they were remanded to custody and kept in the Governor's house for four days and nights. The 'Hell-bound Governor' called them 'Ransadoes' and commanded the *kotwal* to keep a strict watch on them. Then he called them before the assembly of the big merchants of the city. The English reiterated that they had nothing to do with the crime and that the Dutch were the real culprits. It was necessary to make investigations. An Indian merchant, Gurdas, furnished security for the English President and so orders for their release were issued. The *kotwal*, however, demanded 'something to eat beetle' for which he had to pay Rs. 25, including the tips to his 'followers,' 'it being a custom that all which come in the common prisone must paye or have their clothes torne from their backs.'

The English had to suffer in Agra as well where they were kept in prison for over 5 months, first in their own house and then in the 'common castle.' It appears from a letter of the Surat President that the Ahmadabad factors were in prison even in May, 1622. He suggested 'that endeavours should be made by all possible methods including bribery to get certificates from this Governor in our favour.'²

It seems that this incident enraged the English who determined to resort to force to get their grievances redressed. The consultations held by them in February and October, 1622, and March and April, 1623, throw a flood of light on this. They came to the conclusion that the only method to bring pressure to bear upon the Mughals was to seize their ships. The Company was prepared to run the risk of its Indian trade and the factors were ready to endure any hardship likely to result from

1. *English Factories*, 1618-21, 300-01.

2. *Ibid.*, 1622-23, 18; 68-69; 71; 72; 74; 79-80.

the action. Accordingly, the Surat President issued instructions to Captain Hall to carry out the project into action. He was to seize all Indian junks returning from Jiddah and *Mokha* and to hold the principal officers, merchants and chief passengers in custody.

His instructions were followed to the letter and acted upon. By the beginning of October, 1623, the *Dolphin* and the *Blessing* had captured seven Indian junks. The former had seized *Toklie* and *Tawne*, two Surat vessels. Maqṣūd 'Ali and Shiva Ji Vaniya were their respective 'nākhūdās.' The *Blessing* had captured the Prince's junk from Gogha, a vessel of *Due*, and a small junk belonging to pahlwan *Shafi*. Their next prizes were the *Ganyāwar* and the *Shāhi*. They anchored near Daman where they had under their command seven junks and 'a world of people to maintaine with water and victualls.'

This action of theirs, however, failed to produce the desired effect. The Indians showed no concern over the capture of seven ships as they had about 'forty Englishmen in their hands as hostages.' They could not expect a kind treatment at the hands of the Mughal Government. At Surat a strong guard was placed in and outside of their factory. Their broker 'Pangue' was severely whipped with hundred *koras* which practically tore his flesh. At 'Izapoor' a similar treatment was meted out to them. They were made prisoners in their factory, provided with one meal a day and forced to sleep on bare earth with nothing to cover them. The Indian Government, however, was not in favour of precipitating a crisis. John Hopkinson at Surat urged upon the English President who was at Swally to accept the gestures of peace shown by Saif Khān, the Mughal official. On 10th November an agreement was signed by which the English got most of their wrongs redressed.

Up to now this question had failed to engage the serious attention of the Mughal authorities who were busy in quelling Shāh Jahān's rebellion. The native merchants were not sitting idle in the meantime. They made strong representation at court regarding the conduct of the English who were accused, among other things, of detaining goods seized in the junks 'above satisfaction of our former losses. . . . to the pretended value of 10,000 pound sterling.' Their act was an affront and challenge to the authority of the great Mughal. Feelings ran high at the court and Jahāngir issued 'four severall firmanes. . . to the apprehending of our persons, restitution of our recoveries and lastly our expulstion out of his countries.' Consequently, the English merchants at Surat were seized and put in irons (21st February, 1624), their residence and warehouse ransacked and their goods confiscated. "Theire wanted not that mallice, terrour, reproach or disgrace that the spright and renckour of an offended multitude could ether invent or inflict." They became 'shameful subject of daylie threts, revilinges, scornes, disdainful derizions of whole rabbles of people, whose revengeful eyes never glutted themselves to behould the spectacle of our mizeries.' Even threats of torture were extended to extort confession of hidden treasure.

They complained that they were packed and stifled together into 'close and airless and unwholesome corners.' The Surat merchants were not the only sufferers ; this treatment was meted out to English merchants in other places also. They could stand this no longer and their resistance power collapsed. No assistance was possible from any side. At last President Rastell and his companions signified their willingness to come to agreement with the Mughal Government. They got ready to make compensation for all that had been taken from the Surat merchants on condition that they should accept payment in goods on rates prescribed upon. Even during the negotiations an unsuccessful attempt to force the issue was made when they tried to capture three Indian junks going to Arabia.*

Thus, even if the English could harm Indian shipping on high seas, it was not a paying adventure for them. Although 'all the forces of the Mughal Empire were powerless against a single European ship,' no European nation could afford to offend the Mughal Emperor in the interest of its trade.

S. P. SANGAR.

**English Factories*, 1624-29, 36 ; 55-56.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF IBN TUFAIL'S HAIY IBN YAQZĀN

INTRODUCTION

HERE is, in brief, Ibn Ṭufail's* account of how he came to compose this allegory.

Abū Bakr Ibn Ṭufail is requested by a friend to enlighten him in the mysteries of the Illuminative Philosophy of the East, especially as it was expounded by Ibn Sīna. The romance of Haiy Ibn Yaqzān is Ibn Ṭufail's allegorical reply. He, however, warns his friend that the knowledge of Illumination is only possible for the pure in spirit and the diligent in search. It is ineffable and totally different from what we know of the things of this world. Hence he who tries to describe it after having had some experience of it can do so only by using the most general terms which can do no justice to the uniqueness of the experience. And if such a man also happens to be one devoid of good education, he comes to indulge (partly under the influence of the extreme exultation which such a mystic state induces) in such phrases as "Praise be to me! How wonderful am I!" "I am the Truth;" "I am God," etc. The right attitude however is that of Ghazālī who said of this state after attaining thereunto:-- 'It was what it was and it is not to be expressed. Enquire no further. Only conceive the best.'

* Ibn Tufail (Abu Bakr) Ibn 'Abdul Malak Ibn Moḥammad Ibn Ṭufail al-Qaisi, the *Abubacer* of mediæval philosophers, was born in the first decade of the 12th century A.D. near Granada (Spain) in the Wadi 'Agh and died in the capital city of Morocco in 1185. Not much is known about him. He was a profound scholar, composed verses and practised both medicine and politics during his comparatively long life. For instance, he served first as a physician and then as secretary under a son of 'Abdul Mu'min, the founder of the Almohads. For more than twenty-one years (1163-1184) he was court-physician to the Almohad Sultān Abu Ya'qūb Yusuf. He introduced the young Ibn Rushd to the Sultān who asked him to urge the young philosopher to annotate Aristotle.

† No scientific or philosophical work by him is extant today. He was an adherent of the philosophy of Illumination and is remembered by the world as the author of the philosophical allegory of Haiy Ibn Yaqzān which he wrote in the interests of that philosophy. Since the allegory was translated several times in Europe and had great vogue in both the West and the East, Ibn Ṭufail's influence on later philosophical thought has been considerable.

This knowledge of 'illumination' is different from all speculative philosophy. It has for one thing, a clearness and a directness which speculative thought can never attain to. It is (as Ibn Sina says) like a light which, at first, shines only at rare moments and fitfully in the seeker's heart but which, later on, according to the degree of his purity and perseverance, becomes a steady illumination and a source of perfect tranquillity. His soul becomes a polished mirror in which he beholds Truth. He beholds his soul and he beholds what it reflects, viz., Truth. Thence arises a perfect union between him and God.

The difference between the man of perfect speculative wisdom and the man of perfect spiritual illumination is the difference between the man born blind (who by sheer force of intellect and industry has come to understand the nature and differences of colours and of the things of the external world) and the same man suddenly endowed with sight. He now sees the same thing which he had at first apprehended in an indirect and remote manner, but what a difference is there now between the two states in clarity and conviction and delight!

It is not possible, in short, to express in words the nature and state of the Vision of Truth which Illumination bestows on the heart of those who are blessed by God with it, but it is possible to narrate the various stages which lead to the attainment of that state, though it must be confessed that there are very few who have perseverance enough for the journey.

Ibn Ṭufail confesses that though he had profited a great deal from the study of the writings of Ibn Bājjā (Avempace), Aristotle, Ibn Sina and Ghazālī, he had only his own experience of the Vision to guide him in the description of it and in the narration of his allegory. The philosophers had either had no experience of what they talked about or else (as in Ghazālī's case who had certainly enjoyed the Union) they talked in so many different tongues that it was difficult to construe their real meaning.

THE ALLEGORY OF ḤAIY IBN YAQẒĀN, THE LIVING ONE SON OF THE WAKEFUL ONE

Our good forefathers have said that there is an island in the Indian Ocean situated under the equinoctical where the elements are in such an exquisitely balanced state that man can spring into being without father and mother. Ḥaiy was such a man. Earth, water, heat and cold, the sun and light had so conspired that at a favourable moment a patch of soft mud showed bubbles on top and fermentation endued it with life. This lump of fermented earth assumed first the shape of a heart and then other organs developed therefrom, until at last a living human infant shook itself free of the crust of earth adhering to its body. Hunger made it cry and a Roe (which was running past in quest of its lost fawn) suckled it.

But the philosophers and other wise men have not believed in the spontaneous generation of Haiy. They declare that he was the son of Yaqzān, a nobleman who had clandestinely married the beautiful sister of a proud and cruel king who would not let her marry as no suitor was noble enough for her in his eyes. As soon as the infant Haiy was born the sorrowing mother (afraid of her brother's wrath) put him in a small and strong ark, closed it firmly all round, and launched it into the sea after commending him to God's care and mercy. 'Be Thou,' she prayed, 'his guide and protector. Forsake him not, nor ever leave him destitute of Thy care.'

God listened to her prayer. The high tide carried the little ark far inland into a neighbouring island and deposited it in a shady grove. The wind piled up an embankment of sand between it and the sea and the shady grove and the mild climate of the island gave the little ark a cosy harbour. By this time the infant was getting hungry. He started crying lustily for food. A Roe in search of her lost fawn heard the cry. The joints and nails of the ark had already been loosened by the action of water and wind; the struggle of the baby inside and the hoof of the Roe outside did the rest. The Roe suckled the baby and mothered it as long as she lived.

Haiy grew up and followed his mother wherever she went. Happily there were no wild beasts in the island. He learnt to imitate the voices of the animals he lived with and he began to take careful note of things. He was especially impressed by the difference between other animals and himself. The young roes, for instance, had developed horns on their heads and they were so very fleet-footed. In the struggle for food and drink he generally had the worst of the argument.

After he was seven he had the feeling of his nakedness. He covered himself first with leaves and then, when these began to wither and fall, with the skin of a dead eagle. He also armed himself with the young branches of trees, stones and pointed flints and began to attack the wild beasts which opposed him. They were terrified of him and he felt himself their master. Only his mother Roe never separated from him nor he from her. But by this time she had grown old and infirm and not long afterwards she died. Haiy was stricken with grief. He used every means he knew to coax her to answer his calls. He could not understand what had happened to her, for to all outward appearance, there was nothing the matter with her body. It appeared to him that his real mother was not that body but something that had inhabited it and had gone away. But in which part of the body did that something reside when it was there? His curiosity urged him to investigate. He thought of probing the Roe's heart for was it not always working in a living being and was it not also in the midmost hollow cavity of the body?

Haiy now dissected the Roe's heart with a pointed flint and discovered that the right side was full of clotted blood while the left was quite empty. Why? He inferred that that must be the receptacle of what he was looking

for. That cavity was not made in vain. The being that lived in it was the source of the body's sense and motion, and *that Being—that something*—was his Mother, the Roe, and not the carcass that he was dissecting. The Body then was not that Being.

What was that Being? How did it subsist? What joined it to the Body? Where had it gone to and by what passage did it go out of the Body? Why did it depart? Was it forced to leave its mansion or did it go away of itself? What made the Body disagreeable to it? These questions troubled Ḥaiy.

In the meantime the carcass putrified. Ḥaiy felt great aversion to it. He did not want to see it. He saw two ravens fighting. One was killed. The other buried it.* Ḥaiy reflected. How well had that raven done in burying the body of his companion though he did ill in killing him? How much greater reason was there for Ḥaiy to perform that office to his mother?

In his mind he compared the dead mother with the living roes to see what *actuated* them. He similarly compared himself with them and with other animals. He seemed to himself to be different from all of them.

About this time he made the accidental discovery of Fire by friction among rushes. He was surprised and felt afraid, but he also was most anxious to understand it. He could not get hold of it. He therefore caught a brand, carried it home and fed it. He was delighted at night. He observed that fire consumed everything it touched and changed it into its own nature. It also tended to ascend upward and appeared to have affinity with the celestial orbs of the night. He threw some fish into the fire. The smell whetted his appetite. He ate it and liked the taste. This experience turned him into a flesh-eater and he took to hunting.

His reflection on the nature of Fire revealed to him that (i) it had beneficial effects and (ii) also extraordinary power. He inferred that the Being he was in search of was Fire or something like it. He also observed that living animals were warm and that dead animals were cold and that in living animals the warmth was greatest near the heart.

One day he vivisected a living animal. He opened the left ventricle of the heart, and discovered great heat and some moist and misty vapour in it. It escaped and the animal died. He dissected other animals too and came to understand their anatomy. One fact impressed him most. Every particular animal, though it had a great many limbs and a variety of senses and motions, was yet *one* in respect of the Spirit whose original was from one firm mansion, the heart, from where its influence was diffused among all members. Though the body is one yet the Spirit makes different uses of its organs. This one Animal Spirit makes use of the eye to see, of the ear to hear, of a limb to move and so forth. These organs are connected with Spirit by nerves. Death occurred if and when the Spirit departed from the body.

*Qur'ān: V-31. The story of Cain and Abel.

He was now 21 years old. He had secured a great control over his environment. Many contrivances had been made by him. He had made clothes of skin and fur, a house with a swallow's nest for model, spears of canes and horns, shields of hides, etc. He had tamed poultry, hawks, horses, asses, etc. His artificial weapons had provided him with what Nature had not given him.

He studied animals, plants, minerals, stones, hail, smoke, hoar, flames, heat, etc. He studied their properties and qualities and found that their motions and qualities *agreed* in some respects and *differed* in others. In their agreement they were *one*; in their differences *many*. His own bodily organs were similarly different and yet one (in their essence and spirit).

Thus he realised the *oneness* of species and individuals, and the *oneness* of different species. The multiplicity of an individual in one species turned out to be like the multiplicity of organs in one person. This led him to the thought that there was one and the same animal spirit for all living creatures whatsoever. *All life was one*. Consider the similarity of plants. All plants are one in their nourishment and growth. Similarly all plants and animals are one in respect of the same attributes.

He had carefully observed stones, earth, air and flames. Are they not all similar in length, breadth, and thickness? Are they not all one in spite of their differences as hot and cold? Animals and plants similarly agreed with them in their body. All possessed length, breadth and thickness. *All Body was therefore one. Similarly all Nature was one.*

Every body has motion which is either upward or downward. Light objects move upward, while heavy ones tend downward. Do these qualities of gravity and levity belong to body as such? No (he said) for the essence of body is corporeality, and corporeality was (as he had already discovered) nothing but length, breadth and thickness. These two qualities of lightness and heaviness are only superadded to it.

His thought now busied itself with the notion of the Forms of the bodies according to their difference. These forms are apprehended by intellectual speculation. The results he obtained were:—

Animal Spirit is equal to corporeality *plus* the Sensitive Soul.

Plant Spirit is equal to corporeality *plus* the Vegetative Soul.

In the meantime he had begun to feel antipathy towards corporeality. He desired to pursue that which distinguished him from the lower kinds and not that which united him to them. He wanted (for this purpose) to get a true notion of the *form* of some one thing whose essence was (in his view) the most simple and uncompounded, e.g., water, fire, air, and earth. All four participated in corporeality. He had already discovered that extension was the essence of corporeality. This quality belonged to body as body. But every body had also some quality superadded to its extension. For instance, clay had its various forms. Corporeality was only 'the first matter' on which the 'forms' were gradually superimposed.

He next considered water and its forms. When the Sun acted on water its two qualities, sensible cold and the tendency to move downward, are both lost. The Sun produced the change. Ḥaiy concluded that everything that was produced anew, had a producer, *i.e.*, had some *efficient cause*.

The fitness of body for one motion rather than another was, in his view, its disposition and form. Those actions, however, which arose from the forms, were not in reality owing to them, but rather to the Efficient Cause, who made use of these forms to produce those actions which are attributed to them. As the Qur'ān says "You did not kill them but God killed them: when thou threwest the darts, it was not thou that threwest them but God."* So also the Ḥadīth: "I am his hearing by which he hears and his seeing by which he sees."

But who is this Efficient Cause? Is he one or many? Ḥaiy was not clear in his mind just yet. He could not get much help from the study of the sensible world. All bodies, even water, air and fire, were subject to corruption. Hence they could not be 'efficient causes.' He, therefore, turned to the contemplation of the Heavenly Bodies. They were bodies to be sure because they possessed three dimensions, but were they finite or infinite? He worked hard over the problem. The notion of *infinite body*, however, appeared to him *absurd* and for the following reason:—

He fixed his gaze upon a star and in imagination drew two lines from it, both 'infinitely extended' on the side away from him, but only one 'infinitely extended' on the side nearest him. From this it seemed to follow what to him appeared quite self-contradictory, *viz.*, that an 'infinitely extended' line with a part lopped off at one end could be *equal to* another 'infinitely extended' line with no part lopped off at any end; or (in other words) that a *part* of an infinitely extended line could be equal to the *whole* of that line. Now what applied to the star was equally true of the whole corporeal world. The notion of an 'infinite body' involved self-contradiction.

What was the figure of the Body of Heaven? 'Spherical, no doubt' was his answer because when the sun, moon and stars moved, they performed semicircles and their bigness as observed by him remained the same. This proved that they were at an equal distance from the observer at all times.

The whole orb of Heaven then was 'one compact thing' 'one Animal.' The luminaries are its senses, the compact spheres its limbs, the sub-lunary world its belly (with excrements and humours therein), etc.

Had this Universe existed from *eternity*? Or did it exist in *time* and was *created*? Many arguments on both sides occurred to him.

If the world was created (at a certain time) there were these difficulties to solve: Why was it created at a special time and not before? What happened to the Creator after he had created it? Again,

* Qur'ān, VIII-17, also 7-16.

was not time inseparable from the world?

On the contrary, if the world existed from eternity the difficulty which faced him was that the notion of *infinite existence* was as *incorrect* as that of *infinite extension*. His argument was: 'Any substance that was not void of qualities produced anew, but always indued with them, must itself be produced anew, because it cannot be said to be before them; and that which cannot exist before qualities newly produced, must needs itself be newly produced.'

He worked out the consequences of these two hypotheses. Suppose that the world was created in time. It followed from this hypothesis that it could not exist of itself. Some agent was necessary to produce it. But he cannot be apprehended by Sense for Sense perceives only body which is a part of the world and hence is created, whereas the Agent is the Creator and not the created. Hence he must be incorporeal and unextended. And since he is the Creator of the Universe, He also knows it and commands it.

If, however, the world exists in eternity, its motion must also be eternal. But all motion, necessitates a Mover. Body, however, is finite. The power in it must also be finite. Hence the power which produced the infinite effect (i.e., the supposedly infinite universe) could not be body.

Both arguments led Haiy to postulate the existence of a being who was not body, nor joined to body, nor separated from it, nor within it, nor without it, (because conjunction, separation, being within body or without it are all properties of body). Other existents cannot continue without His continuing, nor exist without His existing, nor be eternal without His being eternal. But He is efficiently free and independent of them. "His command is, when He would have anything done, Be, and it is."¹

Close inspection of animals, small and big, and the delicate and perfect adjustment of their organs, gave him a clue to the various attributes of Perfection. He felt that the cause must have more of those attributes than His handiwork. His the Beauty, the Being, the Absoluteness, the Glory, the Power and the Knowledge. 'He is He, and besides Him all things are subject to perishing.'² In everything Haiy saw His sign.

Haiy was now 35.

His next problem was; What faculty had given him knowledge of that Being? It could not be the Senses, for Sense only perceived Body. He must, therefore, have apprehended Him through his Essence. That which could apprehend the incorporeal could not itself be corporeal. This Essence of his, not being body, could not be subject to corruption and dissolution. It was, therefore, worth considering what would be its condition after the dissolution and corruption of body.

Haiy noted in this connection that all apprehensive faculties (e.g., seeing, hearing, etc.) sometimes apprehend *potentially* (e.g., when the object of

1. Qur'ān, II-117.

2. *Ibid*: LIX-22-24.,

sight is not present), and sometimes *actually* (e.g., when the object is present). Now, not to be able to apprehend something after having had experience of it is a source of anguish. This anguish is great when the object is the Supreme Object of all Perfection, the Necessarily Self-existent Being.

Now as regards the problem noted above (*viz.*, the condition of the Essence after the dissolution of body) there were three possibilities.

(i) One who never applied his Essence during life to the apprehension of the Necessarily Self-existent Being is reduced to naught by Death which puts an end to all corporeal faculties.

(ii) If one did converse with that Being but then became a slave of his vicious inclinations, Death shall deprive him of that Vision and leave him in torment.

(iii) But if one occupied his Essence during life in the contemplation of that Vision, then Death would surely keep him in that state of ineffable happiness.

Ḥaiy wanted to discover how he could keep himself continuously in that blessed state. But he found that he could not do so for any length of time without being distracted by his environment. What was he to do? Could he get any clue from animals? No, for they were wholly occupied with eating, drinking, etc.

Could the Celestial Bodies give him guidance? Obviously they, though corporeal, possessed incorruptible and incorporeal Essences. Ḥaiy knew that he was their inferior in every way, and yet he had his Essence, *a fortiori* they, with their regular circular motions and freedom from the constraint of sublunary Nature, possessed both understanding and incorporeal Essences. They surely were blessed with the Vision, he believed.

Ḥaiy had already realised that though he was an animal (but endowed with a spirit of equal temperature like the Heavenly Bodies) he was yet a species apart from other animals, created for another purpose and designed for something greater. His noble part, his Essence, *viz.*, that by which he had attained to the knowledge of the Necessarily Self-existent Being, was something divine—*Known only by itself*—and at once the knower, the knowledge and the thing known, the faculty and the object.

And since in his body he was in a measure like unto the Heavenly Bodies, he felt it was his duty to imitate their actions. Further, since his Essence was (somehow) like unto the Necessarily Self-existent Being (for only through it he had come to know of Him) it was his duty to try to imitate His attributes* and to surrender himself wholly unto him.

Thus he felt himself obliged to perform three sorts of actions, namely,

(i) those which he shared with animals (through his gross body);

(ii) those which he shared with the Heavenly Bodies (through his Animal Spirit), and

* Ref. to the *Ḥadīth*: 'Create in yourself the attributes of God.'

(iii) those which he shared with the Necessarily Self-existent Being (through his Essence).

But he knew that his happiness and freedom from anguish depended on the performance of the third type of actions. All three kinds of action, however, were necessary. The first was to prepare the way for the second, the second for the third and the third was to help him *drop* his own Essence for the one Essence, *viz.*, that of the True, Powerful and Necessarily Self-existent Being (God). He, therefore, regulated his daily life in accordance with this ideal.

He felt the necessity of extreme moderation and abstention in the daily routine of his life. He allowed himself only as much food and drink as just sufficed to enable him to work for the second kind of actions (Second Conformity). Of herbs, fruits and flesh he would eat that in the partaking of which there was the least opposition to the work of the Creator. He ate fruit but spared the seeds, ate herbs but spared the roots, and, if unavoidable, he ate eggs and flesh but only of those animals whose species was not in danger of dying out.

To accomplish his Second Conformity, he observed that the Celestial Bodies had three operations which he had to imitate to the best of his ability.

(1) They imparted heat, cold, illumination, etc., to inferior bodies.

(2) They had circular motion, purity, light, and complete freedom from grossness.

(3) They contemplated the Vision of the Perfect Being perpetually.

In his imitation of the Celestial Bodies, therefore, he (i) made perfection (smooth functioning) possible for inanimate as well as animate objects in his island by tending and protecting each with paternal care ;

(ii) he kept himself scrupulously clean with frequent baths, and paring of nails, use of perfumed herbs and so forth ; (طهارة).

(iii) and he made it a habit to run round (طواف) some stone or his own house or his island to perfect the circular motion.

In order to accomplish his Third Conformity he tried to confine his thoughts to the contemplation of God, the Necessarily Self-existent Being. He shut his eyes and ears to avoid sense distractions. Sometimes he would turn himself violently round and round to stop his sense and imagination from working. After continuous and hard application to such exercises, he did succeed in beholding the Being of Infinite Perfection.

During this period of his life, however, there was a continuous struggle between his essence and his corporeal faculties.

His Vision of God led him to ponder over His attributes. He found them to be of two kinds :

(i) *positive*, e.g., knowledge, power, wisdom, etc. ; and

(ii) *negative*, e.g., immortality, incorporeality and complete absence of multiplicity, etc. The absence of multiplicity implied that the Divine Essence is not multiplied by the affirmative attributes.

Hence His Essence was (also) the knowledge of His Essence. Hence the knowledge of his (Ḥaiy's) own Essence was also his Essence. *Essence and Its knowledge were one.*

As the chief negative attribute of the Divine Essence was Its incorporeality, Ḥaiy began to shed all association with the world of Sense and Imagination, i.e., with the external world of stones, plants, animals, etc. Even circular motion was corporeal. Hence Ḥaiy retired to the bottom of his cave to concentrate his attention on the contemplation of God. His own being, however, still distracted his vision. He wanted to shed it and he succeeded in doing so. Then he saw the One True Being. All else vanished from view. He heard the voice of that Being; "To whom now belongs the Kingdom? To this One, Almighty God." 'Ḥaiy witnessed that which neither eye hath seen nor ear heard; nor hath it ever entered the heart of man to conceive.'

The 'heart of man' cannot conceive It just as we cannot 'taste colours' or 'hear smells'; but figuratively and in parable form the following may be said of the Vision.

In beholding the One, Living and Permanent Being, Ḥaiy 'saw what he saw.' He was in a state like unto drunkenness. When he returned to himself he realised that his own Essence was not different from the Divine Essence and that there was nothing in him but that True Essence. That Essence was like the light of the Sun which illumines the object in which it shines. He thought: he that has the knowledge of the True Essence, has the Essence itself. I have that knowledge. Ergo, I have that Essence and also I am that Essence.

He further realised that the notions of One and Many, Unity and Multiplicity, Union and Separation, were really properties of bodies and, therefore, not properly to be applied to the Essence. Even in the world of matter, what looks multiple from one point of view, is discovered to be one from another. A *fortiori* the Divine World cannot be thus described. The language of Sense and the language of Understanding (which also in the last resort rests for its significance on sense-experience) are both inappropriate.

He saw in the Highest Sphere (i.e., in the nearest approach to God) a 'being' which was neither the Sphere nor 'the One True One'; it was like them both and also different from both, just as the Sun in the looking-glass is neither Sun nor looking-glass. This 'being' was in the utmost perfection of exultation and joy, because it beheld that True Essence.

Next lower Ḥaiy beheld the Sphere of the Fixed Stars. Its Essence was also immaterial, like and also unlike the Essences of the Highest Sphere and of the True One, even as is the image of the Sun in a mirror which reflects it from another mirror. Similarly in all the Spheres of the downward gradation Ḥaiy beheld distinct, immaterial Essences, none of which was like any of these which preceded it nor yet different from them. It was like the image of the Sun reflected from mirror to mirror according to the order of the Spheres. In each was Beauty and Joy 'which the eye

hath not seen, nor the ear heard, nor has it entered the heart of man to conceive.'

Last he beheld the Sublunar World of generation and corruption. It also had an immaterial Essence, but it had seventy thousand faces, each face had seventy thousand mouths, and each mouth had seventy thousand tongues with which it praised and glorified the Essence of the One True Being. It was like the image of the Sun in fluctuating water reflected from the last mirror in order of declension from the First one.

Haïy perceived that he himself had a separate Essence. It was (in some indescribable way) distinct from that of the Sublunar World and yet part of it; one with it and yet distinct from it, for it was created in time; and it was created because it was joined to body as soon as it was, and yet it was not created. He saw other Essences also like his own. And in every one of these Essences he saw the same ineffable Beauty and Joy which only those can understand who have experienced them.

Next he saw a great many immaterial Essences which resembled rusty looking-glasses. They were filthy and their faces were averted from those polished mirrors which had the image of the Sun in them. They were also 'afflicted with infinite torments and scorched with the fiery veil of Separation.'

And then suddenly the Vision left him. He realised that the same (mental) state could not embrace both this world and the next. 'They are like two wives belonging to the same husband; if you please one you displease the other.'

It is to be noted (warns Ibn Tufail) that the Sun, its images on looking-glasses, etc., are all corporeal ways of looking at the matter and are therefore, at best, only figurative descriptions. The Essences do not need bodies: it is Body which needs them, for the Sensible follows the Divine World even as the shadow follows the body. The Essences depend ultimately on the one Necessarily Self-existent Being. '*No God but He.*'

Haïy's forced return to the life of Sense and Body was very unpleasant to him. Continued effort, however, not only raised him again to the stage of the Vision but also enabled him to stay therein for long periods. He longed to be completely free of the body so that he could for ever remain in that exalted state.

By now he was fifty. At this time he met Asāl, a visitor from a neighbouring island.

Asāl and Salamān were two friends who lived in a neighbouring island. Salamān was ruler. They were very particular (like many other people in the island) in the performance of their religious duties. But they differed greatly in their temperaments and outlook. Asāl was fond of trying to discover the mystical meaning of their Scripture. Salamān was content with the literal significance.

Their Book ordained both the duties of social intercourse and contemplation and retirement as means to Happiness and Salvation. Salamān was absorbed in the former exclusively, while Asāl hungered exclusively

for the latter. Accordingly, he left his native island for Ḥaiy's, (which he believed to be uninhabited) to live therein the solitary life of contemplation.

Ḥaiy and Asāl met each other accidentally. Asāl was afraid of the apparition for he did not expect any human being in the island. Ḥaiy himself was puzzled by Asāl's dress. Was it a part of the body or what? Asāl ran away in fear and when he was sure he was safe buried himself in prayer. Ḥaiy overtook him when he was thus occupied. Gradually the truth dawned upon his mind: this was a being like unto himself; one of those Essences which had the knowledge of the True One. But why did he 'weep and supplicate' (this was Asāl's condition in prayer)?

Asāl tried all the languages he knew on Ḥaiy. Ḥaiy was puzzled. Each stood wondering at the other. Gradually Asāl taught him language. Ḥaiy told him his story and why and how he had attained to the state (union with God) he was in. Asāl realised that Ḥaiy's experiences corresponded closely with the truths contained in the Qur'ān. He considered him a *Wali Allah* and desired to imitate him as a disciple.

At Ḥaiy's request he told him of his own state and of the manner of life of the people he came from. When he told him of the Law (the Qur'ān) and of the World Divine, Paradise, Hell, the Resurrection, the Balance and the Way and the Judgment, Ḥaiy understood everything for he had seen those truths in his Vision. He concluded that the Man who had brought the Law was from God and he at once 'bore witness unto him.'

Asāl told Ḥaiy of the precepts of the Messenger, viz., prayer, alms, fasting and pilgrimage. Ḥaiy appreciated these commandments, but he could not understand why the Messenger had (i) explained the Truth in similitude (which led to false notions about God in people's minds); and had (ii) permitted indulgence in worldly affairs which distracted attention from the One True Being.

He had no idea yet of the 'stupidity and animality' of ordinary men and expected every man to be as earnest in the pursuit of Truth as he himself was. He therefore felt it his duty to go to the people in Asāl's island to wean them from their evil ways and to reveal the Truth to them. Asāl agreed. Luckily a ship passed that way and carried the two to that island. Asāl introduced Ḥaiy to his people and they revered him.

Salamān, the king of the island, was the first person whom Ḥaiy wanted to teach the Truth. But it was beyond Salamān's ken and ways. The people did not or could not understand his mysterious doctrines and began to shun him. Ḥaiy began to realise that he could not do much good over there. The people did want Goodness and Truth but their way of seeking them was not Ḥaiy's way. And there were also some people who simply did not want either goodness or truth. *God had sealed the hearts of such people,** and dire punishment in the Hereafter was their doom.

* Qur'ān, II-6.

As regards the others, however, it was obvious to Haiy that the best thing for them was to learn the Law (*Shari'a*) and to observe the decencies of social life enjoined therein.

He now understood that abstruse speculation such as he had indulged in was not for every man and that the Messenger of God had done the only right and wise thing in giving mankind the instructions he had actually given, for every man was best capable of doing only that unto which he had been appointed by Nature. Hence Haiy apologised to Salamān and the other people whom he had tried to initiate into his way. He only exhorted them to live within the bounds of the Law, to resist innovations, to follow the example of their pious ancestors, to be zealous in the performance of their religious duties and above all not to allow their love of the world to get the better of their duty to their Hereafter. Thus they were to secure a place on the Right Hand on the Day of Judgment.

After this Asāl and Haiy retired to their solitary island for meditation and prayer. They reached their goal 'Union with the One.'

Here ends the story of Haiy ibn Yaqzān.

The author next declares that in telling the story he had (in a way) revealed the Secret which the pious ancestors had guarded closely from the gaze of the vulgar and the ignorant, but that he had done so to protect the seekers after Truth from the false notions of certain self-styled philosophers. He had, however, kept a thin Veil on the Secret and he knew that only the Good would succeed in penetrating it.

PHILOSOPHICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ALLEGORY

I

Let us now turn to a brief consideration of the philosophical significance of Ibn-Ṭufail's allegory.

It is obvious to begin with that it represents the philosophical views of its author and that his views are, in large measure, also the views, more or less articulate, not only of other Muslim philosophers of the age, both in the East and the West (Morocco and Spain) but also of the philosophically-enlightened public of the time. In broad outline these views are as follows :—

1. Islam is the truly revealed religion and the Qur'ān is the revealed Book. Its language admits of both exoteric and esoteric significance. The populace should accept and should only be taught the former, but the elect, the saints and the philosophers should try to understand the latter. The *fiqih* commands which form the basis and body of the Law (*Shari'a*) are, however, binding on all.

2. God's greatest gift to man is Reason which is also one of his noblest attributes. Under the influence of Ibn Sina, al-Ghazālī, Ibn Bājja (Avempace) and above all of Sheikh Shihābuddīn Suhrawardī Maqtūl

(d. 1182 A.D.), Reason came to be understood more and more as Illumination or Light (نور). The classic exposition by al-Ghazālī in his *Mishkat al-Anwār* of the oft-quoted verses (XXIV—35, 36, 40) of the Qur'ān had set the seal of his genius on this way of interpreting the Divine Essence and Man's relation to it.

"Allah is the Light of the Heavens and the earth. The similitude of His light is as a niche wherein is a lamp. The lamp is in a glass. The glass is as it were, a shining star. (This lamp is) kindled from a blessed tree, an olive neither of the East nor of the West, whose oil would almost glow forth (of itself) though no fire touched it. Light upon light. Allah guideth into His light whom He will. And Allah speaketh to mankind in allegories, for Allah is Knower of all things." *

These verses are of the greatest importance to a correct understanding of ṣufistic thought in general and of the Philosophy of Illumination in particular.

3. Ibn Ṭufail admits in his Introduction that he had profited a great deal from the writings of Ibn Sina and al-Ghazālī, though in the latter case he confessed his failure to discover the saint-philosopher's real teaching, for he spoke in many tongues and to many audiences and to each he spoke according to the measure of its intelligence. But what is very strange is that he does not mention the philosopher of Illumination *par excellence* Shaikh Shihābu'ddin Maqtūl, the young Ṣufī who calmly accepted a martyr's death in defence of his views. The Shaikh was killed (in Aleppo?) in 1182 (578 A.H.) at 36 by order of the great Sultān Ṣalāḥ-u'ddin who acted, it is said, at the instigation of some theological bigots. Ibn Ṭufail outlived him by three years, and though there was the entire expanse of the Mediterranean between the two philosophers, news, especially cultural news, travelled fast in those days, and it is therefore difficult to believe that our philosopher was unaware of and uninfluenced by the great systematic exponent of the philosophy of Illumination. The likelihood is that there was mutual influence and that he did imbibe at least some of the Shaikh's teachings but that he had not thought it expedient, in view of the peculiar conditions of orthodoxy in his own country, to acknowledge his debt to him in so many words. He, therefore, only refers to Ibn Sina's description of the Illuminative Vision as 'the Light which plays at first only fitfully in the seeker's heart and later on becomes a steady illumination.'

4. Only in two respects need this influence or similarity be traced here.

(a) One of the most original contributions of the Shaikh to logical theory is his devastating criticism of Aristotle's doctrine of Definition as summed up in the formula of 'Genus *plus* Differentia.' The differentia is the distinctive attribute of the class defined. Now this distinctive attribute (argues the Shaikh), being peculiar to the class defined, cannot be predicated of any other class. How then can I know

* Pickthall; *Meaning of the Glorious Qur'ān*, XXIV-35.

it? I can only know it by direct apprehension of it, i.e., by actual experience of it in some particular member of that class. In other words, just as an individual is known only by actual experience of or contact with him, similarly a class can be known only by direct apprehension, i.e., by actual experience of and direct contact with its members. What purpose then does a definition, according to the Aristotelian scheme, serve? It is useless, concludes the Shaikh. Now Ibn Ṭufail (like all sufis) repeatedly tells us that the state of mystic 'Union with God,' i.e., the Vision of the Necessarily Self-existent One is ineffable and indescribable. Haiy (in Quranic language) 'saw what he saw' and what he saw was 'something that the eye hath not seen nor the ear heard nor hath it ever entered the heart of man to conceive.' In other words, there can be no definitive knowledge of the Divine Essence.

(b) Consider now Ibn Ṭufail's doctrine that 'Essence and its knowledge are one' or that 'vision of the Essence is itself Essence' and compare it with the Shaikh's doctrine of the *Nur-ul-Qahir*, 'the Primal Absolute Light' which is the ultimate principle of all existence. The essential nature of this Primal Light is perpetual illumination and manifestation. It does not stand in need of anything else to illuminate it; in other words, no definition of it is either possible or necessary. 'Perpetual illumination' is not an attribute added to Light for then the absurd consequence would follow that Light needs something else to illumine it. Hence Essence and its knowledge are one.

5. In one respect, however, we can note a difference between the Light-cosmology of Ibn Ṭufail and that of the Shaikh. The former has not yet shaken himself free of the neoplatonic spheres which mark the order of declension of the emanations from the Primal One. The Primal One is compared by him, in figurative language, with the Sun and the Essence of each sphere is represented as the image of the Sun on a looking-glass such that whereas the sphere nearest the Primal One receives the image directly, the others (in order of declension) do so from the image in the looking-glass immediately preceding theirs. The number of those sphere-essences (or Intellects, as they were called) is fixed for neoplatonic philosophers and so are the categories of thought enumerated by Aristotle. The Shaikh rejects both these views completely. According to him, the number of illuminations which proceed from the Primal Light is infinite. Each illumination begets another and serves as a medium (or angle) through which "the infinite varieties of being receive light and sustenance from the Primal Light."¹ "The Universe to him is one great process of active illumination, but..... this illumination is only a partial expression of the infinitude of Primal Light which may illuminate according to other laws not known to us. The categories of thought are infinite: our intellect works with a few only."²

1. Iqbal: *Metaphysics of Persia*, p. 129.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

6. Ibn Rushd (Ibn Ṭufail's younger contemporary) accuses al-Ghazālī of having brought philosophy within the reach of the common man. This accusation marks an important difference between the view-points of the 'Eastern' and 'Western' philosophers on the problem of the relation of philosophy with the religious life of the ordinary Muslim. The Western philosophers were emphatic on keeping philosophy away from the purview of the layman for in his case it surely did more harm than good. Every man was not fit (so they held) for abstruse philosophical speculation and the layman who dabbled in it was more likely to jeopardise his salvation than attain it. Ḥaiy's experience of the secular life of the people in Asāl's island ; his realisation of the futility of all attempts to enlighten them in the philosophy of Illumination ; his consequent realisation of the necessity and wisdom of the Prophet's permission to mankind to lead the secular life with injunctions in regard to its proper conduct and of the Prophet's use of similitudes in describing the ineffable life of the Hereafter ; and lastly Ḥaiy's return (with Asāl) to his own lonely island for the solitary life of contemplation symbolise the distance (if not the breach) between the thoughts and feelings of the saints and the sinners, of the enlightened and the unenlightened and of the philosophical *élite* and the secular-minded laity. In making Ḥaiy exhort the people of Asāl's island to eschew abstruse speculation, to live within the bounds of the Law, to resist innovations, to be zealous in the performance of their religious duties and to curb their love of the world lest it get the better of their duty to their Hereafter, Ibn Ṭufail is only voicing the views of his philosophical fraternity in regard to the practicability of ensuring a sort of second-rate salvation for the unilluminated generality of mankind.

II

It may be accepted in a general way that the central theme of the allegory is the belief, shared by Ibn Ṭufail with other philosophers of Illumination, that the philosopher could by natural endowment and self-abnegation receive illumination from above ; and that step by step, working his way up from logical argument and abstruse speculation, he could rise to mystic unity. And certainly this is what the allegory makes Ḥaiy do. The three stages of spiritual evolution for Ḥaiy turn out to be: (1) observation of external Nature, (2) rational thought growing gradually at each stage more and more independent of the feelings and images of sense and imagination until in the later stages of philosophical speculation it becomes independent even of the abstruse symbolism of pure reason, and (3) the Ecstasy of mystic union in which the soul experiences what 'the eye has never seen, the ear never heard and the heart of man never conceived.'

Ḥaiy is the saint-philosopher *par excellence* and we may take it that he is either Ibn Ṭufail himself or his ideal. In a similar way, Salamān is the

man of traditional beliefs or the man content with the external ritual of his religion and wholly immersed in the performance of his secular duties. Asāl is the speculative theologian who interprets the similitudes of the Qur'ān in a spiritual sense.

Ḥaiy and Asāl thus represent the esoteric and exoteric aspects of the religious life and Ibn Ṭufail gives us a hint of their relative importance in his mind when Asāl acknowledges Ḥaiy as a *Wali Allah* and avows to himself the desire to be his disciple. Speculative reason must lead to Ecstasy (so he appears to believe) or else remain a failure and untrue to itself. Asāl understands the spiritual significance of the ritual of Islam only in the light of Ḥaiy's vision. Ḥaiy had seen what Asāl had only accepted on hearsay and authority. Ḥaiy's *ain-al-yaqīn* ('sure vision') is superior to Asāl's *'ilm-al-yaqīn* ('sure knowledge'), and many a sufi of today would avow a similar belief. Ḥaiy's Illumination with its discoveries coincides with Asāl's religion. When the latter tells him of Paradise and Hell, of the Day of Judgment and the Balance and the Way, Ḥaiy understands for he had seen those truths in his vision. Asāl's eyes, in short, open through the light of Ḥaiy's Illumination.

It appears that we must distinguish between philosophy and the mystic or Illuminative philosophy professed by Ibn Ṭufail. The aim of this latter philosophy is to attain to 'union with God,' a state of spiritual bliss and clear vision in which truth is apprehended by a direct intuition and not by the slow and laborious process of discursive argument. But this slow and laborious process does precede Illumination and to this extent it is philosophy. In this respect, Ibn Ṭufail differs from the professed Sufi-mystic for whom the only unavoidable preparation for the Illumination of mystic union is purity of life and prayer. Ibn Ṭufail is thus true to the philosophic tradition he had inherited from his predecessors. Philosophy was not for them an intellectual pastime of the élite nor was it merely an attempt at a scientific construction of the Truth exhibited in "the starry heavens above and the moral law within," i.e., in the Universe of Matter and Spirit. Philosophy was for many of them a code of life meant to reveal the essence or spirit of the religious life; it was, in short, an attempt to discover the esoteric aspect corresponding to but not supplanting the exoteric side of religion.

Three hypothesis have been put forward as to the central theme of the allegory. These are :—

(1) It expresses Ibn Ṭufail's view of the relation between Religion and Philosophy, the view, namely, that Philosophy is one with Religion properly understood.

(2) It expresses Ibn Ṭufail's view of the relation between the philosophical reflexion and intuition of the individual—the gifted individual, we should say—and the traditional belief of the multitude.

(3) It is meant to state Ibn Ṭufail's belief that man may attain to supreme salvation by the inner light alone, i.e., without the aid of prophetic revelation, or that "one may by the mere light of nature attain to knowledge

of things natural and supernatural: more particularly the knowledge of God and of the nature of the life and things necessary for salvation, without instruction."

Each one of these views can find support in the allegory, nor is it at all necessary or justifiable to consider them as mutually exclusive. The view that Philosophy is one with Religion properly understood, is almost as old as the Mu'tazalites. It was also the view of most philosophers of the Aristotelian and neoplatonic tradition in the world of Islam and was stated and defended as such, for instance, by Ibn Rushd, Ibn Tufail's younger contemporary. But it cannot be called the central theme of the allegory. The allegory is far too detailed and far too original to be explained and appreciated in terms of this hypothesis. It could have been at the most only a secondary consideration in Ibn Tufail's mind.

A much more adequate conception of the purpose of the allegory is obtained in the light of the second and third hypotheses both of which revolve round the terms 'light of nature,' 'the inner light,' and intuition. These terms mean more or less the same thing and signify the same faculty which man possesses in contrast with the animal creation. It is worth inquiring, however, what these terms exactly signify.

There are, so inductive logicians tell us, three sources of knowledge of the external world for the common man. These are (1) personal observation, (2) experimentation, i.e., manipulation of external nature in the interests of one's own purpose and curiosity, and (3) testimony, i.e., the results of the observation of others which the common man receives on trust and which form the bulk of his knowledge. (4) But the 'common man' who is born in the midst of society inherits in addition certain beliefs and certain fundamental truths of 'thought, feeling and action' which are not the results of any common man's personal observation. These truths were discovered from time to time by certain gifted individuals—certain 'uncommon men'—and even in their case it is truer to say that the truths 'dawned' on their minds rather than that they were 'discovered' by them. These 'uncommon men' should, therefore, be regarded as a distinct class in so far as the sources of human knowledge are concerned, and the sort of knowledge which the uncommon man receives from them is generally summed up in the concept 'a priori.' (5) But there is a class of gifted people (uncommon men) even more uncommon than those referred to above, for whereas the latter receives truths which form the ultimate basis and justification of our knowledge of the world of phenomena and of all rational constructions of which man is capable the former receive and then impart truths which concern *the whole man and his relation to all that is Real*. These uncommonly uncommon men are so very distinct from the rest of mankind that they have received a special name as a class: they are the *prophets* and the way they receive their specific variety of Truth is called *revelation*.

Now Haiy had (apart from extraordinary natural endowment) only his own personal observation and experimentation as his sources of knowledge

of the external world. His lonely island denied him access to that vast store of information (Testimony) which forms the bulk of an individual's knowledge. He was not a prophet either ; hence revealed knowledge was not his. But he was an uncommon man, a gifted individual, richly endowed with the capacity to discover or receive those fundamental truths of thought, feeling and action, which we have called *a priori*. If the capacity to discover or receive these *a priori* truths be called 'intuition'—or 'the inner light of nature' or 'the light divine' or *Dhauq* (ذوق) in the language of the philosophers of Illumination—then the sources and the basis of Haiy's knowledge of the Here and Hereafter were 'personal observation and experimentation' and intuition (ذوق) ; or the world of nature outside and the light Divine within. Incidentally, the allegory also tells us of the heights to which, in Ibn Tufail's estimation, the individual human reason, fortified by the inner light, can soar in unravelling the mysteries of the Universes of the Here and Hereafter. And the central theme of the allegory is, in the opinion of the present writer, a graphic and concrete study of the interaction and relative importance of the *a priori* and *a posteriori* factors in human experience and knowledge. There is reason to believe that it was in some such light that it was understood by Spinoza and Leibnitz, the two great exponents of the school of 'innate ideas' in modern times.

Logicians declare that the principles on which all reasoning ultimately depends cannot themselves be inferred from reasoning and that the truth of those principles cannot be matter for argument. Ultimate truth cannot be proved true: it is its own proof and sanction. Its 'self-evidence' is its sole passport to universal acceptance. But what is the nature of the self-evidence of Ultimate Truth ? For the philosophers of the Illumination it is (in the language of the Qur'ān) light (نور) the 'light divine which encompasses the Heavens and the Earth.' Light needs no other light to make it visible. Its certitude is constituted by its very presence : other things borrow their certitude from it, not it from them. But there are certain things which appear to belong more closely than others to its nature : their texture is the texture of Light and that is why their apprehension is their acceptance. They need no argument or proof to certify them ; their self-evidence is their sole justification and proof. If human spirit and human reason be light then these things may be said to belong to their very nature. Now what things are these ? They are the *a priori* truths or principles which make human experience and knowledge possible and rational. They are not the result of experience ; experience is only their occasional cause and not their efficient cause. Experience enables the intellect to disimplicate them ; it enables the Soul, in short, to see them and to realise that they are part and parcel of its own being and not the impress upon it or gift of some external reality. The history of man's intellectual development is also the history of his discovery of these *a priori* truths. In a similar way, every epoch in the intellectual and spiritual development of Haiy's personality is marked by the discovery of some

such truth. At every stage in the development of the allegory, Ibn Ṭufail makes the reader realise Ḥaiy's dissatisfaction with the merely empirical generalisations of *a posteriori* knowledge (i.e., knowledge dependent merely or entirely on experience) and his unsatiable thirst for knowledge whose sanction and guarantee lie within itself. The innate or the light within him is always in quest of the Primal Light which alone bestows existence, life and reality—light, in short—on all that is. The *a posteriori* is because of the *a priori* and the *a priori* is light. This profound epistemological truth is expressed by Ibn Ṭufail in his great formula: *The Knowledge of Essence is Essence*, or in the language of Illumination: 'the proof of Light is Light.'

Both the inner light of intuition (ذوق) and the Prophet's revelation are non-observational and non-experimental sources of knowledge. The origin of both, for Muslim philosophers, is the same Primal Light which is also Primal Being. In what respect then do they differ? It is a pity that Ibn Ṭufail does not raise this question for Ḥaiy. Perhaps the limits of an allegory did not permit the discussion. Perhaps also the politico-religious conditions of his country made it necessary to avoid a subject which was sure to excite strong feelings in the minds of the public. But we can get a hint of Ibn Ṭufail's views on the subject. Asāl's eyes open through Ḥaiy's Illumination whom he considers a true *Wali Allah* (friend of God) and the right person to accept as his spiritual guide. In other words, the true significance of revelation cannot possibly be understood without the assistance of the man of Illumination, and the inner light of intuition which provides man with the basic principles of all rational knowledge is also the key to the understanding of revelation.

It is to be noted lastly that the allegory was very popular in the middle ages in both Christian and Muslim lands. There were translations in Latin and Hebrew, and in early modern times also in English and Dutch. It won high praise from Leibnitz and there can be no doubt that both he and Spinoza were very greatly influenced by it. Spinoza, whose knowledge of Hebrew philosophy was *ipso facto* also knowledge of Arabian philosophy, was, without doubt, conversant with the Hebrew translation of Ibn Ṭufail's great masterpiece. And any lingering doubt on this score is dispelled by the fact that one Dutch translator of Ḥaiy ibn Yaqzān, viz., Bouwmeester (Amsterdam—1672) was a friend of Spinoza's. Now it is chiefly to the work of Spinoza and Leibnitz that the continental school of Rationalism in particular and European Philosophy in general owes its first acquaintance with the concepts of the psychic which is not conscious, the innate and the *a priori*. And it was in the main these concepts which were ultimately responsible for the collapse of the Empiricism of Locke, Berkeley and Hume. Ibn Ṭufail's Ḥaiy ibn Yaqzān, therefore, is not merely a graphically summarised and allegorical statement of the results achieved till then by scientific research and philosophical speculation in the world of Islam; it also proved to be the herald of a new era in

philosophy in the Europe of the future. In this respect Ibn Ṭufail's position in the history of philosophy is unique.

KHWĀJA 'ABDUL ḤAMĪD.

THE BURIAL PLACE OF SULTĀN MUḤAMMAD B. TUGHLAQ

IN 1935 Professor Muḥammad Shafī' of Oriental College, Lahore undertook a tour of the much-unexplored Province of Sind and discovered the following two inscriptions at the mausoleum of the renowned saint of Sind, Makhdūm Muḥammad 'Uthmān Marwandī popularly known as 'Qalandar Shahbāz,' in the historical town of Sehwan. The inscription giving the date of Sultān Muḥammad's death in Sind, (Saturday night, 21st of Muḥarram, 752 A.H.) reads as follows :

جهان مردم کش است اے دل بباش از جان وفادارش
که جز کین و جفا نآمد ز پیدادی دگر کارش
تو از حال محمد شاه برگیر اعتبار از وے
که چون اورنگ شاهی در ربود این دور غدارش
شهنشا هست این اے خواجه کش بینی بخال اندر
که همچو بندگان بودند شاهاں جهاندارش
اگرچه پیش ازین صد بار دربارش چنان دیدی
کنون چشم خرد بکشا در اینجا بنگر این بارش
جهان بکشاد از مردی و بخشید از جوانمردی
بدهر از کوشش و بخشش فراوان بود کردارش
شد از ماه محرم بیست و یک کاندرشب شنبه
گزشته هفصد و پنجاه دوشد عزم ان دارش

The second one giving the date of the construction of the dome over the Saint's tomb reads as follows :

بعهد دولت فیروز شاه خسرو گیتی
که بزداں بر سریر سلطنت بادا نگهدارش
ران سلطان دین پرور بر آمد اینچنین گنبد
که آمد پیش پای گنبد گردون دوارش

پسال هفصد و پنجاه و چار از هجرت احمد
قبول بنده درگاه او سرست معارش

It is the first inscription that is important : especially the 4th and 5th verses which give the impression that the Sultān was buried there.

Professor Muḥammad Shafī' published these inscriptions for the first time in the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore (Vol. II, No. I, pp. 156-61, Feb. 1935), and raised the issue of Sultān Muḥammad's actual burial place. On the strength of the above elegy, he contested that the Sultān was buried at Sehwan and not at Delhi. This claim was reiterated by him on the occasion of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1937, at Trivandrum (Travancore) and his views and the inscriptions were reproduced in the proceedings of the Conference (pp. 273-77).

Professor Muḥammad Shafī' 's view was endorsed and strongly supported by Dr. U. M. Daudpōtā in his edition of *Ma'sūmī's Tārīkh-i-Sind* (pp. 281-82).¹ According to Mīr Ma'sūmī's account Sultān Muḥammad died near Thattā, in Sind, on 21st of Muḥarram, 752 A.H. (a date agreeing with that given in the inscription). Ferōzeshāh (who was with the Sultān on his expedition against the rebel Taghī, and, who now succeeded him) after defeating the confederation of Taghī and the Soomrās moved from the neighbourhood of Thattā on 1st of Šafar (i.e., after nine days) on his way back to Delhi. He ordered that a day's march should not exceed 5 *krohs* (and hence, even the journey up to Sehwan should have taken him at least 15 days, as the distance between Thattā and Sehwan is not less than 75 *krohs*). He came to Sehwan via modern Našarpūr which was then founded at his orders and where he (seems to have halted for some time) made some administrative appointments. On reaching Sehwan he paid his homage to the 'Holy Place of Ḥadrat Shahbāz Qalandar' and other saints. Here he also made new appointments which completed the administrative set-up of this region. From here he came to Bakhār where he halted for twenty days, and finally reached Delhi in Rajab, 752 A.H. (pp. 49-50).

According to *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, Sultān Ferōzeshāh "himself put the coffin of Sultān Muḥammad on the back of an elephant, stretched a canopy above it, and marched on continuously towards Delhi."²

Dr. Daudpōtā, commenting on the above account of Mīr Ma'sūmī, refers to Professor Muḥammad Shafī' 's discovery about the Sultān's burial place and says: "Indeed this discovery agrees with the truth." He argues that Sultān Ferōzeshāh succeeded Sultān Muḥammad three days after his death, and, during these three days disturbance was rampant in his army which was being attacked incessantly by Taghī and the Soomrās. Therefore, by way of Indus he hurried back to Sehwan where he halted for some days. It is therefore likely that Sultān Muḥammad was buried

1. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, 1938.

2. Al-Sarhandī: *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*. R. Calcutta, 1931.

there. Secondly he thinks that the above account of *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī* is incorrect; because, Ferōzeshāh reached Delhi on the 2nd of Rajab, and, to carry along the body of the dead, and that too of the King, on the back of the elephant from here to there for full five months, is not only doing a great disrespect to the dead, but is also against the law of Islam.

However important this criticism of Dr. Daudpōtā may be, it is not based on any additional evidence so far as Sultān Muḥammad's burial at Sehwan is concerned. On the other hand, the evidence of this important inscription also cannot be flatly denied. I am inclined to think that the Sultān's body was probably buried at Sehwan temporarily. That this temporary burial as a trust in times of emergency has been customary amongst the Muslims everywhere, cannot be questioned. It appears probable that Ferōzeshāh seems to have dispatched the Sultān's body immediately after his death to Sehwan instead of having kept it on the battlefield to let down the morale of his troops while he was seriously engaged with a formidable foe. This also explains his leisurely march to Sehwan and his strategical and administrative manœuvres at Naṣarpūr. It is not proved that he marched post haste to Sehwan. He rather reached Sehwan after a pretty long time.¹ During this interval plus his stay at Sehwan, the Sultān's body may, in all probability, have been buried in the blessed shelter of the holy Saint. To his burial there, which was no doubt temporary, the above inscription contains an incontestable clue (cf. verse No. 3 (کشی بینی بحاک اندر)). But when Ferōzeshāh started from Sehwan for Delhi, the coffin was probably removed; as stated definitely by the author of *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, it was put on the back of the elephant under a canopy and brought to Delhi by Ferōzeshāh himself. There he was buried finally.

This is confirmed by Frishta;² and now it is confirmed beyond all doubts by the statement of Sultān Ferōzeshāh himself which appears in his autobiographical account *Futūḥāt-i-Ferōzeshāhī* recently published by the Muslim University, Aligarh, along with its English translation. The relevant passage in the original text reads as follows:³

” . . . اشخاصیکه در عهد خدایگان مغفور و مرحوم محمد شاه السلطان طاب ثراه که خداوندگار
مخدوم و مری من بود ، بتقدیر الله تعالی کشته شده بودند ، و کسانی که اعضای ایشان از چشم و

1. This seems to be the logical assumption. After the defeat of the rebellious forces his main concern was to devote enough time to Sind affairs to ensure a permanent peace in the province. His stay at Sehwan and Bakhar proves it. Granting that his march from Sehwan to Bakhar and his stay there may have taken one full month, his time spent up to Sehwan may be computed as four months minus a number of days of his speedy journey from Bakhar to Delhi.

2. Briggs, Vol. I, p. 464, also of *Survey of Archaeological Department of India for the years 1862-65*, Vol. I, p. 217, (Simla, 1871).

3. Text, p. 19, and English Translation, p. 28: *Futūḥāt-i-Ferōzeshāhī*, edited and translated by Shaikh 'Abdur-Rashīd of History Department of the Muslim University, Aligarh.

بینی و دست و پا ناقص گشته ، ورنه ایشان از قبل پادشاه مرحوم و مغفور استرضا نموده ، و هریکی را به اسوال راضی نموده ، خطوط خوشنودی ، موکد به شهود مستند ، در صندوق کرده به دارالامان (یعنی دهلی - و پیش از این گفته : دارالامان که مضمیع و مرقد مجذومان است ۱۵ ص ۱۸) ، مقبره سلطان مرحوم و مغفور نورالله مرقد ، جانب سرداشته ، تا حق تعالی به کرم عمیم خویش آن مخدوم و مربی مارا غریق رحمت گرداناد ، (فتوحات فیروزشاهی متن ص ۱۹)

Thus Sultān Ferōzeshāh himself testifies that the letters of good-will duly confirmed, were buried by the headside of the late Sultān's grave in his mausoleum in *Dār-al-Amān, Delhi*. That the mausoleum of the late Sultān Muḥammad (peace be upon him) stands in Delhi needs no mention.

BALUCH NABI BAKHSII KHĀN AL-SINDI.

DEVIL'S DELUSION

ACCOUNT OF VARIOUS REPREHENSIBLE ACTIONS RECORDED OF ŠŪFĪS¹

WE have already recorded numerous actions of theirs, all of them reprehensible ; we shall only mention here some of the more characteristic and amazing of their deeds. We have been told by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Aḥmad a tradition going back to Abū Naṣr 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī al-Sarrāj,² who records how Ibn Abī'l-Karanbī,³ Junaid's teacher, having incurred nocturnal pollution, went, clad in a thick patchwork cloak to the bank of the Tigris, when the cold was severe. Owing to its severity he shrank from stepping into the water, so flung himself in clad in his cloak, dived, and then came out, saying, I vow that I will not remove this cloak from my body till it dries upon me. For a whole month it did not dry.

We have been told by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to Junaid, according to which the latter said :⁴ I heard Abū Ja'far al-Karanbī say : One night, having incurred pollution, I wanted to wash, but the night being cold I felt an inclination to procrastinate and lack of eagerness, and thought to myself that I might wait till the morning and get some water warmed, or go to the public bath ; otherwise I should be doing myself harm.⁵ Then I said : How extraordinary ! All my life I am dealing with God, yet when some due of His is required I feel no anxiety to discharge it, but only to stop, delay, procrastinate ! I swear that I shall only wash in a river, and that I shall wash in this cloak of mine, which I swear that I shall not wring out, nor dry in the sun.

I would observe that in treating of the patched garments I have already mentioned this cloak of Ibn al-Karanbī, and how someone weighed the sleeves and found one of them to weigh eleven *ratl*. He only

1. Continued from page 374 of the Arabic text and a selection of this section comprising pp. 378-80 was published in *Islamic Culture*, October, 1937.

2. The story comes from *Luma'*, p. 146.

3. This, according to *Kitāb Baghdad*, XIV, 413, is the correct form of the name.

4. This form of the story comes from *Kitāb Baghdad*, XIV, 414.

5. Text corrected here and elsewhere from *Kitāb Baghdad*.

mentioned this to people in order to show how fine, how splendid an action he had performed, and people narrated it to show the man's excellence. Yet this is pure ignorance. For this person was disobeying God Almighty by his performance, which is admired only by the foolish populace, not by the learned. No one has the right to torture himself, and this person combined several forms of self-torture, throwing himself into cold water wearing a garment in which he could not move about as he wanted, and the thickness of which may well have prevented the water from reaching all the parts of his body which required cleansing, letting it remain on his person while soaked, which would prevent the pleasure of sleep. The whole proceeding was guilty and mistaken, and might well have caused illness and death.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī a tradition told them by Ḥamd b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Iṣfahānī to the effect that Umm 'Alī wife of Aḥmad b. Khidrawaihi,¹ remitted to her husband Aḥmad her marriage-gift on condition that he should take her to visit Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī. He did so, and when she came into his presence she squatted down unveiled.² When Aḥmad said to her: I notice that you are doing something extraordinary, unveiling your face before Abū Yazīd! She replied: It is because each time I look at him, I find the instincts of my lower soul³ depart; they return to me each time I look at you. When Aḥmad was about to take leave of Abū Yazīd, he asked the latter for counsel. Abū Yazīd said: Learn manhood from your wife!

We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb a tradition going back through Abū Bakr al-Fazī (Faz being a village of Tūs)⁴ to Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusain⁵ according to which the last-named said: There was a contract between Aḥmad b. Abī'l-Ḥawarī⁶ and Abū Sulaymān⁷ that the former would not disobey any command of the latter. One day Aḥmad came to Abū Sulaymān when the latter was discoursing at a gathering, to tell him that the oven had been heated and to ask for orders. Abū Sulaymān made no reply. Aḥmad repeated his question once and twice, and the third time Abū Sulaymān said to him: Go and sit in it. He did so. Then Abū Sulaymān bade the people go after him; for, he said, there is a contract between us that he will not disobey any order that I give him. So he rose up, and the others did the like, and they went to the oven, in the middle

1. Abū Ḥamid al-Balkhī, died 240. Notice of him in *Risāla Qushayriyyah*, I, 123-125, where his visit to Abū Yazīd is recorded.

2. The story is told in *Tadhkirat al-'Auliya*, I, 288, in a somewhat different form. We learn that the lady's name was Fāṭimah.

3. For the phrase in the text see Nicholson's glossary to the *Luma'*.

4. The text has been corrected from Yāqūt's Geographical Dictionary.

5. Abū Ya'qūb al-Rāzī, died 304. Account of him in *Kitāb Baghdad*, XIV, 314-319.

6. Died, 240.

7. Al-Darani, died, 215.

of which they found him sitting. Abū Sulaymān took him by the hand, and raised him up; he was quite uninjured.¹

I would observe that this story is improbable, but if it be true, the man's entering the fire was a sin. In both *Ṣaḥīḥain*² there is a tradition going back to 'Alī according to which he said: The Prophet despatched an expedition over which he appointed one of the Anṣār³ commander. When they had started they caused him some vexation, and he asked them whether the Prophet had not commanded them to obey him. They answered that he had. He then ordered them to collect firewood, which they did. He then called for fire, and they kindled the wood. Then he said: I adjure you to get into it. They were thinking of doing so when a lad said to them: You have fled from the Fire to the Prophet, so do not hurry, but first confront the Prophet; if he orders you to get into the fire, do so. So they returned to the Prophet and told him. The Prophet said: Had you entered it, you would never have got out of it; obedience is only in what is approved.

We have been told by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to Abu'l-Khair al-Di'li, according to which the latter said: I was sitting by Khair al-Nassāj⁴ when a woman came and said to him Give me the kerchief which I handed over to you.⁵ He agreed and handed it to her. She asked the amount of the fee, and he said: Two dirhems. She said: I have nothing with me now, and have repeatedly called, but not seen you. Khair said to her: If you bring the dirhems and do not find me, throw them into the Tigris, for when I come, I will take them. She said: How do you propose to take them from the Tigris? This inquiry, he said, is idle curiosity. Do what I tell you. The woman said "If God will," and went her way. On the morrow (said Abu'l-Khair) when I came, Khair was out, and the woman came bringing a cloth in which two dirhems were wrapped. Not finding Khair she threw the cloth into the Tigris. Immediately a crab took hold of the cloth and dived. After a time Khair came, opened the door of his shop, and sat down on the bank to wash himself. Suddenly the crab came out of the water, running towards Khair, with the cloth on its back, which Khair took from it when it came near. I told him I had seen the various things that had happened; he told me he wished me not to divulge them during his life-time, and I agreed not to do so.⁶

1. This story is told with slight variations in the commentary on the *Risālah Quṣṣairiyyah* (I, 125) called *Natā'ij al-Afhār*.

2. *Buḥḥārī*, ed. Krehl, III, 155; *Muslim*, II, 86.

3. Said to have been 'Abdullah b. Huḍḥafah.

4. Died, 322. The account of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, VIII, 345-347, does not contain this story, though the author is cited as one of the transmitters.

5. The meaning is "ordered of you." He was a weaver by trade.

6. The story is told in *Tadhkirat al-'Auliya*, II, 112. The narrator adds "when the shaiḥs heard of it, they were displeased with Khair."

I would observe that such a story is improbable ; supposing it to be true, the proceeding was a clear violation of the Code, which enjoins the conservation of property, whereas this is a waste of it. In the *Ṣaḥīḥ*¹ it is recorded that the Prophet forbade the waste of property. So pay no attention to anyone who asserts that this was a miracle wrought in honour of a saint, for God does not honour one who acts contrary to His Code.

We have been told by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, according to which the latter said :² One day I went to see Al-Nūrī, and observed that his feet were swollen. I asked him about it, and he replied : My soul demanded of me that I should eat dates ; I resisted, but my soul insisted, so I went out and bought some. When I had eaten, I said to my soul : Rise up and pray. It refused. I then said : I vow to God that thou shalt not sit upon the ground forty days except during the recitation of the creed, and have been keeping my vow.

I would observe that an ignorant person, hearing this tale, may say "What excellent self-repression !" not knowing that such a procedure is illicit, since it is placing an improper burden on the soul, and withholding from it the comfort which is its due.

Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī in the *Iḥyā* says :³ One of the *shaikhs* at the commencement of his discipleship found standing wearisome, so he forced himself to stand on his head the whole night in order that he might get himself to stand upright voluntarily ; one of them cured himself of avarice by selling all his goods and throwing the money into the sea, for fear of posing as a benefactor and showing ostentatious generosity if he distributed it ; one of them hired a man to insult him in public in order to accustom himself to patience ; another (he adds) would sail the sea in a winter storm to make himself brave.

I would observe : Among all these people the one who astonishes me most is Abū Ḥamid, for mentioning these things without disapproval. Obviously he did not disapprove, since he introduces them by way of instruction. Moreover before producing these anecdotes he says :⁴ The *shaikh* must consider the condition of the beginner, and if he find the latter to possess more property than he needs, he should take it from him and expend it in good works, thus emptying his heart of it, so that he will pay no more attention to it.

There⁵ is a tradition going back to Abū Ḥātim⁶ after Aḥmad b.

1. *Bukhārī*, ed. Krehl, I, 375.

2. This story comes from *Kitāb Baghdād*, V, 132.

3. *Iḥyā*, III, 49, line 7 from end. The order of the sentences is different in the original passage.

4. *Ibid.*, line 9 from top.

5. This portion is continued from p. 397 of the Arabic text as pp. 378-380 in October, 1937, No. 4, pp. 380-391 in January, 1938, No. 1 and pp. 391-397 in April, 1938 No. 2 of *Islamic Culture* have been published.

6. Probably Abū Ḥātim al-'Aṭṭār, quoted in the *Luma'*; there is an account of him in *Nafāḥat al-Uns*, p. 58.

Abī'l-Ḥawāri according to which the last said : Abū Sulaymān¹ said : I have seen no ṣūfī with any good in him save one, 'Abdallāh b. Marzūq.² Yet I am sympathetic with them. There is a tradition going back to Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā according to which he said : I have seen no intelligent ṣūfī except Idrīs al-Khawlanī (As-Sulamī observes that he was an Egyptian, one of their earliest leaders, prior to Dhū'l-Nūn). There is another going back to the same person according to which he said : I have associated with ṣūfis for thirty years without seeing an intelligent person among them except Muslim al-Khawwās.³ There is another going back through Aḥmad b. Abī'l-Ḥawāri to 'Āsim, according to which the latter said : We have always known the ṣūfis to be fools, only they conceal themselves under tradition. There is another going back to 'Āsim according to which he said : Waki⁴ asked me why I had abandoned the tradition of Hishām.⁵ I replied : I have been associating with certain ṣūfis, who pleased me ; they said to me If you do not erase the traditions of Hishām, we shall eject you from our society. So I obeyed them. He said : They are foolish.

There is a tradition according to which Yaḥyā b. Yaḥya⁶ said : I prefer the Khawārij to the ṣūfis. There is another according to which Yaḥyā b. Mu'adh⁷ said : Avoid the society of three classes of men : the learned and careless ; the poor and cajoling ; and the ṣūfis who are ignorant.

Now at the beginning of our refutation of the ṣūfis in this book we have mentioned how the jurists in Egypt censured the language used by Dhū'l-Nūn, how those in Bistām censured Abū Yazīd and drove him out, they drove out also Abū Sulaymān al-Daranī, and Ibn Abī'l-Ḥawāri and Sahl al-Tustarī fled from their hands. The reason was that men of old disliked the slightest innovation, and ostracised the innovator, adhering to the Sunnah. I was told the following by Abu'l-Faṭḥ b. al-Musāmīrī : A number of jurists were sitting in a hermitage to lament the death of a jurist. The shaikh Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Kalwadhānī⁸ presently arrived, leaning on my hand. Stopping at the door of the hermitage, he said : I should not like some of my associates and of the older shaikhs to see me entering this hermitage. This, I would observe, was the style of our shaikhs.

1. Al-Daranī.

2. If the *Lisān al-Mizān* is right in identifying him with 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Qānī, this person according to *Kitāb Baghdād*, XI, 89, lived 265-351.

3. Muslim b. Maimūn, of whom there is a short notice in *Lawāqih al-Anwār*, I, 81.

4. Ibn al-Jarrāh 128-196 ; account of him in the *Tahdhīb*, XI, 123-131.

5. Ibn Abī 'Abdallāh al-Dastawā'i, died about 152. Account of him in the *Tahdhīb*, XI, 43-45. It is not clear which of the persons named 'Āsim is meant in these traditions.

6. Two persons with this name and *nisbah* are noticed in the *Tahdhīb*, with death-dates 133 and 234, respectively ; (XI, 299-301).

7. Al-Rāzī, died 258. Notice of him in *Risāla Qushairiyyah*, I, 119-123.

8. His name was Maḥfūz b. Aḥmad, 432-510. Notices of him in *Ṭabaqāt-e-Ḥanābilah*, p. 409, and Yāqūt's *Geographical Dictionary*, IV, 302.

But in our time the wolf and the sheep have become reconciled. Ibn 'Uqail (whose words I copy from his autograph) says : I censure the *ṣūfis* for acts the doers of which incur the censure of the Code : One such is their taking to themselves homes of idleness, *viz.*, hermitages, where they isolate themselves from the gatherings in the mosques, these hermitages being neither mosques, nor houses, nor inns ; in them they idle away their time, doing nothing to earn their living, fattening themselves like cattle, given up to eating, drinking, dancing and singing.¹ They resort to patching, intended for adornment, and the various special colours wherewith they decorate their garments and their head-gear are more effective with the populace and females than the silken colours of *siglaton* ;² they attract women and beardless lads by artifices in deportment and attire, and once they have entered a house wherein there are women they do not leave it without poisoning the minds of wives against husbands. Further, they accept food and money from oppressors and malefactors and robbers, like *condottieri*³ and tax-gatherers. They get beardless lads to accompany them to concerts, attracted to their gatherings with torch-lights. They associate with strange women, under the pretence of investing them with the *ṣūfī* cloak. They approve, nay enforce the division of the garments of the entertainer who drops them, calling entertainment "emotion," festivity "time," singing "speech," the division of people's garments "rule." ⁴ Never do they leave a house to which they have been invited without enforcing another invitation : this they say is obligatory—a thing which it is infidelity to believe and criminal to practise. They hold that singing accompanied by the rods is a pious act, and we have heard that according to them prayer offered over the camel-driver's music or when the *magadis* is being played is sure to be answered, since they believe this to be a pious act, whereas it is infidelity like the other ; for one who believes what is disapproved or forbidden to be pious is thereby certified to be an infidel whom people either ban or disapprove. They surrender themselves to their *ṣhaikhs* ; if they incline to some suspicious and infamous course,⁵ we are told that "the *ṣhaikh* makes no objection." You had better find out who has given this *ṣhaikh* free rein to plunge into the tangle of phrases which involve infidelity and the delusion called "intoxication," with acts which are known to be criminal according to the Code. If one of them kisses a beardless lad, we are told that it is "loving-kindness ;" if he is in private with a strange woman, we are told that she is his daughter, and has donned the *ṣūfī* cloak. If he divides raiment without the owner's leave among people who have no right to it,

1. The text has been slightly corrected.

2. Dozy gives this as the French and English form of the name of this fabric, which was silk embroidered with gold.

3. The text has been corrected.

4. This does not appear in the lists of *ṣūfī* technicalities furnished by Qushairī and others.

5. The text is unintelligible, and has been conjecturally emended.

we are told that it is the "rule of the cloak." Now *we* have no shaikh whom we allow to do as he likes, since we have no shaikh who is not subject to the divine ordinances; lunatics, infants, and domestic animals are coerced, since coercion is a substitute for injunction. Had we any shaikh allowed to do as he liked, it would have been Abū Bakr, the Faithful Friend; he however said "If I diverge, straighten me;" he did not say "give me free play." Then consider the opposition encountered by the Prophet: thus 'Umar said to him: Why need we shorten prayer, when we are out of danger?¹ Another said to him: Thou forbiddest us to fast in the night after fasting in the day, but dost so thyself.² Another said: Thou didst bid us substitute the minor for the major pilgrimage, but didst not do so thyself.³ Nay more, the angels said to God Almighty (II, 28) *Wilt Thou set therein such as will work mischief?* And Moses said (VII., 154) *Wilt Thou destroy us because of what the Fools among us have wrought?* This saying⁴ has merely been made by the ṣūfīs a mode of gratifying their superiors and a net⁵ woven for adherents and neophytes, as God says (XLIII, 54) *he (Pharaoh) bade his people be frivolous and they obeyed him.* And possibly this saying emanates from those of them who maintain that when a man is "cognizant," it does not harm him what he does, which indeed is the extremity of atheism; for the jurists are agreed that the higher the degree of cognizance at which anyone arrives, the stricter are the obligations imposed upon him; as was the case with the prophets who were straitened even in minor offences. God forbid that anyone should listen to these futile individuals, who are destitute of certain knowledge. They are atheists who combine the clothing of workers,⁶ the patched garments and wool, with the activities of impious debauchees, eating, drinking, dancing, listening to music, neglect of the ordinances of the Code. The atheists did not venture to reject the Code till the appearance of the ṣūfīs, who produced the inventions of the debauched.

The first things they invented were names; speaking of Reality and Legislation. Now this is improper; for the Legislation (i.e., the Code) is what has been appointed by God in the interests of mankind. Beyond this the "Reality" is nothing else than what has been put into their minds by the suggestion of the demons. Whosoever looks for reality elsewhere than in the Code is utterly deceived. Then if they hear anyone reciting a tradition, they say: Poor creatures! The knowledge they get is dead, from the dead. We get our knowledge from the Living Who dies not. If a man says "I was told by my father from my grandfather," I say "I have been told by my heart from my Lord."—Thus they ruin

1. Something like this is recorded by Al-Nasa'i, I, 211.

2. *Buḥḥārī*, ed. Krehl, I, 479.

3. *Buḥḥārī*, ed. Krehl, I, 397.

4. i.e., "the shaikh makes no objection."

5. Text corrected.

6. The word in the text, if correct, seems to have no technical sense.

themselves and with these fictions ruin the minds of the inexperienced, fictions on account of which large sums are expended upon them. For the jurist is like the physician, and the expenditure of money in the purchase of medicine is hard ; whereas expenditure on these people is like that on singing-women. Then their hatred of the jurists is extreme atheism ; for the jurists by their pronouncements restrain them from their errors and misdeeds ; and truth is onerous like almsgiving, whereas it is a light matter to lavish money on singing-women and to reward poets for eulogies. Similar is their hatred of traditionalists. Then for wine as a destroyer of the intellect they have substituted a thing which they call *hashish* and an electuary. The forbidden singing they call "audition" and "emotion." Now to expose oneself to an emotion which destroys the intellect is illicit. May God protect the Code from this community which combines elegance of attire, luxury in diet, and seduction by means of honeyed words which contain nothing but neglect of the injunctions and abandonment of the Code. For this reason these people are agreeable, and there is no better evidence that they are deceivers than the affection felt for them by worldly men, which is similar to their affection for sportsmen and singing-women.

Ibn 'Uqail proceeds : If anyone states that they are cleanly, fit for the best seats,* well-mannered, and of good character, my reply is that had they not invented a system capable of attracting their like, they could not maintain themselves permanently ; your description of them, I would say, is Christian monasticism. If you were to see the cleanliness of the parasites and effeminates of Baghdād, and the gracefulness of the singing-women, you would know that their system is the practice of amusing and cajoling ; how can people be cajoled otherwise than by practice or talk ? If these people had no foothold in knowledge and no practice, with what could they attract the wealthy ? Now you should know that the burden of the injunctions is heavy, and that nothing is easier for debauchees than quitting the community, whereas nothing is harder for them than the severe restrictions which proceed from the commands and prohibitions of the Code. And nothing injures the legislation more than the professors of metaphysics and *şufism* ; the former are the persons who destroy men's beliefs by putting intellectual doubts into their minds, while the latter corrupt their conduct, and demolish the principles of religions. What they like is idleness and listening to tunes. The men of old were not like this, nay rather in the matter of beliefs they were obedient slaves, and in the other matter men of energy.—He adds : My advice to my brethren is not to let the talk of the metaphysicians impinge on the thoughts of their hearts, nor to listen to the fictions of the *şūfīs*. Employment in earning is better than *şufic* idleness, and acquaintance with phenomena is a finer thing than the delving of the controversialists. I have made trial of both parties ; and the aim of the one is doubt, and that of the other intoxication.

*This seems to be the meaning.

Ibn 'Uqail proceeds: To my mind indeed the metaphysicians are preferable to the ṣūfīs, for the former do at times silence doubts, whereas the ṣūfīs put anthropomorphic ideas into the mind. Most of their language hints at elimination of divine messages and prophethood. When they speak about traditionalists they say the knowledge which they get is dead and from the dead. They make objections to the prophetic utterances, and lay stress on imagination. Now when a system is despised, it is no longer followed: and when a man says "I have been told by my heart from my Lord," he proclaims that he has no use for the Messenger and one who proclaims that, is an unbeliever. This saying of theirs is an interpolation in the Code, involving this form of atheism. When we see a man despise transmission, we know that he has rendered the Code of no effect. And what assures the man who says "I have been told by my heart from my Lord" that the thought has not been suggested by demons? God says (VI, 121), *Verily the demons inspire their associates*. And indeed this is evident; for such a man has rejected the infallible guide, and relied on what is put into his mind, whose immunity from satanic suggestions is not assured. The ṣūfīs call that which occurs to them a "thought."¹ He adds: Rebels against the Code are numerous, but God supports it by the faithful transmitters who defend the Code by memorising its original form. They are the princes of the learned, who allow no liar's head to raise itself.

Ibn 'Uqail proceeds: People say that if God would ruin a trader's house, He makes him associate with the ṣūfīs. I should add "ruin his religion," seeing that the ṣūfīs permit women to be invested by strange men with the ṣūfī robe; and when they are present at the concert, love passages and private interviews are likely to take place, so that the entertainment becomes a wedding-feast for the couple, one of them before leaving becoming enamoured of the other, and mutual attachment arises, the woman being alienated from her husband; if he acquiesces, he is called cuckold, whereas if he shuts her up, she demands separation to go to one at whose hands she may don the patched garment, and "amalgamate" with one who will exercise no strangle-hold, or restraint upon nature. In such a case they will say: So-and-so has repented and been invested by the shaikh with the cloak, and become one of his daughters. Not content with saying this, whether in jest or in error, they go on to say that it is one of the "stations" reached by men (males).² For many years this has been going on, and the rule of the Book and the Sunnah has become stale in people's minds.

1. The text seems to require correction. In the *Kashf* the word rendered "thought" (*ḥāḥāḥ*) is explained (p. 387) as "the occurrence in the mind of something which is quickly removed by another thought, and which its owner is able to repel from his mind. Those who have such thoughts follow the first thought in matters which come directly from God to man." Our text which should mean *that which abides in them* would be the opposite of this. Qushairī admits that such thoughts may come from the devil (II, 96).

2. Apparently not ordinarily by women.

All this is the statement of Ibn 'Uqail, a competent critic, and an observant jurist.

The following poem about the ṣūfīs, by Abū Bakr al-Anbārī,* was recited :

I studied and tested a group who profess,
 Some masters, some slaves, special worth to possess,
 But like the mirage I found most of them are ;
 They look very charming when seen from afar.
 Addressing them " Whom do ye worship ? " I cried ;
 And each as his feelings dictated replied.
 And one indicated himself, for he swore
 The universe truly contained nothing more.
 Another a mantle of patchwork displayed,
 Another a bottle of leather-work made.
 Of some too the worship of lusts is the creed :
 A form of religion quite sure to mislead.
 Department of some's the perpetual quest ;
 Unless they secure it they get no night's rest.
 And some on recitals devoutly are bent,
 Without or at times with accompaniment.
 A tune will evoke from them moanings galore,
 Or roarings as only a lion can roar,
 And rending of worn-out old clothes, with the view,
 Of getting instead raiment better and new.
 And one of them flings his whole frame on the fuel
 To pick out a pancake or swallow the gruel.
 I ask you, good people, now marvel ye not
 How some wicked demon possesses this lot ?
 With all sorts of madness bewilders their wits ;
 And what else but fetters such madmen befits ?
 They know not, these folk, I dare swear, the Most High,
 Unless Him to know signifies to deny.
 And dealt I not fairly with those who play fair,
 The people I speak of my tongue would not spare.
 And why should such persons my friendship demand ?
 What causes dislike they do not understand.
 They lavish their love ; I am sparing with mine ;
 To lavish affection I once did incline ;
 But when no ally could I find me or know,
 Rejoicing one's friend and distressing one's foe,
 From such I withdrew my affection ; it seemed
 That ill luck departed and good fortune beamed.
 And why should my people to whom is unknown
 The strength and the comfort of standing alone,

* Muḥammad b. 'Umar, died 412 ; notices of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, III, 36 and *Sam'ānī*, p. 400.

With tears when they see me their pity display
 While rancour within them is blazing away?
 Because I stay distant from men who pretend,
 But were they sincere, they would find me their friend.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir, the Ḥāfiz that the following verses were recited to him, having originally been recited by Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Sayyār:¹

Some folk have I seen with a virtuous air,
 With water-skins laden, and constant in prayer,
 Yet mosques they frequent not. I got the reply,
 When asking about them: On God they rely.
 Their title is ṣūfī; men wise and sedate,
 Who bear unrepining the ruling of fate.
 So these, I exclaimed, among all on the earth
 Are genuine People; the rest nothing worth.
 And so for a season I served them as thrall,
 Until I perceived they were base after all.
 Their appetite gluttonous; as for their dress
 Of mere ostentation was its raggedness.
 Enquire of their high-priest the forms of devotion,
 You'll fancy that thereof he has not a notion;
 But ask his opinion about some coquette,
 Her charms and her graces, you'll find him adept.
 When gathered at meetings the lore they disclose
 Is such as a cowherd could show if he chose;
 Their themes for discussion are "season" and "station,"
 "Reality," "evidence," and "confutation;"
 To make them seem saintly in wool they are clad;
 Like beetles or flies they are thoroughly bad.
 To work for their living they flatly decline;
 Devouring what others possess is their line.
 This is not because they are modest or coy;
 The ease of retirement they haste to enjoy.
 So warn anyone they would dupe to repent
 Before they ensnare him with evil intent,
 And ask God to pardon his hearing impiety
 And shun for the future such speakers' society.²

The following verses of Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri were recited to us by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir who had heard them from Abū Zakariyyā al-Tabrizī:³ "They pretend that they are sincere (*safau*) to their Lord;

1. Among the transmitters of this Code is Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sūrī, of whom there is a notice in *Kitāb Baghdād*, III, 103, died 441.

2. A few emendations have been introduced into the text, of which I have not found another copy.

3. The well-known commenator on the *Ḥamasah* and the *Mu'allaqat*, who studied with the famous freethinker. The verses which are unintelligible in the text have been corrected from the author's *Luzūmyyat*, (Cairo, 1895) II, 103

they speak false to thee ; they are not sincere to Him (*ṣafau*), but mis-directed (*ṣāfu*). Their hearts are trees of *khilāf*, woe unto them ; I mean *khilāf* in the sense "opposition to the truth," not "willow."

The following verses by someone were recited to us by Ibn Nāṣir who had heard them from the jurist Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī:¹

"I regard the ṣūfī tribe as the worst of tribes ; ask them, with contempt for "immanence :'' Did God, when you were enamoured of Him, say : Eat like cattle and dance to Me ?''²

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(Concluded)

1. Shāfi'ite doctor, author of the *Tanbih*.

2. The final portions of these series containing (1) Account of the way wherein the devil deludes those who believe in miracles wrought for the glory of the saint and (2) Account of the way wherein the devil deludes mankind in general with prolongation of hope, have been published in July and October, 1938 issues, Ed.—I. C.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

In Memoriam :

The year 1947 expires with irreparable losses to the Oriental studies in India. It has witnessed the death of two great Arabic scholars of Hyderabad—Dr. 'Abdul Haq and 'Allāma 'Abdullah al-'Imādi. Late Dr. 'Abdul Haq received his early education in the Madrasa Nizāmiya, one of the premier institutions of Hyderabad for Islamic studies. He then proceeded to Aligarh and subsequently to Oxford for higher studies. He worked under late Dr. Margoliouth on an Arabic masterpiece—*Ḥamāsāh* of Abū Ṭammām and obtained the Ph. D. degree from that university. On his return to India he was appointed Professor of Arabic at the Osmania University and since then he represented the university in a number of Oriental Conferences held both in the East and in the West. Late Dr. 'Abdul Haq was very popular among his colleagues as well as his students. His unexpected death is indeed a great loss to the Oriental studies. In him we have lost a great Arabic scholar and an able and sympathetic member of the Board of *Islamic Culture*.

The Death of Maulāna 'Abdullah al-'Imādi :

On 27th August, 1947, Hyderabad had to mourn the death of one of the greatest Orientalists, in the person of Maulāna 'Abdullah al-'Imādi. His death is, no doubt, a great loss to the Islamic world, and in view of his rare talents and high accomplishments it will take a long time, indeed, before some one of his calibre takes his place in the field of Oriental studies.

Much has been said about him ; much more is known to his intimate friends ; and yet very few are aware of his noble birth and his early career

The best we can do in this limited space is to give a short sketch of this great man.

Few people know the ancestors of the Maulāna who trace their descent from the 'Yamani Family' which came to India with Ḥadhrat Shāh 'Imādi, during the palmy days of the Great Sharīf Sovereigns. As times passed, this family earned the patronage of the Sultān of Sharq. It was on the death of Shāh 'Imādi that Qāḍi Ṭaiyyab 'Imādi was appointed Chief Justice under the Royal Signet. This very fact signifies that culture and learning must have been a privilege of this family.

Such is the glorious family history of Maulāna 'Abdullah al-'Imādi. He was born on 29th Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1295 A.H., at the well-known village of Amritiva in Jaunpore district in the United Provinces. At an early age he was sent to a madrasa for schooling. One can very well recall those old and hackneyed methods of teaching employed in the days of yore. The teacher then was a terror who vigorously followed the oft-quoted but nowadays happily discarded maxim, "Spare the rod spoil the child." These methods of the master instead of deterring the Maulāna rallied him with increased enthusiasm, round his beloved father and venerable grandfather for instructions. He quickly learnt up the rudiments of Arabic and Persian. After some days he moved to Lucknow, which at the time was a centre of learning in India. It was here that he made a great progress in his studies and came into contact with Maulāna 'Abdul 'Alī Madrasī, the reputed scholar of the day. In his sixteenth year, his entry into a wider sphere was marked by his formation of a small study circle of selected scholars, of which, for a long time, he remained the guiding spirit. Later on he visited the holy city of Mecca and toured Hijāz and Arabia with his grandfather.

The fact that in a very short time he acquired a name for himself, at such a young age, which is denied to most people, shows the sterner stuff he was made of. He possessed the admirable qualities of head and heart, strong commonsense, remarkable powers of application, and a high sense of duty—traits which are found in really great men.

We need not dwell at length on the excellent works he produced. His writings show a critical study, delightful lucidity of thought and expression. He was always meticulous in his expression, oral or written. He had cultivated a good taste for Arabic, Persian and Urdu poetry. Although he never claimed to be a poet at any time, his poems are by no means of a low standard. We reproduce here one of his unpublished poems, called تکبیر قلندری for the perusal of our readers from which they can form an estimate of him as a poet.

(تکبیر قلندری)

می کشانے کہ رہ و رسم قلندر گیرند ساغر شعلہ طور از لب کوثر گیرند
بے تف و تاب کشایند جگر در دره برق بے کم و بیش فروغ از رخ اختر گیرند

زندگی تازہ کنند از نفس آتش عشق چشم بندند کہ بر حسن ازل بکشایند
 چشمہ آب حیات از دم آذر گیرند سریازند کہ عمر ابد از سر گیرند
 شب بخسپند و سحر پیشتر از بانگ جرس خسروان انچه بالشکر نتوانند گرفت
 عارفان انچه نیابند ز شبلی و جنید بے وسیت ز در خالق اکبر گیرند
 تیغ و مصحف ز جناب نبوی یافته اند وز ابوبکر و عمر مسجد و منبر گیرند
 دولت عزم ز عثمان غنی در یابند زور بازو بے ید الله ز حیدر گیرند
 بر لب تشنه خونین جگر ان خردہ مگیر جام بے واسطہ از دست پیمبر گیرند
 صبح تہلیل کنان افسر جم بستانند شام تکبیر زنان ملک سکندر گیرند
 از سر صفہ نہ جنہد و مدائن شکنند ذوالفقار بے نہ بر آورده و خیبر گیرند
 بہ یکے خلوت صدق ارض و سماشور اند بہ یکے نعرہ حق پر چم کافر گیرند
 رو بے برخاک و مستخر ملکوت افلاک سر اخلاص بہ سجادہ و کشور گیرند
 ز اہدائے کہ دل و دیدہ بتو باخته اند بہتر آنست کہ از غیر تو دل بر گیرند

دولت نیم شبی آور و فوج سحری
 کہ ہمہ کون و مکان بر تو مستخر گیرند

He possessed a wonderful memory! The fact that he could recite with ease no less than 60,000 verses from all eminent poets, speaks very highly of it.

We shall give a brief account of his important constructive work, in the short space available here. His well-known works are "The Maḥ-kamāt," "Ilmul Hadīth," "Tārīkh 'Arab Qadīm," "Falsafat al-Qur'ān," "Ibn al-'Arabī," "Ṣanat-ul-'Arab." These works together with his contribution to learned societies of Egypt, Damascus, Saudi Arabia, etc., earned him a great reputation in the Islamic countries. Scholars of repute such as 'Allāma Mufti 'Abduhu and 'Abdul Karīm Sawish took pride in his friendship.

His association with 'Allāma Shiblī, and later on with *Al-Hilāl* and again with Maulāna Zafer 'Alī Khān of the "Zamindar," show how varied his interests were. He had made a name for himself as a journalist. He left an indelible impression of his scholarship on whatever he touched.

So far Northern India remained the centre of his activities. In 1918 he was appointed a member of the Translation Bureau in Hyderabad. Here he was indissolubly connected with the Dāirat-ul-Ma'ārif and other learned associations. He put in nearly 25 years of real good service, till he retired on a pension which he richly deserved. He was not destined to enjoy this hard-earned pension for a long time. Even in his retirement,

nothing gave him more pleasure than his books, which had been the mainstay of his life all along.

This account of his life will remain incomplete if we do not mention some of his works which he translated. Even these translations bear the hallmark of his scholarship, accuracy, lucidity, and fluency of language. They are "Tābaqāt Ibn-Sa'ad" in 12 volumes, "The Mas'ūdī," "Kitab-ul Ashrāf," "Tārikh-i-Ṭabarī," "Milal-wal-Nihāl," "Tārikh Ya'qūbī" in 2 volumes.

In his private collection which contains published works, as well as manuscripts, there is a unique manuscript copy of "Oyūn-ul-Akhbār," an exhaustive history of the Ismailites, which deserves special notice, for more than one reason. The original seven volumes of this manuscript are believed to have been lost. Even 'Allāma Aḥmad Zaki Pāsha, Education Member of the government of Egypt, in his introduction to the "Rasail-i-Ikhwān-uṣ-Ṣafa" writes to this effect. But thanks to the Maulāna's abiding literary interest, we are glad to say, that his private collection includes the seven volumes of "Oyūn-ul-Akhbār," for which posterity should remain ever grateful to him.

Alas! Maulāna, the Muḥaddith, Muffusir, Mutakallim, Faqih, poet, historian, journalist is no more. He belongs to the class, "Of those immortal dead who live again" in minds made better by their presence.

* * *

The Hyderabad Academy, volume No. 9, contains the following interesting and illuminating articles by eminent scholars:—

- (1) Atomic Energy by Prof. A. R. Khān.
- (2) Cosmic Rays by Dr. Sayyid Mehdi 'Alī.
- (3) Symbolism in Persian Poetry by Mr. Mazhar 'Alī Khān.
- (4) Universal Problems and Their Islamic Solutions in the Prophet's Time by Dr. Ḥamidullah.
- (5) Qur'ān and Philosophy by Dr. Mir Waliuddin.
- (6) Structure of Our Sidereal System by Dr. Akbar 'Alī.
- (7) Moḥammad Ishāq Shaukat Bukhārī by Dr. Qārī Sayyid Kaleemullah Ḥussaini.

The 'Aiwān :

There is an article on, "The Battle of Shaker Khera," with a sub-heading "After Victory," by Mr. Khurshīd 'Alī.

When Nizām-ul-Mulk left for the Deccan in the third week of December, 1723 A.D., his enemies led the Mughal Emperor to believe that he was in rebellion and induced the Emperor to send secret instructions to Mubariz Khān, the Governor of Hyderabad, to fight against him. With a small force, Nizām-ul-Mulk inflicted a crushing defeat on Mubariz Khān, who with no less than 20,000 soldiers took the offensive

first. This decisive battle was fought at Shaker Khera, some forty kos from Aurangabad in Berar on 11th October, 1724.

The writer contents himself more with the subheading and gives a list of officers killed and wounded on both sides.

Nizām-ul-Mulk conveying the news of this brilliant victory congratulated nobles and officers whose kith and kin displayed bravery and valour, and also sent messages of condolence to those whose relatives lost their lives in the battle.

As regards the detailed account of the battle, we invite the writer's attention to Dr. Yusuf Husain Khān's book, "Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jah I," wherein the learned Doctor has vividly described at great length the stirring events and incidents of this battle.

The writer has quoted *in extenso* Nizām-ul-Mulk's letter to Rājah Sāhū which gives the details of this battle. He also mentions the fact that Nizām-ul-Mulk wrote a letter to the Emperor. We invite his attention to the fact that Dr. Yusuf Husain Khān has given *in extenso* Nizām-ul-Mulk's letter to the Emperor. The tone and purport of this letter is similar to the one addressed to Rājah Sāhū.

In the latter part of his paper the writer dismisses in two short paragraphs the arrival of Nizām-ul-Mulk at Hyderabad and his attack on the Golconda Fort.

K. S. L.

New Publications :

The society for the Revival of Hanafi Jurisprudence (إحياء المذاهب النعمانية) has renewed its famous activities and has just brought its seventh series. It refers to Adh-Dhahābiy's biography of Abū Ḥanīfah, and of his two pupils Abū Yūsuf and Ash-Shaibānīy. The first part of the MS. was found in the *Sa'idiyah* of Hyderabad, and the second part in an obscure library in the Near East. As such it is based on a unique copy. As the author is a Shāfi'ite and deals with the life of the founders of Hanafism, the interest cannot too much be emphasised especially when it refers to no less a personality than Adh-Dhahābiy.

The 'Ālamgīr Taḥrīk Qur'ān' is continuing its manifold activities. It has brought out the 3rd edition of its *Qur'ān in Every Language*. This time, it contains translations of the first chapter of the holy Book in 67 languages of the world. Its scientific value has been much enhanced by the addition of a complete list of all the known translations in different languages, complete or partial, along with the sources of information in important cases. It is recorded that the first, partial though, translation of the Qur'ān was done in Persian in the time and with the consent and approval of the Prophet himself by Salmān al-Fārsīy. Latin, German, French, and English each possesses a dozen and more translations. Urdu

tops the list with more than three scores. *There is also a specimen of Aljamiado written in old Spanish.* It may be had from the society in Hyderabad-Deccan.

The Kashmeri translation of the Qur'ān was extant only for the last part. The same society has now had the whole translated by Maulāna Maqbūl Subhānī, a learned Kashmeri, who has been living in Madīnah for the last forty years. The translation is admirable and only needs funds for publication.

The Oriental Publication Bureau (Dā'iratulma'ārif) has brought out the Majmū'ah of the seven Rasā'il of Ibn-Rushd (Averroes), viz.,

1. As-Samā' at-Tabi'iy,
2. As-Samā' w'al-'Ālam,
3. Al-Kaun w'al-Fasād,
4. Al-Āthār āl-'Ulwiyyāh,
5. An-Nafs,
6. Mā ba'd at-Tabi'ah,
7. Fi'l-'Aql w'al-Ma'qūl.

The same bureau is actually printing the learned Nuzhatul-Khāṭir of the famous savant 'Abdul-Haiy of Lucknow.

The Translation Bureau of the Osmania University is now printing the Urdu version of Ibn-Hishām's *Sirah*, and Cardahi's *La Conception et la pratique du droit international prive dans l'Islam*, among several other classical works. Nys's *Origines du droit international* may also be referred to here since it contains important data on the contribution Islam has made to the history of Public International Law in Europe. This translation is also important from the point of view of the development of the Arabic orthography since it has used the new diacritical signs which have rendered the Arabic script as precise to pronounce European sounds as any of the phonetically most perfect systems of alphabet in the world.

Osmania University :

The university has now been reconstituted as a fully autonomous institution in all respects. Last year it permitted affiliation of colleges where English was the medium of instruction, and thus it has become unique in the sense that some of its colleges impart knowledge through Urdu and others through English.

It is now attracting pupils from many lands. After the Chinese, now the Indonesians have applied for admission by recognition of the diplomas of their native schools in Sumatra. Of course these foreign students are attracted more to the English colleges which, being more recent, are naturally less developed. So there is a proposal to open even the Faculty of Muslim Theology in one of the English colleges, for the benefit of those alumni that do not know Urdu.

The first batch of the Osmania Ph.D.'s has come out in the month of December, 1947. The candidates were:—

1. Dr. Muhammad Ghawth, *Comparative Study of the Law of Torts due to Negligence*.
2. Dr. Yūsufuddīn, *Islamic Principles of Economics*.
3. Dr. Afdāl Aḥmad.

The first two belong to the Faculty of Muslim Theology, the last to the department of Mathematics.

Among the scores of theses of the master's degree at the last examination, the following may interest Islamists:—

1. Miss Raḥmānī, *Method of the 'Abbassid Propaganda for Revolution*,
2. Mr. M. Salīmuddīn Šiddīqī, *Peculiarities of Al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ*,
3. Mr. Nithār Aḥmad 'Alavī, *Abdullah-ibn-al-Mu'tazz and his Poetry*.
4. Mr. Abdussattār Khān, *Ibn-Qāis ar-Ruqāiyāt*,
5. Miss Rabi'ah, *Hasrat Mōhānī's Poetry*,
6. Miss Zīnatunnisā', *Urdu Love Poetry*,
7. Miss 'Azmatunnisā', *Hyderabad Rulers' Patronage of Urdu*,
8. Mr. S. Muhiuddīn Aḥmad, *Sharar's "Novelising" Islamic History*,

The Osmania University is probably the first in the sub-Himalayan continent to start in the law faculty an optional on diplomacy and on current international affairs. The senate of the same university has in its last meeting also decided to create a chair for Russian language and literature.

M. H.

DECCAN

Mr. Malang Aḥmad Batcha Ṣāhib :

A GREAT merchant, educationist and philanthropist Mr. Malang Aḥmad Ṣāhib, a native of Vaniyambadi, Madras Presidency died on 5th September, 1947, at his residence after a long illness of about six months. We have very scanty information of those Muslims of the South who have done much for the betterment of the Muslims in all walks of life, particularly in the cause of Islamic education purely on religious lines. The late Mr. Malang was one of those who had devoted themselves to this cause. He could afford to do this as he was a great merchant. From our point of view he was the right type of person. He was a graduate of the Madras University. With the help of his family he had established the Islamia College of Vaniyambadi and he had the management of the college in his own charge. The Arabic College at Vellore, the Muslim University, Aligarh, and the Theological Institution at Deoband too received his munificent help. He was held in high respect both by the educational institutions of the Madras Presidency and the Southern Indian Hindu Merchants Association. He always stood for the cause of the needy. We have every hope that the associations established by him will flourish for ever.

Dalipnagar—A Mughal Mint Town :

In the latest issue of the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India (Vol. VIII, pt. II, pp. 159-173), Mr. D. N. Marshall has very ably discussed under the heading of *A Hitherto Unidentified Mughal Mint Town : Dalipnagar*. He has based his whole thesis on the existence of one coin in the possession of Mr. Vicaji D. B. Taraporewala. Mr. Marshall has carefully made researches regarding the reading and location of Dalipnagar. As to the reading of the name of the Mint we quite agree with Mr. Marshall. But as to its identification and location he says :— " On a reference to provincial and state gazetteer, it is found that in Central India (to be more exact, Bundelkhand), that name was known locally as Dalipnagar. It was founded by Dalpat Rao (1643-1707), who was the head of the State from 1683 to 1707, and called after his *rashi* name (*vide* Central India State Gazetteer Series : Vol. VI, A text, Eastern States—Bundelkhand, 1907, pp. 93 and 127)—Emperor Shāh 'Ālam II visited Bundelkhand and received the Orcha and Datia Chiefs at Banda when the title of Raja was conferred on Indrajī, the ruler of Datia, " Mr. Marshall further says :— " Another and more direct item of internal evidence lies in the symbolic marks found on the coin. Of these described in paragraph 3 above, some are for the purposes of ornamentation so familiar in the coins of the Mughal period. These are the three separate clusters of three, five and six points, respectively resembling different forms of an asterisk. They occur on both the sides of the coin. The other two marks, however, do not seem to be merely ornamental. On the obverse, as has been described already over, over ح of the word حای, there occurs the spring-like symbol shown as M. M. I. (*vide* Plate XI). This is similar to the symbolic mark of Datia as given in 'Index IV—Ornaments and Symbols' appended to Vol. IV of the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (ed. by J. Allen, Oxford, 1928, p. 372). In the same catalogue coin No. 8 in Plate XX, which is a coin of Datia, portrays on its obverse a symbol similar to this. There too it is over ح of حای. In the catalogue itself in describing coins of Datia, on the obverse of twelve of them, in the formula فصل الـ حای a similar symbol is reproduced between the words الـ and حای . (*vide* Catalogue, p. 294). Though the twelve coins bear no mint-name (Catalogue, p. 293) and as such it is not possible to say very definitely that this mint-mark is of Dalipnagar mint, this further evidence confirms the identification of Dalipnagar as a town in Datia State. Mr. Marshall has very carefully discussed pros and cons of the problem to prove that Dalipnagar where the coin was struck could be classified as a Mughal mint on that date which, though first started as a Mughal mint, perhaps, soon ceased to be as such as was again restarted as a mint for local issues in 1784 with, perhaps, the permission of the Emperor. He has finished his thesis within twenty-three pages to prove his contention after gratefully accepting the help of scholars like Dr. P. M. Joshi, Mr. Narvekar and Mr. R. G. Gyani.

We shall point out to Mr. Marshall that exactly a similar coin with the mention of Dalipnagar mint on it and of the same date A.H. 1178 was once exhibited at Lahore in an exhibition of the Idāra-i-Ma'ārif-i-Islāmīa, Lahore, from the collection of the late Professor Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd Khān Shairānī (vide *Oriental College Magazine, Lahore*, November 1933, p. 28). It means that such coins with the mention of mint : Dalipnagar may possibly be found in other collections. Further we should point out that Mr. Marshall has read the inscription as *به فضل الله حامی* (سا) which we read as *به فضل الله حامی*. With the preposition *به* it will be the correct reading and a careful re-examination will reveal the same result.

Mughal Mint Towns :

Dr. Panna Lal has contributed to the Numismatic Journal an important article about some of the Mughal coins of the latter period which, according to him, bear the mention of mint towns which are not so far known, such as : Karimabad *کریم آباد*, Kolapur *کولاپور*, Sakakul *سکاکول* and Taramati *تارامتی*. A careful examination of the impressions of these coins reproduced along with this article encourages to say that the readings of these mint towns by the learned writer still require further study to come to a definite conclusion. No doubt, one of them Kolapur looks legible as it is alleged. In our opinion the third reading Sakakul as read by the writer could have been read as Calcutta *کلکتہ*, which was founded in 1690 and after a few years it had become a Mughal Mint town. Moreover, to justify his contention when the readings look to some extent doubtful, he ought to have verified these place-names on the Survey Map of India if they really exist in any form.

Dirham of Al-Muqtadir :

Mr. Naji al-Asil, Director-General of Antiquities, 'Irāq, in reply to the editor of the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India's one letter writes in the same journal on the above heading :— (We jot down here some important points from this correspondence which directly concern Islamic culture in general). "...No dirham has been found on one side of which is a picture of a bull and on the other a mounted horseman except the dirham of Al-Muqtadir... This is not an ordinary dirham used in currency. It must be 'Silat' dirham, which is usually struck on occasions as 'Ids and festive celebrations... the most ancient Abbasid pictorial coin is that of Al-Mutawakkil. On one side of it is the picture of the Caliph with a camel and driver. It was struck in A.H. 241. The coins which were struck by the Shahi Kings of Kabul and the Punjab bearing the pictures of the bull and the horseman, (i.e., those which resemble the dirham of Muqtadir and are published in the first volume of

the *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum* by V. A. Smith, pp. 259, pl. 26, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5) bear Indian inscriptions while the dirham of Al-Muqtadir has its beautiful Kufic lettering.....referred to by Shaikh Ja'afar bin 'Alī of Damascus in his book *Maḥāsīn At-Tijārah* which he wrote in A.H. 670. He says : '.....in Triploī in Syria....an auctioneer came with.....a sound dirham.....on one side...a picture of bull, on the other an image of a mounted horseman.... on both sides were inscriptions in a language I do not understand. One of the learned men of Damascus, Persian in origin, saw it....he knew the origin of this dirham. It is, he said, 'struck in India and is being used extensively in Ghazna.' In our opinion the minter who struck the dirham of Muqtadir provided the model for the coins of the Shāhis of Kabul....."

Shāhnāma and the Iranian Nation's Traditions :

Dr. S. M. Razvy, formerly Minister of Education of 'Irān, spoke at a meeting of the Iranian Zoroastrian Anjuman of Bombay (*vide The Iran League Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 1-2, 1947) about Shāhnāma. He observed that a good deal has been written on Firdausi and his great epic poem, the Shāhnāma, which is regarded as a sacred book both by Parsis and Iranians, kept in shelves, worshipped, admired and talked about. But it is very generally read and people are ignorant of what is really contained in this great work. According to Dr. Razvy the most important in Firdausi's work is the narrative of *Iranian Traditions* when the Iranians as a nation had lost all their past glories. In the beginning of the fourth century of the Arab domination, the common man had forgotten that he was of a race other than the Arabs and the cultural theologians admitted only the Arabic culture and traditions for the whole Iranian community and country. It means that the real Iranian traditions had begun to assimilate Arabic influences. But Firdausi's great work, the Shāhnāmah, will always give us a vivid picture of the real Iranian traditions of those days, i.e., Firdausi recorded the *Iranian Nation's Traditions* from the cradle to the grave. There is in this volume everything one wants to know of Iranian manners, customs, culture, thought and philosophy from the remotest times of Aryan civilisation up to the conquest of the country by the Arabs. One cannot realise the importance of Shāhnāma but by reading it. Shāhnāma is an encyclopædia of a nation's traditions. Iranians cannot have full knowledge of their past civilisations, culture, manner and thoughts, so thoroughly elsewhere.

M. A. C.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA AND EASTERN PAKISTAN

TĀRIKH-I-SINDH by Maulāna Sayyid Abū Zafar Nadvi is the latest publication of the Shibli Academy, 'Āzamgarh. This volume recalls the forgotten glories of the early Muslim rule in Sind, which began

in the second decade of the first century of the Hijra era and terminated in 303 A.H. It may be called a useful piece of work, which, we hope, is sure of a warm welcome from the ever-widening circle of students of Indian history. It commences with the geographical descriptions of Sind illustrated by well-chosen maps. And then follows the concise but lively accounts of the military and administrative achievements of the various Walis (governors) appointed in different periods. The suzerainty of the Umayyad and the 'Abbassid caliphs over this distant land together with the regimes of the Habari and 'Ismā'ilī dynasties have been graphically delineated. Some flashlights on the darker side of the Sumara kings of Sind may also be found in the book. The learned author is definitely of opinion that the Sumaras were purely Muslims and adhered to the faith of 'Ismā'ilī Shi'as. They were neither Rajput Hindus nor neo-Muslims. The tenor of this discussion will help much in removing the misconception formed after reading the obscure comments in *The History of India* by Sir H. M. Elliot, according to whom 'the Sumras were not Muslims during at least the early period of their sway in Sind' (Vol. I, p. 489). The last portion of the book occupies an interesting sketch of the contribution of Muslim rulers of Sind to agriculture, industry, husbandry, learning, literature and public works, etc. Scholars, who have been specially noted are (1) Maulāna Islāmī, who was sent as an envoy to Raja Dahir's court by Muḥammad bin Qāsim. (2) Mūsa bin Ya'qūb Ṭḥaqafī was noted for his sterling merit in jurisprudence. He was the Chief Justice (Qāḍi-ul-Qudāt) of Sind. One of his ancestors wrote in Arabic *Chachnama* which was translated into Persian by Ibn-i-'Alī Kūfī. (3) Muḥammad bin Abī al-Shawārīb came to Sind from Iraq in 283 A.H., and was appointed the Qāḍi of Mansūra. He was highly respected for his erudition. Another scholar from Iraq, whose name could not be known, versified the teachings of Islam in Sindhi for the Raja of Aror. He also rendered the holy Qur'ān in Sindhi at the instance of the Raja. This is regarded as the first translation of the holy Qur'ān in an Indian language. (4) Abū Muḥammad Manṣūrī was the Qāḍi of Mansūra, and author of several works on Ḥadīth. (5) Abū Ma'shar was born in Sind, but was taken to Hejāz as a captive of war. Here he grew highly famous for his erudition in Ḥadīth and Fiqh. His well-known pupils were Muḥammad bin Abī Ma'shar, Abū Na'yeem, Waki'e, Muḥammad bin 'Umar Wāqadī and Imām Ṣufiyyān Ṭḥaurī. He has been quoted in *Jāma' Tirmidhī*. Mahdi, the 'Abbasid Caliph was his great patron. It was at the Caliph's instance that he was appointed in Baghdād in 161 A.H. to teach Ḥadīth. He died in 170 A.H., and was buried in Baghdād. He was the author of *Al-Maghāzī*. (6) Ḥāfiẓ Abū Muḥammad Khalaf bin Salīm was taken to Iraq from Sind as a slave. Here he grew famous as a consummate scholar of Ḥadīth. His noteworthy pupils were Hātim, Abul Qasim, Aḥmad bin 'Alī Abar and 'Uthmān Darimi. He has been quoted by Imām Nesa'ī in his compilation. He died in 231 A.H. in Baghdād. (7) Abul 'Atā was sold as a slave in Kūfa. He was highly admired for his poetry. (8) Ibn-i-'Alī wrote an account of

the musicians in a book entitled *كتاب الشوكه* which consisted of 160 pages. (9) Abū Zila' was a poet, whose *Qaṣīda* on Hindustan was much admired. He was also the author of a treatise consisting of thirty pages. It has been referred to by Ibn Nadeem in *Al-Fihrist* (p. 232). (10) Maṣṣūr was also a slave but was appreciated for his unstinted merit in poetry. He wrote a book which has been mentioned in *Al-Fihrist* (p. 234). Other poets were Sindhi bin Ṣadqa, and Kashajam bin *Shahak* whose references as authors may be found in *Al-Fihrist* (pp. 236, 240). Since the establishment of the capital of the dominion of Pakistan in Karachi, Sind has grown a place of great historical importance. Our readers may feel interested in knowing the names of some of the ancient towns of this province. (i) Maṣṣūra was the seat of the government and had the area of one square mile. It was surrounded on three sides by the river Indus, and its main products were dates, grapes, apples, guavas, peaches, sugar-cane, lemons and mangoes. (ii) Alor was within the territory of Maṣṣūra on the eastern coast of the river Indus. It was a rich and prosperous town and had two ramparts around it. (iii) Daibal was a big port and centre of business. (iv) Manhapuri was just opposite to Maṣṣūra on the western coast of the Indus. (v and vi) Annari and Qabli were on routes leading from Maṣṣūra to Multan. (vii) Balri was on the eastern coast of the Indus near the gulf, which lay on the opposite side of Maṣṣūra. It was a good town, though not big. (viii) Bairon was midway between Maṣṣūra and Daibal. (ix) Close to Nairon was Mankhatri on the western coast of the Indus. (x, xi) Arma'il and Qanbli were between Daibal and Makran. Both were big towns, which had rich inhabitants. Other towns on the western coasts of Indus were Massrahi, Pharj, and Sadostan, etc.

We would like to quote at length 'Maulāna Abū Zafar Nadvi's views regarding the probable date of the first Arab expeditions to India, which had been a subject of discussion in two articles of the *Islamic Culture* (April, 1945 and July, 1946). In 15 A.H. 'Uthmān bin Abi 'Āṣ Thaqaṭī was appointed the governor of Bahrain and 'Umān. He stayed at 'Umān and sent his brother Ḥakam bin Abi 'Āṣ to Bahrain as his Deputy. After some days 'Uthmān prepared a fleet, which he sent to invade India. The fleet reached perchance Thana, which was a port on the border of Gujrat and Kokan, Bombay. The Arabs plundered the port and went back to 'Umān. This was the first expedition of the Arabs to Gujrat rather to India. As the despatch of the above war fleet was not authorised by Caliph 'Omar, 'Uthmān Thaqaṭī was afraid of the Caliph's displeasure and wrath. So when he reported the successful raid of his army, Ḥadrat 'Omar wrote angrily 'O brother Thaqaṭī! you did not despatch an army, but you put into the sea a worm seated upon a wood. By Allah if they had been put into trouble, I would have exacted recompense from your tribe." But this threat did not deter 'Uthmān bin Abi 'Āṣ from accomplishing his objective. He sent another fleet under the supervision of his brother Mughīra, who reached Daibal, and returned to 'Umān with a large booty after defeating his enemies. This was the first raid to

Sind. At about the same time 'Uthmān's another brother, Ḥakam bin Abī 'Āṣ, raided Bahroach, (a port of Gujrat) with a separate fleet. This was the second expedition to Gujrat. But these invasions did not bring forth good results. Probably they were undertaken either to gain information regarding Hindustan or to extirpate the pirates, who plundered the ships carrying cargo and passengers, and then took shelter in the ports of Sind and Kathiawar. The raid to Hindustan was made in right earnest through land during the latter part of the Caliphate of Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān under 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān bin Sumra bin Ḥabīb, who subjugated Zaranj, and the territories lying between Zaranj and Kush (?). These are at present in Baluchistan. But Baluchistan did not exist in those days. Even Mekran and Siestan were included in Sind at that time. So the lands conquered by 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān were the first territorial possessions of the Muslims in India.

The series of the Rampur State Library publication has contributed one more valuable book to both Urdu and Persian literature by bringing out *Safarnama-i-Mukhlis*. This is a work of Roy Rayan Anand Ram Mukhlis, who was employed in the services of Nawab I'timād-ud-Daulah Qamr-ud-Din Khān, the Prime Minister of the Mughal Emperor Muḥammad Shāh of Delhi. Mukhlis was a proficient scholar in Persian, and composed Persian verses with grace and accomplishment. He was an author of a number of works, viz., (1) گلدستہ اسرار (a collection of letters written by Nādir Shāh to Subedar of Kabul. It is extinct), (2) باغ و فانیع (its most important part is the description of Nādir Shāh's invasion to Delhi), (3) مراثی اصطلاحات (this is a storehouse of Persian idioms, phrases and other terminology), (4) رفعات مخلص (a collection of Anand Ram Mukhlis's letters, which convey some useful historical information also), (5) چمنستان (a compendium of short anecdotes and philosophical sayings), (6) هنگامه عشق (this is a Persian version of Malik Muḥammad Jayasi's well-known story Padmavat). Mukhlis versified it in a week (7) کارنامه عشق (a story) (8) موقع تصویر (9) دیوان (10) رباعیات (11) یاض (12) روزنامه احوال. The book *Ṣafarnāma*, deals chiefly with Muḥammad Shāh's expedition to Bangarh against the Rohilla Chief Nawab Sayyid 'Alī Muḥammad Khān Bahadur. The author accompanied his master I'timād-ud-Daulah Nawāb Qamr-ud-Din Khān in this campaign. This account of the siege of Bangarh by an eye-witness, together with a description of some of the important personages as well as the tactics and strategy of war during the later Mughal period, forms a useful piece of historical information. A copy of the *Ṣafarnāma*, transcribed in the author's own hand, was preserved in the Rampur State Library. Dr. Sayyid Azher 'Alī, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), of the Delhi University has undergone an extensive labour and toil in editing this book. The preface written by him contains some valuable discussions regarding the author, his literary achievements as well as the social, political, and military conditions of his age. The text of the *Ṣafarnāma* consists of 108 pages while Dr. 'Alī Azhar's preface covers 140 pages

and it is difficult for a reader to decide which of the two is more profitable and edifying to read.

Moulvi Sayyid Muhammad Badr-ud-Din, Lecturer in Arabic, Muslim University, Aligarh, has edited the *Diwan* of Imam Abi Bakr bin Duraid, which has been printed at Cairo. This *Diwan* contains 123 pages including 27 pages of the foreword by the learned editor, who has undoubtedly placed under indebtedness scholars interested in Arabic poetry. Born in 223 A.H. at Baṣra, Ibn Duraid grew to be the most recondite lexicographer and the greatest Arabic poet of his age. After staying for a long time at 'Umān, he went to Faras, where its 'Amīl (Governor) Ibn Mikal became his chief patron. He was appointed here as the chief of the latter's secretariat, and wrote official orders and firmans on behalf of the government. Once he eulogised Ibn Mikal in a Qasida for which he received ten thousand dirhams. It was at Ibn Mikal's instance that he compiled *Jamhara* after the model of Khalīl bin Aḥmad's *Kitāb-ul-'Ain* (كتاب العين). This is reckoned to be the most outstanding work on Arabic lexicography. Ibn Duraid shifted in 308 A.H. to Baghdad, where the Caliph Muqtadarbillah granted a monthly allowance of fifty *ashrafis* for him till the last days of his life. This financial security freed him from all worries, and he devoted his life exclusively to literary pursuits. He died at Baghdad in 321 A.H. Khateeb calls him as a doyen of the scholars, who learnt dictionaries, genealogical trees and Arabic poems by rote. Maṣ'ūdī says in his *Murūj-al-Dihāb* that the art of lexicography was finally accomplished by Ibn Duraid. Abul Ḥasan is of opinion that Ibn Duraid was a poet in the company of scholars, and a scholar in the company of poets. He could produce verbatim any diwan of any poet. He was the author of more than a score of works. His *Jamhara* in four volumes and *المجلد الصغير، كتاب الانواع، كتاب المجنى* have been published from Hyderabad Deccan, while the following have been printed in Europe *كتاب الاشتقاق* (Leipzig 1854 A.D.) and *كتاب الراشح* (Leyden 1859) *الملاحن* (Egypt 1347, A.H.) The rest are :—

كتاب ما سئل عنه لفظاً فأجاب عنه حفظاً، العرب، كتاب السلاح، كتاب غريب القرآن، كتاب اللغات، كتاب الامالى، كتاب ادب الكاتب، كتاب فعلت و افعلت، المقصور والممدود، تقويم اللسان، كتاب صفة السحاب والغيث، البنون والبنات، كتاب المطر

The Coin Cabinet of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, has acquired eighty-five old coins from the hoards discovered in the United Provinces in 1946-47. One hundred and sixty-one coins have been recommended for distribution under treasure-trove rules amongst various museums in India. These hoards consisted of one gold, two hundred and eighty-seven silver and one hundred billion coins. Fourteen silver coins of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Mahmūd (a slave king) and 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khiljī, recovered from the village of Rasra in the Ballia district, have been acquired for the Lucknow Museum. These coins bear on them such dates as are likely to fill up gaps in this series. The find has also yielded an interesting and important

coin of Sultān Ilyās Shāh of Bengal (A.H. 740-759 A.D. 1339-1358) issued from the Sunargaon mint. Another hoard found from a village in the district of Muradabad in the year 1945-46 has yielded the coins of Nāṣir-ud-Din Maḥmūd, Ghyāth-ud-Dīn Balban, and Kaiqubad who were all Sultāns of Delhi. The hoard of one hundred and fifty-seven coins found in the Mainpuri district contained exclusively the issue of the Mughal Emperors, Aurangzeb, Farrukhsiyar, Muḥammad Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh.

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An All-India Hindi Progressive Writers' Conference was held at Allahabad on the 6th September, 1947. A group of Urdu Progressive writers, consisting of Josh Malihābādī, Saghar Nizami, Krishen Chandra Mahendra Nath, Vishwametter 'Adil, Madhsudhen, Khwāja Aḥmad 'Abbās, 'Ismat Chughtai, Mumtaz Ḥusain Kaifi A'azmi, Sardar Ja'fri and others laid before the Hindi Progressive writers some constructive suggestions to keep Hindi and Urdu together and thus to develop and consolidate their basic affinity. The above Urdu writers are of opinion that one way is to recognise both Urdu and Hindi as national and official state languages and in areas where they are spoken, make it compulsory that every child should learn both in school, as is the rule now in the United Provinces. Another way would be to give official recognition to both and then to leave the people free to use whichever language or script they like for their education, business, etc. A third alternative is to regard Hindi and Urdu as two literary forms (each with its own particular script) of one common language, Hindustani. Later, and gradually, an attempt might be made to evolve and popularise a common script for both. This might be Nagri or it might be Roman. But the adoption of a common script would necessitate the conversion of the entire literature into that script. This would require several decades and several billion rupees and till the task is completed both the scripts would be maintained. In this connection a lot can be learnt from the experience of Turkey and the Asiatic Republic of Soviet Union.

It is difficult to visualise at present that a joint formula will be evolved out of the above suggestions. The U. P. Government has, however, decided to make Hindi with Devanagri script as the official language of the province. This hasty decision of the U. P. Government has not been appreciated by Mr. Gandhi, who, in his prayer gathering on the 15th October, 1947, in Delhi observed: "Of the Muslims in the Indian Union, nearly one-fourth resided in the U.P. There were many Hindus like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who were Urdu scholars. Were they to forget the Urdu script? The right thing would be to keep both the scripts and make use of either acceptable in all official dealings. This would result in the compulsory learning of both the scripts. The language then would take care of itself and Hindustani would become the language of the province. This knowledge of the two scripts would not be a waste. It would

enrich them and enrich their language. No one should cavil at such a step. They should treat the Muslims as equal citizens. Equality of treatment demanded respect for the Urdu script. They must not produce a state in which respectable life was impossible" (*The Pioneer*, October, 17, 1947, p. 12).

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Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha, Bar.-at-Law, Patna, has added one more feather to the bonnet of his authorship by writing a book entitled *Iqbal : The Poet and His Message*. Dr. Sinha is a versatile genius. Beside being a barrister and an eminent publicist, he is a prolific writer of varied taste. He can write on any topic with a remarkable grip of pen and plentitude of enthusiasm. The above compilation is a noteworthy example of his highly cultivated skill of writing and superb talent. We would like to quibble with some of his opinions on Dr. Iqbal and his ideological perspective, but we do not feel inclined to go into details, for we have a limited space at our disposal. But even a discerning critic should not, however, fail to pay tribute to the labour, determination and insight, with which Dr. Sinha, at the ripe age of seventy-five, has tried to comprehend Dr. Iqbal and made his readers understand Dr. Iqbal's arduous themes of poetry. The book has been divided into twenty-eight chapters. Nawab Mirza Yar Jung Bahadur, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Amar Nath Jha, and Dr. Sir Nawab Amin Jung Bahadur have written introductions to it. Some of its chapters are 'Appraisal of Iqbal,' 'Iqbal's religious background,' 'Iqbal's Philosophical background,' 'The Literary value of Iqbal's Persian poetry,' 'Iqbal and some great poets,' 'Iqbal and Indo-Muslim Renaissance,' 'The Popularity of Iqbal,' etc., etc.

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The Government of Eastern Pakistan (i.e., East Bengal and Sylhet) has promulgated an educational ordinance which provides for the making of the University of Dacca an affiliating and examining body without prejudicing its essential character as a teaching and residential university. A new Secondary Education Board has also been created. It will regulate the matriculation and other equivalent examinations in which over 40,000 students of East Bengal are expected to appear in March next. All colleges and senior madrasas numbering over sixty will be placed under the Dacca University and the high schools and madrasas numbering over twelve hundred will be under the Secondary Education Board. This is an emergency measure, which has been adopted to remove the anomalies consequent on the division of Bengal and Assam into two parts.

A representative meeting of the 'Ulemā of Dacca was held under the auspices of the Jamī'at-i-'Ulemā-i-Islām in the first week of September,

1947. It was presided over by Maulāna Zafar Aḥmad Thānvi of the Dacca University. In his presidential address the revered Māulana dealt with some aspects of Muslim education also. He regretted that the Islamic conception of education was not realised even when the Muslims ruled the country for seven hundred and odd years. According to him education should not be static. He made a strong plea for religious instruction in every class from infant to B.A., so that by the time a young man graduated from the University he should become fully conscious of the duties as Muslims. The Maulāna asserted further that in maktabas and religious institutions general education regarding the different political and other institutions like Communism, Bolshevism, and religions like Hinduism and Christianity must be imparted to raise the general standard of the students and also to make them fit for the world. Not unexpectedly, he also suggested that the western methods of education smacked of our old slavery must be given up forthwith.

The Jami'at-i-'Ulemā-i-Islām held another conference at Mymensingh in the second week of October, 1947. It was attended by twelve hundred 'Ulemā of Eastern Pakistan. This conference urged the Pakistan Government to establish the High Office of a Shaikh-ul-Islām both in the Dominion Cabinet and Provincial Cabinets. The duties and responsibilities of the Shaikh-ul-Islām must be as follows : (a) Appointment of Qadis in every district with executive power (b) Supervision of religious education of Muslims (c) Establishment of well-organised Bait-ul-Mal (d) Supervision of Waqfs and Mosques (e) Supervision of all religious matters. This conference demanded also of the Pakistan Government to take effective steps to abolish within its dominion the evils of races, gambling, bribery, and use of intoxicants, etc. It requested also the Eastern Pakistan Government to make the teaching of Urdu compulsory in all educational institutions.

An article on *Nizāmī and Navāī—the great poets of love and freedom* by a Russian scholar Nikolai Tikhonov has appeared in the Magazine Section of the *Morning News*, Calcutta, (9th November, 1947). The learned writer says that the great Azerbaijanian poet Nizāmī Ganjavi, lived in the 12th century and the great Uzbek poet, 'Alī Sher Navāī, in the 15th century. Three centuries lie between them, but today their names rank alongside those which outlive time, enshrined in a halo of unabating glory of popular recognition. They have their own particular place in the constellation of the most brilliant luminaries of world poetry. Pushkin, Lermontov, Nekrasov, Shota Rustaveli, Shevchanko or such Titans of the West as Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Byron are the names which may be placed along with those of Nizāmī and Navāī. From this article we learn that a merited worker in art of the Azerbaijan Republic, Abdurakhmanov, is sculpturing a monument of the poet Nizāmī to be erected in the centre of Baku.

Miss 'Āsia Khātūn who took her M.A. Degree (Arabic), in 1946 from the University of Dacca securing a very high second class has been awarded a post-graduate Research Scholarship of Rs. 75 per mensem with effect from the beginning of the current session, i.e., July, 1947. She has since been carrying on her research work on "Arabic Poetesses of the pre-Islamic Period" and that under the guidance of Prof. S. M. Husain, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon.), Head of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Dacca. She is expected to be able to finish her thesis for the Ph.D. Degree of the University of Dacca in two years' time. It may in passing be noted in this connection that Miss 'Āsia is the first lady student to take M.A. Degree in Arabic from the University of Dacca. Further, as a forceful writer, she has already made her mark in the field of Bengali literature. We wish Godspeed to Miss 'Āsia Khātūn.

Dr. Md. Ishāq, M.A., Ph. D., Lecturer in the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Dacca, has engaged himself in compiling a very valuable work on "Hadīth Literature in Transoxania." The work of the learned Doctor has proceeded far enough and is, when completed in the near future, likely to throw a flood of light on the contributions made by the people of Transoxania and around towards Hadīth literature.

Maulāna Ṣaghīr Ḥasan Ma'sūmī, M.A. (Dac.), of Bihar Sharīf, Patna, Lecturer in Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Dacca, who, besides being a Nadawī of great distinction, is an eminent Fazil of Madrasa-i 'Āliya, Calcutta, has undertaken to bring out a critical edition of the Tafsīr of the then celebrated Grammarian al-Farra (+207/822 A.D.) a facsimile of which was brought down here from Egypt a few years ago with a view to presenting it as a thesis for the Ph.D. Degree of the University of Dacca. The work of the learned nevertheless youthful Maulāna which is being pursued with zest and vigour under the able supervision of Prof. S. M. Husain has made a very great advance and is likely to be completed soon. The Maulāna is one of our few young men from whom we have great hopes and is soon destined to occupy a place of eminence in the literary firmament of our time.

We recall here with a genuine sense of pleasure and gratification that the learned Maulāna, who has already taken a first class Honours Degree from the Honours School of Arabic and a first class M.A. Degree from the Discipline of Islamic Studies, University of Dacca, is appearing for his M.A. Final Examination in Philosophy in December next wherein he is expected to come out with flying colours. He will thus combine in him, should it please God, a qualification at once rare and unrivalled. We wish the Maulāna every success in life.

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Prof. Miss A. G. Stock, B.A. (Oxon.), who has recently joined the University of Dacca as Professor of English in succession to Dr. S.N. Ray, M.A., Ph.D. (London), retired, delivered two public lectures during

the term ending September 18, 1947 : the one on " T. S. Eliot as a poetic bomb-shell " under the auspices of the English Association, University of Dacca, and the other on " Adult Education in England " under the auspices of the Literary Section, Dacca Hall Students' Union, University of Dacca. Both the lectures drew the large audience in the term. At the conclusion she gave convincing answers to many questions put to her by some of the gentlemen present to elucidate the points revised in her speeches. Everyone who attended the meetings returned with the feeling that the mantle of Mr. C. L. Wrenn, Dr. M. Hasan, now our popular Vice-Chancellor and Dr. S. N. Ray, the Heads of the Department of English, University of Dacca, before her, has not fallen on unworthy shoulders. We wish Miss Stock a career of ever-increasing activities and usefulness.

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An Association called " The Eastern Pakistan Academy of Science and Arts " came into being shortly after August 15, the day of our much-longed-for Independence. The aim and object of the association, as its very name suggests, is the advancement of science and arts among the citizens of the Eastern Pakistan without any distinction of caste, creed or colour.

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Dr. M. O. Ghani, M. sc. (Dac.), Ph. D. (London), Agricultural Chemist, Government Farm, Manipur, Dacca, has been appointed as the Chairman of the Provisional Committee of the Academy, Prof. Sūrat 'Alī Khān, M.sc. (Dac.), Professor of Chemistry, Dacca Medical College, as its Secretary and Principal S. Sharfuddin, M.A. (Cal.), Principal, Islamic Intermediate College, Dacca, as its Treasurer. Towards the end of August last, a symposium on " What should be the court language of the Eastern Pakistan ? " was held and evoked a great interest and enthusiasm among the audience. Judging from the indomitable will and indefatigable labour of Mr. Khān, its first Secretary, the association bids fair for an unqualified success. Amen !

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Ni'āmāt, a religious Bengali monthly of Dacca published under the editorship of Maulāna Md. 'Abdus Salām from Ashrafūl 'Ulūm Madrasa, Bara Katra, Dacca, has now reached the 11th year of its useful career. It is devoted to the piecemeal publication of the Bengali translations from the Urdu, Persian and Arabic originals and also of the translations of the speeches and sermons of the fourteenth century (Hijra) reformer, Ḥakim al-Ummat His Holiness late Ḥaḍrat Maulāna Ashraf 'Alī Thānawī of revered memory. It has two thousand subscribers on its rolls and is sure to go a great way towards the Islamisation of Bengali to which Muslim contribution has been so very meagre and inadequate till this day.

Thanks to the awakening among our Maulānas, they seem to have at last realised the gravity of the situation. Better late than never. Amen ! The chief feature of the monthly is that it is without any editorials and does not also accept advertisements other than those of its own publications. If the paper is to command a universal popularity which any paper worth the name should aspire for, to my mind it must carry about it a touch of modernity. We wish the paper a long and useful career.

A.S.

FOREIGN

ḤIJĀZ

Pilgrimage :

THE 9th of Dhul'ḥijjah or the Ḥajj Day corresponded this year to the 23rd of October in Ḥijāz, and to a day later in India and countries further to the East. Of the quarter million pilgrims last year, over sixty thousands had come from abroad. This year, by the end of Shawwāl, 12,018 had landed of whom 8118 had already finished the visit to Madīnah ; a month later the figures had risen to 36,215 and 20,962, respectively. During the week that was still intervening between the pilgrimage, a few more thousands added to the quota of foreigners.

The decrease was due mainly to two factors, viz., cholera epidemic in Egypt, and communal tension in India, the two countries which in themselves contribute almost two-thirds of the foreign pilgrims.

After many years, Malayans have resumed pilgrimage, and members of the royal family of Kedah included among the pilgrims.

A Jidda-Madīnah Air Service was inaugurated in September by local enterprise. The 'Ain 'Azīziyah reached from Wādī Fātimah to Jiddah by pipe lines, and fresh water has at last been assured to the people of this gate of Ḥijāz. It took about nine months to complete.

The monthly *al-Ḥajj* of Mecca reports many improvements in the local Ḥajj Office, and the muṭawwifs have been obliged to provide several important facilities to the pilgrims under their charge.

The same magazine mentions that the construction of a new door has been completed for the Ka'ba, and would replace the old one during the Ḥajj festival. The old door, it was rumoured last year, would go to some American Museum. If true, it will certainly hurt the religious and pious feelings of the Muslims all over the world.

Petrol.

Pipe lines from the petrol town of Zahrān to Ṣaida in Lebanon were planned, and the construction was to begin in October last, according

to *al-Hajj* of Mecca. Seventeen hundred kilometers in length, this pipeline, when completed in 1949, would be able to handle 300,000 barrels of petrol daily. (cf. *Al-'Amal* of Beyrouth).

Petrol economics is changing the face of Arabia. In Zahrān there is a modern town *à l'Américaine* of over 40,000 Americans, with cinemas, liquor shops and everything found in western cities. The Saudi Government has not so far allowed construction of churches for Christian workers, yet their missionaries are working with all the resources at their disposal. A new threat to Islam in Arabia is now looming large before our eyes. The royalty of about 50,000 dollars daily accruing to the Saudi Government (with prospects of still further increase in the near future) is enough to show why the Saudi Government cannot be expected to do much in this connexion.

YAMAN

Educational Expansion :

The Imām of Yāman has asked the Egyptian Government to lend services of 12 more teachers. Last academic year ten such were working in different towns of Yaman.

Forty students of Yaman have gone to Lebanon at the expense of the Lebanese Government. Half of them have been accommodated in the Maqāṣid School of Ṣaida, and the rest in the Wataniyah School of Ṭrāblus ash-Sham.

SYRIA AND LEBANON

Education :

Sixty Egyptian teachers lent to Syria have received another extension in the period of their service.

Syrian schools of agriculture have adopted the same course and syllabus as in Egypt.

Press .

The *Adib* of Beyrouth reports, that a big company is formed there. It will purchase several journals, and by amalgamating them it will reduce their number and improve their standard. It will also publish important Arabic translations as well as encourage the original efforts. Commenting on the recent cultural conference in Lebanon, the *al-Qāfilah* of Jerusalem says that there is a great need of improving the standard of Arabic magazines ; and although daily press shows considerable improvement yet the improvement is only in the news service not in the comments and other reading stuff.

Arab Culture :

The Conference of Arab Culture held its latest session in Beyrouth, and the deliberations continued for eight days ; and the last meeting was presided over by the President of the Local Republic. Apart from usual surveys and discussions, the conference passed several resolutions. According to the *Al-Ḥajj* of Mecca, the most important of these related to two matters. First, the teaching of history in each of the Arab countries should not only concern itself with local matters but should lay special stress on the geography, stages of human relations and economics of an inter-Arabic character. Secondly, school curricula should be so framed as to lay enhanced emphasis on civics and patriotism. Of course, the pivot of the teaching of history would be the interrelation of the various Arabic-speaking countries during pre-Islamic and post-Islamic times.

Servants of Arabic culture in different lands received recognition in the conference by awards of medals. Among the recipients we find names of such well-known persons as Aḥmad Amīn, 'Abdulwahhāb 'Azzām (a relative of the Secretary-General of the Arab League), Alīy Jārim, Qusṭanṭīn Zuraīq.

An Inter-Arab Engineering Conference was also held recently in Damascus. Of the 400 delegates, 160 came from Egypt, 10 from 'Irāq, 50 from Lebanon, 7 from Urdunn (Trans jordania), 45 from Palestine and the rest from Syria. Among other subjects, the use of water power engaged the attention of the conference.

PALESTINE

The *Bank Inqādh Arādi Filastīn* (for the relief and protection of the landed properties of 'Arabs in Palestine) has been established in Cairo. The capital is a million Egyptian guineas. The seven Arab countries of the Arab League have contributed a sum of E. £. 250,000 towards a general reserve. According to a resolution of the Arab League, its member states have guaranteed to the shareholders a dividend of 5 per cent. per annum for the first ten years. Only the Arab subjects of the Arab states can subscribe. The Arab subjects of the non-Arab states can, also in special cases, be allowed to purchase shares. The shares are being sold since 14th October.

'IRĀQ

Academy :

The government of 'Irāq has sanctioned a sum of 20,000 gold dīnārs towards the establishment of the 'Irāq Academy, in Baghdād. Its activities include editing of rare manuscripts in Arabic.

NORTH AFRICA

Morocco :

The Syrian Government has invited a son of Amīr 'Abdulkarīm of Rif to study in Syria. Another son of his has gone to 'Irāq to study there in the Military Academy.

Algeria :

The Franco-Algerian Legislative Assembly has agreed for the first time that Muslim festivals should be recognised in Algeria by public holidays, and that Arabic language should also be recognised along with French as the official language.

General :

The *News Bulletin*, a fortnightly publication issued by the Arab Office in London reports :

A four-day congress held in Paris, at the invitation of the Association of North-African Students in France, passed the following resolutions :— Compulsory education in Arabic, and unification of education in all the Arab Maghrib : scholarships enabling students to go abroad, and facilities to be provided for cultural exchanges between the three countries (i.e., Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco); exchange of professors between these countries ; establishment of cultural centres to combat illiteracy and the development of broadcasts for cultural propaganda ; publishers for printing and distributing books in Arabic language and representation of these Arab countries in cultural commissions of the Arab League and in all academies and feminine organisations. (With acknowledgment to *Al-'Urwa*, an Arabic-English biannual of Bombay).

VATICANA

The *Al-Hajj* of Mecca reports that Pope Pius XII has begun to learn Arabic at his age of 71. It will be recalled that Egypt and Lebanon have recently exchanged diplomatic representatives with the City-State of Vaticana. This is but a revival of mediæval practice in the Vatican. Luther was also a profound scholar of Arabic language.

GERMANY

Dr. Leo Pauly had obtained his doctorate in 1933 from the University of Bonn by editing *Al-Mustajād min Fa'alāt al-Ajwād* by at-Tanūkhīy

(d. 384 H.). He had several MSS., including that of Leningrad, to establish the text. It was published apparently in 1939 in Stuttgart. The author is still a prisoner of war, yet his work has attracted the attention of such a high-placed scholar as Kurd 'Aliy of Damascus, who has re-edited the same and published in Damascus, 1946. The book is a collection of anecdotes on good turns and beneficence to others in need. The MS. in London is wrongly attributed to some other author, that of Madinah is long since missing from the library of 'Ārif Hikmat.

General :

Prof. Maḥmūd Sha'rāwīy of the Cairo University has asked Pakistan to make Arabic gradually its official language. It will be in the interest of both the Arabic-speaking world and Pakistan. Mr. Muḥammad Asad-Weiss, who is now an important official in Lahore, has suggested that Arabic language should be made compulsory in Pakistan schools. A draft bill has been suggested by him on the following lines.

"(1) In all high schools and colleges under direct government control, as well as in such educational institutions as receive government grants, Arabic should become a compulsory secondary language for all Muslim students. (2) In order to ensure the highest possible proficiency in the teaching of Arabic as a living language, the teachers should in the beginning be mainly recruited from Arabic-speaking countries. At the same time, Arabic-training schools should be established with a view to training an adequate number of highly proficient Indian teachers of Arabic. All students graduating from the Arabic-training schools should be considered servants of the Educational Department from the moment of obtaining their degrees, and should be given posts as teachers in government-controlled institutions. (3) Within, say, six years of the inauguration of this scheme, the Arabic language shall become a compulsory subject for Muslim students in all degree examinations at the universities. (4) The funds required for the scheme should be raised by a special cess on Muslim incomes on Muslim immovable properties."

Ceylon :

Dr. Syed Akhtar Imām of the University of Colombo has contributed a short article to his University Review on "Some Indo-Arab Cultural Contacts," and has referred to Sanskrit works translated into Arabic. Then he has described a MS. which he discovered in Colombo. It is in Arabic and has been copied from one transcribed in 641 H. (1243). The author of this anonymous work is Baiyūn al-Brahmin. This Arabic translation of an original Sanskrit work deals with the effects of jewels and minerals on the human system. Apparently it is a unique copy. (From *Al-'Urwa* of Bombay).

IRAN

Veil Re-appears :

A Reuter's message of Teherān, dated 20th October, states :

A threat of smashed premises today hung over all Iranian shops and bazars which sold their wares to women without the *chādar* (head-to-foot veil). A religious movement called *Fidā'iyān-e-Islām* has posted threatening proclamations in the streets and at the entrance to mosques prohibiting women from entering places of worship without the *chādar*. The proclamation seemed to be taking some effect as several Muslim women were seen shopping wearing their veils. The present movement is a reaction to the local attitude, inspired by royal sympathies since January, 1946. So, the veil was strictly forbidden, no shop would serve a veiled woman, none was admitted to public vehicles or even allowed to appear on the streets.

M. H.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

S. K. BHUYAN, *Annals of the Delhi Badshahate*; XI, 244 pp; Gauhati, 1947, Rs. 5.

THE book before us is, for the most part, a reprint of the articles which appeared in the *Islamic Culture* in 1933-34. Assam has been in the forefront of the Indian politics lately, and the publication of the present work is timely in that it gives us an inkling of what the Assamese of the 17th and 18th centuries themselves thought of far-off Delhi and its rulers. It is well to remember that Assam was invaded nearly twenty times by the armies of the Delhi Empire from 1205 when Muḥammad b. Bakhtiyār Khiljī led his forces to the banks of the Brahmaputra in 1205 right up to the reigns of the Emperors Shāh Jahān and 'Ālamgīr which saw the annexation of the Ahom Kingdom firstly in 1639 and again in 1663 when Gauhātī became the capital of the faujdarship of Assam. The land was so far from the capital and so much a *terra incognita* that stories of Assamese magic, Assamese witches and Assamese foul weather became widely current in the Mughal Empire.

Such contacts naturally resulted in the direct influence of Islamic culture and Islamic way of life on the Assamese, and Dr. Bhuyan recounts how a large part of official correspondence was carried out in Persian at the Ahom court, how some of the coins of independent Assam had Persian legends engraved on them, how the Assamese sovereigns endowed *muqāms* and *dargāhs* with revenue-free

lands, how Assam was full of Muslim artisans, swordsmiths, gun-casters, embroiderers and those who followed other useful arts, and how the Ahom secretariat housed an abundant number of those versed in the Persian language. It is related that the Ahom court was so much influenced by the Mughal etiquette that it actually adopted the Mughal garb as its own court dress, and that Muslim divines were held in great respect by the rulers of Assam. On the other hand "Assamese ladies flaunted in the Mughal court at Delhi," and Ramani Gabharu, daughter of the Ahom King Jayadhwaj accepted Islam and was renamed Rahmat Bānū Begam marrying the Emperor 'Ālamgīr's son Prince A'zam on May 2, 1668.

The book is divided into an introduction which runs into 60 pages, the Buranjīs or 'Annals' proper containing 19 chapters, followed by appendices and notes. The body of the Buranjīs is interesting only in that it depicts the story of the Muslim hegemony over northern India through the spectacles of the inhabitants of a far-off corner of the Indian subcontinent. The main sources of the Annals are the oral testimonies of two persons, Muḥammad 'Alī of 'Secunderabad,' the preceptor of the children of Manṣūr Khān who had been deputed to occupy Gauhātī in 1679, and the sannyāsī Gokalpuri of Brindāban, while certain details are no doubt based on the actual Persian chronicles as related to the compiler of the Buranjī. Whatever this might be the Buranjīs are very faulty regarding

the facts of history, and whenever they deal with events at the Imperial capital and elsewhere they seem to deal with fiction and not the factual happenings at all. The so-called country of 'Nako' seems to have possessed fauna as it existed in prehistoric times, while Rai Pithora is said to have fought against the 'Rohillas' and the names of the pre-Mughal kings of Delhi are absolutely unrecognisable nor do their dates even remotely correspond with history. Rūm and Irān seem to be identical to the compiler of the Buranjī, and Arjumand Bānū Begam is said to have committed suicide. The value of the 'Annals' lies in the record of events nearer Assam and even here the reader has to take great care.

It is regretted that the learned editor himself has sometimes gone astray in his attempt to join fact and fiction into a connected chain. Thus, not being able to locate Sikandarābād he has with some gusto identified it with Secunderabad cantonment although the cantonment was founded long after the compilation of the Buranjī and named Secunderabad after Nawab Sikandarjāh Āsafjāh III early in the nineteenth century. Moreover in the list of distances from Delhi it is specifically put down that Hyderabad was 23 days' journey from Delhi, while the Sikandarābād in question was fully 3 months' journey from the Imperial capital. The Buranjī says that 'Sikandar Pādshāh of Iran' settled down in Sikandarābād and when he again left for Irān he gave over the charge of Sikandarābād to Ghālib Khān, while the country was later conquered by 'Silimān Pādshāh of Fārrang.' This is, of course very interesting but no better than a fairy tale. Then there is the problem of the identification of 'Rangaddin' son of Muhammad Shāh of Alamanja. There is a lot of story-telling like that of Bāgh-o Bahār and Chār Darwish, and in spite of all his attempts the learned editor has not been able to find who Rangaddin was and where 'Nako the City of Wonders' happened to be situated. This 'subjugator of Rūm' is supposed to have reigned at Delhi for nearly

24 years. The third in order of his succession is Qutbu'd-dīn and the sixth is 'Bibi Rabiya.' It is easy enough to identify Rabiya with Sultān Radiyāh and Qutbu'd-dīn with Qutbu'd-dīn Aibak, but the names of all others are topsyturvy and the dates do not correspond with the dates in actual fact, while there is no Ruknu'd-dīn or the kingdom of Alamanja or the province of Nako or its capital Mazitpur at all to our knowledge.

The value of the book lies in the Introduction by the learned editor, in his appendices and footnotes, and in the gleanings from the Buranjīs themselves as regards the great influence exercised by the Indo-Muslim culture which was propagated by the Mughals at Delhi and which had its repercussions in all the four corners of India.

H. K. S.

R. C. GHOSH, *Constitutional Documents of the Major Islamic States: XIV, 258 pp. & Index; Ashraf Publication; Lahore, 1947; Rs. 6.*

IF a date has to be fixed for the upsurge of nationalism and constitutionalism among the nations of the Eastern Continent, it may well be fixed in the period following the defeat of mighty Russia at the hands of the puny Japan in 1905. This was followed by the first constitutional experiment of the Russia of the Czars, itself a semi-Asiatic Empire, and this in turn by the establishment of the Mejlis by Muzaffaru'd-dīn Shāh of Irān and the revival of the constitution of the Ottoman Empire in 1908. These experiments by some of the most autocratic regimes of the modern world may be likened to the wave of republicanism and constitutionalism in the West towards the end of the eighteenth and the nineteenth century where every new country either strove to set up a republican régime or else a constitutional monarchy more or less on the pattern of the English system..

The experiment seemed to succeed in the case of Japan which firstly copied the institutions of the 'western democracies' and then the methods of European diplomacy and war, coming out with flying colours in all the fields in which she entered.

The book before us is a compendium of the constitutions of Turkey, Egypt, Afghānistān, 'Irāq and Irān. Each of these is prefaced by a short historical sketch of the constitutional background of these states and followed by certain documents dealing with matters directly connected with them. The book is apt and timely, especially as we Indians look only to certain western countries, especially England, for our guidance, just what newly-formed European nations did in the last century and failed, as the material, the political atmosphere and the background were so different from the set model. The constitutions before us show how they had to be dovetailed to the conditions prevailing in different lands and how they have responded to this. One feels, and strongly feels after what has, alas, been only too evident during the past few months, that unless our own country evolves a constitution which would be a product of our own reactions, all attempts at playing at 'liberty' and 'freedom' would, God forbid, prove to be utter failure.

The most democratic of the constitutions before us is, of course, the constitution of the Turkish Republic, and its western character has acquired a permanency mainly because the whole character of its society has been westernised. However that may be, certain matters contained in the constitution which was framed immediately after the Treaty of Lausanne, are rather peculiar. We have a single-chambered legislature, and the President of the Republic is elected from among the members of this 'Grand National Assembly.' There is a Council of State, but it is an administrative rather than a legislative body. Apart from the constitution proper we have a number of other documents, such as parts of the Treaty of Lausanne, and papers connected with the problem of minorities in Turkey and Greece, etc.

This matter of the minorities is the one which interests us almost more than any other matter today. Fullest protection is given to all non-Muslim minorities in Turkey and all Muslim minorities in Greece. They are guaranteed full enjoyment of all political rights and are given the privilege of giving evidence in their own languages in the Turkish and the Greek law courts as the case may be. Moreover in districts where these minorities form a considerable section of the population it is laid down that adequate facilities should be available for imparting primary education in the language of the minorities concerned. It is well known that there was a partial exchange of the Muslim and non-Muslim population of Turkey and Greece consequent on the Treaty of Lausanne but it was guaranteed in the Convention of 30th January, 1923, that each of these units should have a full guarantee of property and monetary assets, and any exchange of property would only be effected through a mixed commission of the Turks, Greeks and neutrals. All these things should be an object lesson to us.

The next country dealt with is Egypt with a ruler of the House of Muḥammad 'Alī, himself of Albanian parentage sitting on the throne of the ancient Pharaohs struggling against the Imperialism of the West. Egypt has developed on the lines of modern constitutional monarchies with a limited royal veto, a Senate two-fifth of which are appointed by the King and three-fifth elected, and a freely elected Chamber of Deputies. In order to have balanced Houses provision is made that no one less than 30 should be elected a member of the lower chamber and the qualifications of the membership of the Senate have been made fairly high. We are aware that it is not the constitutional but the political aspect of the Egyptian life which is a sore in the side of the Egyptian people, and we have in the collection before us the Treaty under which the four most controversial points were reserved for the decision of Britain, and that of 1936 under which Britain has been able to post (which is technically not regarded

as an act of occupation) her forces in the country.

Afghānistān has a far simpler constitution with a *Shūrā-i-Milli*, a House of Nobles consisting of the appointees of the King (something like the Canadian Senate) and committees consisting of the members of the two Houses. One striking thing about the Afghan constitution is that under it all civil officials, military officers, members of political missions and students pursuing their studies abroad are not allowed to marry foreign subjects. Another matter which is noticeable is that the treaties which followed the Fifth Afghan War of 1919 have acquired for Afghānistān a status equal to that of any other independent country of the world. A matter which is of topical interest to us today is that in a letter from the British Representative to the Afghan Foreign Minister, (the date of which is unfortunately not given) it is recognised that "the condition of the frontier tribes of the two governments are of interest to the government of Afghānistān."

As against the conditions prevailing in Afghānistān, the treaties which recognise the independence of Irāq and Irān give them only a comparatively subservient position. Unfortunately neither the important Anglo-Russian Pact of 1907 nor the treaty between Irān and England signed in 1919 is reproduced or even mentioned, although it is these two documents which proved to be two nails in the coffin of Iranian Independence, and had it not been for the stalwart and now much-maligned *Riḍā Shāh Pahlavi*, Lord Curzon would have reduced the ancient Empire to the status of an Indian feudatory state. There are some interesting provisions in the Iranian constitution which deserve a passing notice, such as that under which the Teherān deputies are authorised to begin the discussion of the measures brought before them without waiting for the provincial deputies. We have further the strange provision under which a Board of five censors is constituted, composed of the representatives of the 'Ulemā, and this is empowered to see that no law transgresses the law

of Islam. This was enacted in the time of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh Qājār, and it is not mentioned whether this still holds in Irān.

These and many other interesting facts may be gleaned from the valuable documents embodied in the book before us. It is a pity that the book is full of typographical and other mistakes, while certain headings are misleading such as the repetition of the heading 'constitutional documents' even on pages where only stray papers are copied. It is strange that neither the Treaty of Sèvres which sounded the death-knell of the old régime in Turkey, nor the part of the Treaty of Lausanne dealing with frontiers on which the whole system of the rights of the minorities was based, is reproduced in the book. The constitutions themselves, as given in the book, are bereft of any comments, and the prefaces affixed to each constitution are very sketchy. Some of the documents are reproduced without their dates and leave the reader curious about chronological sequence which is not always correct. It is hoped that such matters would be remedied in the second edition of the book. It is also hoped that when the new edition comes out it will contain the constitutions of Pakistan and Indonesia, the two latest additions to the list of modern Islamic states.

H. K. S.

THIRTEEN HUNDRED YEARS

AFTER : by 'Abdul 'Alī, pp. 70,
Re. 1-12-0, to be had from the author,
Sa'eedābād, Hyderabad-Deccan.

THIS small brochure, with nice get-up, deals with the life of the Prophet, an initiation to the beginner and layman. The chief moral of the life of the Prophet of Islam is how best to combine the material and the spiritual urges of man. There have been and there are teachers according to whom renunciation of the world is the only criterion of man's perfection. They

have an extremely negligible following. The overwhelming majority of human beings, at least nowadays, is of those who believe in pure and simple materialism, with almost no moral values to distinguish them from other animals of God's creation.

"The events of the 20th century have made it painfully clear, says *The Times'* literary supplement, that technical development cannot be equated with an advance of civilisation. If our civilisation is to survive, it will certainly not be through progress in physical sciences but through the revival of its neglected intellectual and moral foundations."

The first and perhaps also the last teacher, who prescribed the "Good in this World as well as Good in the Hereafter" (Qur'ān), as the motto of humanity, is Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam. He is also unique in putting into practice his teachings as a Prophet-Monarch of a vast territory for a considerable length of time, with followers numbering hundreds of thousands, with untold number of other subjects.

The small booklet under review will certainly increase the thirst of serious students for more extensive study on the topic. The booklet happily deals with the life as well as the teachings of the Prophet in a succinct manner.

M. H.

ABU-BAKR: by Nawab Sadr Yār Jung Maulvi Habibur-Rahmān Khān Sherwāni translated into English by Dr. Syed Mo'inul-Haq, Ashraf Publications, Lahore, pp. 202, Rs. 4-8-0.

THE original book in Urdu, which had at least three reprints with additions, not very important, was first published thirty-five years ago in 1331 H. The author, who was for a long time Šadr-uš-Šadūr (Head of the Ecclesiastical Department) Hyderabad, is not only a consummate scholar but also a stylist in Urdu language. We must not expect the charm and grace of the original in its English rendering.

The book has generally followed Ibn Sa'd, Suyūṭī and other sources commonly available thirty to forty years ago. Many works of great importance,—both in Arabic and other modern languages,—have since been published on the subject. Apparently the author's old age does not permit him to revise his book which involves labour and years of constant steady to assimilation. Hence there is much to be desired from the point of modern taste and requirements.

There is not even one map to illustrate the course of conquests in the time of the first Caliph of Islam, who was, in a way, the originator and organiser of the Muslim Caliphate and Empire.

The translator, unfortunately does not seem to attach enough importance to the correct pronunciation of Arabic names and words, for instance:—

p. 1, Kunnyat instead of the correct

		Kunyat
47,	Sa'dah	Sā'idah
'75	bi'at	bai'at
91,	Damatul Jandal	Dūma—
91,	Ullis,	Ullais
94,	Balqiya	Bānqiya
120,	Jamadiul Akhir	Jumādāl-Akhirah
122,	moḥalla	maḥallah
129,	Zul Kala'	Dhul—
166,	shifā'at	shafā'at

and a host of others, not to speak of the mistakes of print.

The book, however, to a layman is a very fine introduction to the life of Abū Bakr, the Righteous (Siddiq, —as he is called) and it makes the older Urdu scholarship available to English-knowing public.

M. H.

ŠAFAR-NĀMA-E-MUKHLIŠ OF ROY RAYAN ANAND RAM MUKHLIŠ, d 1164 A H. Edited by Dr. Azhar 'Alī, published by Hindustan Press, Rampur, 1946. Price Rs. 6.

IT is a welcome sign of the time that the subsidiary material, such as travels, biographies, numismatic and epigraphical collections, which throw side-lights on history are being studied and

brought to light by historians of the time. History is a vast subject. It is a study of Society in all its bearings and therefore it is in need of a wider survey through various sources and not exclusively through books of history which centre round royal families and their entourage. Most of the medieval histories, written in India and elsewhere, are deficient in their treatment and subject-matter. They dilate on the royal durbars which were supposed to be the pivots of all social activities. But as a matter of fact, they give no glimpse of the Society itself. It is undoubted that the Mughal historian who produced volumes on the history of their time, either independently or in deference to the wishes of their royal patrons, cover a larger ground than those of their Pathan predecessors, still they leave much to be desired. Unless their history books are supplemented with subsidiary sources, such as travels, biographies, etc., it is not possible to place history in its correct perspective and to draw a true picture of the Society as it existed at the time.

The *Ṣafar-nāma* by Anand Ram Mukhliṣ which is both a subsidiary source and a part of history proper, fills a big gap in the revolutionary history of the eighteenth century. It gives a vivid description of Moḥamed Shāh's march to Bingadh which took place in February, 1745. It is obvious that the reign of Moḥamed Shāh, who was the last Mughal Emperor, was extremely revolutionary. India was torn by centrifugal forces which not only undermined the central government but also weakened themselves only to deliver goods to a foreign power. It was a cross-road where old and new traditions met and divergent views interlaced. The march was against Nawab Syed Moḥamed 'Alī Khān, an Afghan Chief, who had formed a Pathan hegemony in the Northern India and gave a challenge to the Mughal suzerainty. Although the crisis was averted by the salutary intervention of another Pathan Chief, Qain Jung, who apprehended the ascendancy of Ṣafdar Jung through the defeat of Moḥamed 'Alī Khān, yet it revealed an interesting part of the reign bearing on the political disintegration

of the country as well as the stand taken by the Mughal Emperor to maintain his power and prestige. It was the last attempt of this kind.

Besides, the *Ṣafar-nāma* is a good portrait of Mughal culture and civilisation. In spite of the weakness which was visible in the central structure of the Mughal government, the Imperial durbar never ceased to wear the outward garment of pomp and pageantry. The *Ṣafar-nāma* helps one to study the order of the Mughal durbar, the elegance of the court etiquette and the propriety of the court language. It is also curious to note that the travelling durbars were as orderly and as fully equipped with royal bag and baggage and office requirements as they were in the capital.

The authority of Anand Ram Mukhliṣ adds to the value of the work. His versatile knowledge of history, literature and vocabulary, coupled with his old association with the Court of Moḥamed Shāh stands him in good stead as a reliable source of history. Being a member of a respectable Kathri family with an age-long loyal traditions of Mughal service and association with the Mughal Court, Anand Ram may be safely considered as an authority of the Moḥamed Shāhī period. He is the only writer who can give reliable accounts of the political actions and interactions of this transitory period. His works which include travels, letters and history of Moḥamed Shāh's reign go a long way to clarify the changing conditions of the time. The latter work which is not edited so far is extant in one of the libraries of the Muslim University.

Dr. Azhar 'Alī Khān and the Rampur State are to be thanked by whose labour and instance the *Ṣafar-nāma* has been edited and brought to the notice of the history scholars. The editor has done full justice to the work by his scholarly introduction and footnotes, which testify to his wide knowledge of Mughal history and laborious research. The introduction is self-contained and comprehensive. It gives the biography of Anand Ram Mukhliṣ and that of Syed Moḥamed 'Alī Khān with a glossary of Mughal terminology. The biography of Mukhliṣ is

fairly exhaustive with a good description of his family, culture, his Mughal service, his learning and literary works. The life-sketch of Moḥamed 'Alī Khān, who is the central figure of the drama and whose subversive activities had driven the Empire to the war, is equally exhaustive, and helps the reader to understand the political situation which existed at the time. The glossary of the

Mughal terminology which is supplied at the end of the introduction is a valuable contribution to the Mughal history. It helps to study not only the *Ṣafar-nāma* concerned but also various other histories dealing with the Mughal period. The footnotes are equally informative. One can only hope that the *Ṣafar-nāma* will be widely read and appreciated.

A. M.

RATIONAL OUTLOOK AS OBTAINED IN THE THOUGHT-PROCESS OF THE ṢAḤĀBAH

THE science of al-Kalām assumed its present independent form of its own after it had been branched off from *Fiqh*, Jurisprudence in the 3rd century A.H.* Muslim theology, though developed afterwards in other centres of learning, had its birth in the city of Medina called the city of the Prophet *par excellence*. The Quranic verses contain *per se* the data of the fundamental problems of theology such as unity of God, the freedom of human volition, and so on, and so forth. These verses had their exposition and clarification in the words and deeds of the holy Prophet, generally known as *Ḥadīth*, Traditions. And, history bears an eloquent testimony to the fact that the Ṣaḥābah followed the Qur'ān to its very letter and also implicitly followed in the footsteps of the great Prophet of Arabia. The apostolic traditions as well as the sayings of the Companions of the Prophet throw further light on the theological problems as adumbrated in the holy Qur'ān. They can, for all practical purposes, be regarded as an adjunct complementary to the Qur'ān.

After the demise of the Prophet, differences of opinion did, no doubt, arise among the Companions, but those differences were not as acute and divergent as those that cropped up in the succeeding ages. Though the Ṣaḥābah solved their problems as they came up strictly in obedience to the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, and did not deviate from them even by a hair's breadth, nevertheless, they brought their own intelligence and judgment to bear on their respective decisions, *Mujtahidūn* that they were. And this accounts for the divergences and differences that made head among them from time to time.

The object of my paper is to assess the amount of rationalism that found its play into the differences of opinions held by the Companions of the Prophet on the various fundamental theological problems that are set forth below.

* The science under reference took its birth during the caliphate of Al-Mahdī towards the latter end of the 2nd century A.H., and was later developed and perfected under 'Al-Ma'mūn by the celebrated Mu'tazilite leader, Abu'l Hudhail 'Allāf (131-235), *vide* Yāqūt. *Mu'jamul Uḍabā*, VI, 74; Al Mas'ūdi: *Murūjal Dhahāb*, II, 365; Shahrastānī: *Milāl* I, 18.

TAWHĪD, UNITY OF GOD

THE idolatrous Arabs who were given to the worship of innumerable gods, once convinced of the truth of the oneness of God, held it fast even at the cost of their lives. What was needed for them was the sweet reasoning about the truth of the godhead. Once it was there through the medium of the Prophet of Arabia, it worked miracles amongst the Beduin hordes.

When the death of Ḥaḍrat 'Amr b. 'Āṣ (d. circa 42/663 A.H.), the conqueror of Egypt, who was undoubtedly one of the greatest generals that the world has ever produced, approached, he grew extremely restless and began to weep. His son Ḥaḍrat 'Abdullāh, who was standing nearby, asked him if he was afraid of death. "Certainly not, my dear son," he answered, "I am afraid of what will follow death." 'Abdullāh then tried to console him and said, "Well, father, you have had the privilege of enjoying the company of the Messenger of Allāh and performed good deeds all your life. What is more is that you have won for Islam the glorious conquests in Syria and Egypt, and as such you have no cause to be afraid of what will come after death." "No, my dear boy," added the dying hero, "You have forgotten to refer to my highest achievement, namely, my faith in the unity of God, 'Lā ilāha illallāh,' 'there is no God but Allāh,'" ¹—an answer that shows how sentiment at once rational and pious was working in his mind at the most psychological moment of his life.

The celebrated Mu'adhhdhin of the Prophet, Ḥaḍrat Belāl (d. 20 A.H.), once having come to believe in the existence of one true God, had on his lips but all soothing and sweet 'Aḥad, Aḥad,' 'the One, the One,' even at the time when he was undergoing the severest torture on the burning sands of Arabia with a heavy stone on his chest, and that at the hands of the sworn enemies of Islam. Such was the inexorable and inflexible faith he had in the unity of true God.²

Ḥaḍrat Abū Fuqaiha was another personage who too fell a victim to the cruel persecution of the infidels. Once his master Ṣafwān pointing to a dung-fly, scornfully asked if that was not his Lord. Abū Fuqaiha bluntly retorted by saying, "Your Lord as well as my Lord is the One same Allāh,"³ a belief in Whom was soon to become a prevailing theme all over Arabia.

After conversion, Ḥaḍrat Umm Sharīk was subjected to a very severe punishment to keep standing on the burning sands under the midday Arabian sun. Not only this. To add to her agony, she was given only bread and honey to eat, and was not allowed even a drop of water. Having thus suffered the inhuman atrocities for three long days, she

1. Ibn Hajar: *Usdu'l Ghāba* Vol. IV, p. 117, also 'Abdus-Salām: *Uswah-i-Ṣaḥābah*, Vol. I, p. 43.

2. Ibn Sa'd: *Ṭabaqāt*, Vol. III, p. 165.

3. Ibn Hajar: *Usdu'l Ghāba*, Vol. V, p. 273.

lost her consciousness. In her plight, her kinsmen asked her to abjure her faith in God. She became so much exhausted that she could not follow what her kinsmen were telling her. At last, when they pointed towards God on high with their fingers, she came to realise that they were meaning her to forsake her belief in One God. She indignantly declared, "By Allāh I am constant in my faith and shall not forsake it, come what may."¹

Ḥaḍrat Abū Ṭalḥa (d. 51 A.H.),² while still a pagan, approached Ḥaḍrat Umm Sulaim³ with a view to marrying her. Though willing to marry him she hesitated to accept him as her husband merely on the ground of his disbelief. But all the same, she entered into a conversation with her suitor and said, "Hallo, Abū Ṭalḥa, don't you see that the god you worship has been made of a tree which must have sprung up from the earth and which must have been felled by a Negro carpenter one day?" meaning thereby that it was no more than a wooden idol. "Yes, my sweetheart," said Abū Ṭalḥa, "It is just as you say." "Then," she rejoined, "Don't you feel ashamed of worshipping it?" At this, Abū Ṭalḥa got nervous and nonplussed and had nothing cogent and convincing to say against the forceful argument of his lady-love. This reasoning of Umm Sulaim finally led to the conversion of Abū Ṭalḥa to Islam, and then to consummation of their marriage union.

ANTHROPOMORPHISM

ALMOST from the beginning of the 2nd century A.H., a period that synchronised with the termination of the days of the Ṣaḥābah, anthropomorphism raised its head in the caliphate, particularly in its eastern zone and that on the interpretation of the words such as *يد*, hand, *وجه*, face, *نفس*, soul, *عين*, eye, as related to God and as embodied in both the Qur'ān and the Sunnah.⁴

The Ṣaḥābah, on the other hand, readily believed in all the anthropomorphic expressions in the Qur'ān and the Sunnah as they found them without entering into the discussions of why and wherefore of those terms. For, according to their logic and reasoning, it was useless and futile to enter into any controversy in that connection inasmuch as a controversy of its kind, however long and forceful, was not likely to unravel their meanings, human as it was. Obviously, in their opinion, God Who is infinite can appreciate all that is human and finite but not vice versa.

The view of Ummu'l Mu'minīn Ḥaḍrat 'Āyesha (d. 58/678) on *سمع* as occurs in her following statement: *الحمد لله الذي وسع سمعه الأصوات*, "All

1. Ibn Hajar: *Usdu'l Ghāba*, Vol. V, p. 594.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 591.

4. The holy Qur'ān: *ولتصنع على عيني* and *تعلم ما في نفسي ولا أعلم ما في نفسك كل شيء* هالِك الاوجهه، يد الله فوق ايديهم

praises are due to God Whose Ear encompasses all the sounds,"¹ supports my contention.

Ḥaḍrat 'Umar (d. 23/644),² Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68/687),³ Ibn Mas'ūd (d. 32 or 33/A.H.)⁴ Ibn 'Umar (d. 73/693),⁵ Ibn 'Amr (d. 65 or 68 A.H.),⁶ Abū Huraira (d. 57 or 58 /676-678),⁷ have narrated traditions on the authority of the holy Prophet that contain the anthropomorphic words such as *يد* and *وجه* and so on. And there is nothing to warrant that they have used them in the meanings other than what is commonly understood.

Ummu'l Mu'minīn Ḥaḍrat Umm Salmah (d. 59/679), when asked to give the meaning of the verse: *الرَّحْمَنُ عَلَى الْعَرْشِ اسْتَوَى* (XX: 4), "The Merciful settled on the throne," interpreted it in its ordinary and literal sense. But when her questioners were not satisfied at that, she threw further light on the verse by saying:—

الاستواء معلوم ، والكيف مجهول ، والإيمان به واجب ، والسؤال عنه بدعة ، والبحث عنه كفر ،
"The settling of the Merciful is known, while its modality is unknown, to believe in it is incumbent upon everyone of us, while its questioning is an innovation, pure and simple, last but not least, its discussion is infidelity."⁸

The final reply of Umm Salmah, as just given above, is sufficient to lay at rest any controversy that may be raised in this connection.

1. Bukhārī: *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and Sayyid Sulaimān: *Strat-i-'Ayesha*, p. 256.

2. Shaikh M. Saffarīnī: *الدرر المضية لشرح الدرر البهية* Vol. I, pp. 171-195, Vide p. 190; في الصحيحين
من حديث عمر رضي الله عنه ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال التقى آدم وموسى فقال افت الذي خلقك الله بيده الخ
قال الشيخ محمد بن احمد السفاريني الاثر في الحنبلي في كتابه لوائح الانوار البهية (مطبعة المطلة المنار)
... .. " كما روى الالكافي الحافظ في كتابه السنة ، من طريق قرة بن خالد عن الحسن البصري عن امه
خيرة مولاة ام المؤمنين ام سلمة (رض) عن ام سلمة (رض) انها قالت في قوله تعالى " الرحمن على العرش استوى " ،
الاستواء معلوم والكيف مجهول والإيمان به واجب والسؤال عنه بدعة والبحث عنه كفر : وهذا حكم المرفوع
ان مثله لا يقال من قبل الراي وفي لفظ آخر قالت الكيف غير معقول والاستواء غير مجهول والاقرار به من الايمان والوجود
به كفر : وروى يحيى بن ادم عن ابيه وابن عثينة قال سئل ربيعة بن ابي عبد الرحمن المشهور بربيعة الراي وهو
شيوخ الامام مالك بن انس (رض) عن قوله تعالى الرحمن على العرش استوى ، كيف استوى قال الاستواء غير مجهول
والكيف غير معقول ومن الله الرسالة وعل الرسول البلاغ وعلينا التصديق : وروى نحو ذلك ايضا عن الامام
مالك (رض) فقد ذكر الامام يوسف بن عبد البر في كتابه التمهيد ، قال اخبرنا عبد الله بن عبد المؤمن قال حدثنا احمد بن
جعفر بن احمد ان قال حدثنا عبد الله بن احمد بن حنبل قال حدثنا ابي قال حدثنا شريح بن النعمان قال حدثنا عبد الله بن
نافع قال قال الامام مالك بن انس (رض) الله في السماء وعلمه في كل مكان لا يحلونه مكان قال وقيل لما لك (رض) :
الرحمن على العرش استوى ، كيف استوى ؟ فقال مالك (رض) استواؤه معقول وكيفيته مجهولة وسوالك
عن هذا بدعة وادالك رجل سوء "

3. Ibid., p. 171 وفي حديث ابن عباس (رض) ما السموات السبع والارضون السبع وما فيهن في يد الرحمن الخ

4. Ibid., p. 191 والمسلم عن ابن عمر فيه ثم ياخذهن (السموات) بيده اليمنى الخ

5. Ibid. وفي حديث النزول عن ابن مسعود (رض) عنه وفيه فيسط بيده الخ

6. Ibid., p. 195 روى النسائي من حديث عبد الله بن عمر (رض) والعاصي فيه كلتا يديه يمين الخ

7. Ibid., p. 190 وفي حديث ابي هريرة (رض) [وفي حديث ابي هريرة (رض) عنه قال ،

8. Ibid., p. 168 كما خلق الله آدم ككتب بيده الخ

WHETHER or not reason or commonsense admits the possibility of the vision of God has been a great controversial question among the theologians of Islam. The Mu'tazilites, who are otherwise the Rationalist Scholastics, hold that it is impossible to see God both in this world and the world hereafter. But the Jamhūr, the majority of the Muslims belonging to the Ahl-i-Sunnat wa'l Jamā'at, assert otherwise. They not only believe in its mere possibility but they are also unanimous on this that they will have the vision of God, the Most High, on the Day of Judgment.

Coming to the consideration of the question dealt with by the Ṣaḥābah themselves, we find them also to be unanimous on this that God will be seen in the next life. To add to this, as many as twenty Companions have handed down to us traditions in support of the feasibility of the Beatific Vision, so that the tradition, in this connection, has attained the rank of *Tawātur*.¹ If they have differed, they have differed only in the fact whether or not the holy Prophet has seen God in his life-time. Ḥaḍrat 'Āyesha, on the other hand, denies the fact that the holy Prophet has seen God in this world and maintains that 'he who says that the Prophet saw God in person lies' من حدثك أن محمدا رأى ربه فقد كذب.² In support of her contention, she adduced two verses from the holy Qur'an, namely (i) 'Eyes cannot perceive Him whereas He perceives the eyes, and He is the Kind One, the Omniscient' (VI: 103), and (ii) 'It is not possible for a human being that God can talk to him but by revelation or from behind a veil (XLII: 51).' It will not, perhaps be out of place to state here, in this connection, that the Mu'tazilites, though highly rationalistic in their outlook, could not do better than cite the above verses by Ḥaḍrat 'Āyesha in favour of the non-visibility of the Ultimate Reality.

Ḥaḍrat Ibn Mas'ūd, too, seems to have held the same view as the one held by Ḥaḍrat 'Āyesha. He further corroborates the interpretation of the first few verses of the chapter, al-Najm, concerning whether the Prophet has seen God or not as interpreted by Ḥaḍrat 'Āyesha and says, فيها كلها رأى جبرئيل عليه السلام. "In all these verses, the idea that transpires is that the Prophet saw Ḥaḍrat Gabriel and not God, the Almighty."³

Ḥaḍrat Ibn Abbās, however, differs from them and maintains that the Prophet twice saw God and that through his heart and not through his corporeal eyes.⁴

And, when 'Ikrimah (d. 105 A.H.), the beloved pupil of Ibn 'Abbās wanted to oppose him by saying that لا يصره إلا بصاروه هو يدرك الابصار. "Does not God say, 'Eyes cannot perceive Him while He perceives the-

1. It means tradition related by successive witnesses. Ed. I.C.

2. Imām Bukhārī: *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Vol. II, p. 720, Muṭtaba'ī Press, Delhi.

3. Waliyuddin al-Khaṭīb: *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, p. 501., Asaḥḥu'l Maṭābī' Press, Delhi.

4. *Ibid.*, and also Khafāji: *Sharḥush-Shifā*, Vol. II, p. 287.

ويحك ذاك اذا انجلي بنور هادي هو نور ه، وقد رأى ربّه مرتين، 'Woe to thee! that is only when God manifests Himself in His own Light verily, he (the Prophet) saw his Lord twice over.'¹

Ḥaḍrat Ka'b al-Aḥbār also speaks in the same strain when he says, 'ان الله قسم رؤيته وكلامه بين محمد (ص) و موسى (ع)، فكلهم موسى مرتين، و رآه محمد (ص) مرتين، Verily Allāh divided His sight and speech between Muḥammad and Moses. He twice talked to Moses, and was twice seen by Muḥammad.'²

QADAR, IRREVOCABLE DECREE OF ALLĀH

THE Ṣaḥābah were, however, the firm believers in Fate or the predestined Decree of Allāh. Ma'bad al-Juhani (d. 699 A.D.), an inhabitant of Baṣrah, was the first man who disbelieved in *Qadar*. It was, then, that Yaḥya b. Ya'mar and Ḥamīd b. 'Abdur-Raḥmān, the two learned sages of Baṣrah, decided to consult the Ṣaḥābah to ascertain their views in this connection. Luckily, on a pilgrimage-journey to Mecca, they came in contact with Ḥaḍrat 'Abdullāh b. 'Omar and after the usual exchange of greetings, they narrated to him that some of their countrymen had lately renounced their faith in *Qadar*, and had thus given a go-by to the Muslim doctrine of predestination. "Tell your friends" said Ibn 'Omar "if you chance to meet them, that I have nothing to do with them nor they have to do anything with me. By God! their alms will not be accepted and approved of by God even if they were to offer gold to the weight of the mountain, Uḥūd itself, unless they believe in *Qadar*."³ In their opinion an unbelief in predestination, which was only another name for the foreknowledge of God, was tantamount to infidelity, pure and simple.

Once, while arriving on state mission at Sargh Ḥaḍrat 'Omar came to know of the outbreak of plague over there, and, with a view to insure his safety as also of that of his entourage, he decided to go back to Medina and not to stay at the place any longer. At this, Ḥaḍrat Abū 'Obaidah (d. 18 A.H.), the then Commander-in-Chief of the Arab forces in Syria, remarked by saying, 'أفرارا من قدر الله، Are you running away to escape the decree of Allāh?' Deploring the misunderstanding of the great general, 'Omar Fārūq thus observed, نعم نقرر من قدر الله الى قدر الله. 'Yes, we are running away from one Decree of Allāh to another Decree of Allāh,'⁴—an answer that supplies us with the best possible solution of the question.

GHĀ'IB, THINGS UNSEEN

DURING the days of the holy Prophet as also our own the popular belief has it that prophets do possess the foreknowledge of the Unseen.

1. *Ibid.*, Waliyuddin al-Khaṭīb: *Mishkat al-Masābiḥ*, p. 501. 'Aṣaḥḥu'l Maṭābi' Press, Delhi. Khatā'ji: *Sharḥush-Shifa*, Vol. II., p. 287.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Imām Muslim: *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-'Imān*, 1st ḥadīth; also A. Salām: *Siyar-i-Ṣaḥābah*, Vol. I, p. 48.

4. *Ibid.*, *Kitāb al-Salām*, Bāb at-Tā'ūn, p. 229. 'Aṣaḥḥu'l Maṭābi'.

As a refutation of this the Prophet of Arabia himself quoted the Quranic verse : ' قل لا أقول لكم عندي خزائن الله ، ولا أعلم الغيب ، ' Say : I say not unto you (that) I possess the treasures of Allāh, nor that I have knowledge of the Unseen . . . ' (VI : 50). Ḥaḍrat 'Āyeshā on her part vehemently opposed this view current among the generality of the Muslims of her time so much so that once she declared by saying, ' من حدثك أنه يعلم لا في غد فقد كذب ' He who tells you that verily the Prophet knows what will come about tells a lie.¹ She made this statement of hers on the ground that it was against the spirit of the Quranic verse, ' لا تدري نفس ماذا تنكب عدا ' 'No soul is aware of what it will acquire tomorrow' (XXXI : 34)—a statement that speaks volumes for the rational attitude of Ummu'l Mu'minin Ḥaḍrat 'Āyeshā.

THE CONCEALMENT OF REVELATION—اخفاء الوحي

THE holy Prophet cannot be accused of the concealment of any part of the revelation as the hypocrites, *Munāfiqūn*, or some of his bitterest enemies would have us believe. Nothing can better justify this assertion than the statement of Ummu'l Mu'minin Ḥaḍrat 'Āyeshā of which the keynote was reason and commonsense. Inculcating in her pupil Ḥaḍrat Masrūq (d. 62 or 63 A.H.), this lesson, namely, that the holy Prophet never kept any part of the Divine Revelation concealed, Ḥaḍrat 'Āyeshā said to him, ' من حدثك أنه كتم فقد كذب ' Verily, he who tells you that the Prophet has concealed a part of the Divine Revelation and that he has not delivered it to his people, lies,² inasmuch as the Qur'ān has it, ' يا أيها الرسول بلغ ما أنزل إليك من ربك وإن لم تفعل فما بلغت رسالته ' O, the Apostle! deliver to the people what has been revealed to you from your Lord. If you do not do so, you will be failing in your duty to deliver His message, to those for whom they are meant' (V : 70). She, further, averred that if Muḥammad (صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم) wanted to conceal any portion of the revelation, he had the better reason to conceal the following verse, ' واذ تقول للذي اعم الله عليه وانعمت عليه امسك عليك ز وجك واتق الله ' "When you were saying to him upon whom, God as well as you have bestowed gifts ; keep your wife to you, and fear Allāh (in the matter of divorcing her), while you were concealing in your heart what God was going to disclose, and you were fearing men while Allāh best deserves that you should fear Him " (XXXIII : 37).³

This verse conveys us the fact that the Prophet concealed his idea of marrying Ḥaḍrat Zainab, the would-be-divorced wife of his adopted son Zaid b. Ḥāritha, as a compensation for the loss of prestige she suffered, a lady of respectable birth that she was, on account of her union with Zaid, the erstwhile freed servant of the Prophet—a union for which the Prophet was wholly and solely responsible. There are other verses

1. Imām Bukhārī : *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Vol. II, p. 720, Muṭtabā'ī Press, Delhi.

2. *Ibid*.

3. *Zamakhshari : Kashshaf*, Vol. II, p. 213, (Egypt).

that can be cited too that bespeak of the human side of the holy Prophet which he could as well conceal if only he desired it.

MIRĀJ OR THE DIVINE ASCENSION OF THE PROPHET

It is almost a universal assumption that Ḥaḍrat 'Āyesha believed in the ascension spiritual and not physical of the holy Prophet. Evidently, this has been based on Ibn Ishāq's tradition, namely, *قال ابن اسحق وحديثي من آل* 'Ibn Ishāq said: 'a certain member of the family of Abū Bakr related to me that 'Āyesha, the wife of the Prophet, has said that the body of the Messenger of Allāh did not disappear (from his bed at the time), and that he was made to travel heavenwards spiritually only."¹ So far as the tradition is concerned, it does not, and as a matter of fact, cannot stand our scrutiny and that for the following grounds. In the first place, in the opinion of Imām Mālik (d. 179 A.H.), Imām Ahmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241 A.H.), and other authorities of the science of *الرجال*,² Ibn Ishāq has been looked upon as a weak narrator. Secondly, Ibn Ishāq does not mention as to who his narrator was. Thirdly, even this unknown narrator of his, as belonging to the family of Abū Bakr, does not say in so many words that he has heard the tradition directly from Ḥaḍrat 'Āyesha herself so that a link in the chain appears to be missing. Though the above tradition in support of the ascension spiritual and not physical of the holy Prophet, as handed down to us by the Ummu'l Mu'minīn Ḥaḍrat 'Āyesha, may not be accepted as genuine on the ground of the technical flaws as discussed above, nevertheless it can be accepted as such relying, in the main, on the rational outlook which generally characterises the traditions narrated by Ḥaḍrat 'Āyesha.

Ḥaḍrat Mu'āwiya's tradition on the topic under reference, namely *عن محمد بن اسحق وقال حدثني يعقوب بن عتبة بن المغيرة بن معاوية بن أبي سفيان كان إذا سئل عن مسرى رسول الله (ص) قال كانت رؤيا* 'Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq has narrated and has said: 'Ya'qub b. 'Uṭba b. al-Mughīra related to me that whenever Mu'āwiya was questioned about the nocturnal journey of the Messenger of Allāh, he said, 'It was a true dream from Allāh,'³ is defective inasmuch as Ya'qūb (d. 128 A.H.) who narrated the tradition on the authority of Ḥaḍrat Mu'āwiya (d. 60 A.H.) was not his contemporary and as such he was not likely to hear the tradition personally from him.⁴ All the same, the tradition may be taken as genuine so far as its underlying rational meaning is concerned and that for the simple reason that a matter-of-fact Companion like Mu'āwiya was not likely to hold or believe in a statement which would not concur with or go against the grain of his reasoning.

1. Ibn Hishām : *Sīrat*, also Sayyid Sulaimān : *Sīratun-Nabī*, Vol. III, p. 388.

2. Ibn Hajar : *Tahdhībūt-Tahdhīb*. Vol. IX., pp. 42-44.

3. Ibn Hishām : *Sīrat*, also Sayyid Sulaimān : *Sīrat*, Vol. III, p. 388.

4. *Ibid.*

PUNISHMENT OF THE DEAD ON ACCOUNT OF THE
BEWAILING OF THEIR KINSMEN — تعذيب الميت ببكاء اهله عليه

On the authority of Ḥaḍrat 'Omar, Ḥaḍrat Ibn 'Abbās and Ibn 'Omar have narrated the tradition, viz., ان الميت ليعذب ببعض بكاء اهله عليه. "The Messenger of Allāh said, 'Verily, the dead will be punished in the life on account of the bewailing over them of their kinsmen,'"¹ but Ḥaḍrat 'Āyeshā, true to her rational frame of mind, has rejected this tradition on this ground that it is contrary to the spirit underlying the Quranic verse لا تزر وازرة وزر اخرى "No bearer (soul) shall bear the burden of others' (VI: 164)—a decision which both Ḥaḍrat Ibn 'Omar and Ibn 'Abbās have unhesitatingly accepted as sound and valid.

SIMĀ'U'L MAWTA OR THE HEARING OF THE DEAD

HADRAT 'OMAR, Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn 'Omar and other Companions of the holy Prophet did believe that the dead can overhear the living. They based this belief of theirs, ostensibly, on the tradition of the Prophet. He addressed the corpses of the infidels immediately after the conclusion of the battle of Badr,¹ viz., هل وجدتم ما وعد ربكم. 'Have you found to be true what your Lord promised you?'² Whereupon, Ḥaḍrat 'Omar interrogated the Prophet by saying, 'O, Apostle of Allāh, do you talk to the dead who cannot hear us?' The Prophet replied, ما اتم باسمع منهم. 'You do not hear better than they do excepting that they cannot respond.'² Ḥaḍrat 'Āyeshā, on the other hand, does not accept the validity of the tradition inasmuch as it is contrary to reason and is also in conflict with the explicit verses of the Qur'ān, viz., انك لا تسمع الموتى. 'Verily, you cannot make the dead and those who are in the graves hear you' (XXXV: 21 & XXXVII: 80).

To sum up, I might add that the Ṣaḥābah, aware as they were of the real implications of the Quranic verses, invariably brought their reason or commonsense to bear on those metaphysical questions and problems of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah that came up before them for their considerations, particularly, when they came in contact with their non-Muslim countrymen who had views of their own on those questions and wanted to argue thereon. It is on the basis of the rational and sensible judgments and decisions of the Ṣaḥābah as noticed both in *Hadīth* and *Tafsīr* (Exegesis) that our *Mujtahidūn* (Law-givers) and *Mutakallimūn* (Orthodox Scholastics) have built up their edifices of Islamic Sciences of *Fiqh* (Jurisprudence), *Kalām* (Scholasticism), *Uṣūl Fiqh* (Principles of Jurisprudence) and so on and so forth. As a matter of fact, we owe a great deal to the pioneering works of the Ṣaḥābah not only in the domain of religion and what it stands for but also in the field of our speculative sciences such as philosophy, and metaphysics.

M. SAGHIR HASAN AL-MASUMI.

1. Wāliyuddīn: *Mishkāt*, p. 151.

2. and 3. Bukhārī: *Ghazwatul-Badr*.

THE TĀRĪKH KHĀN-I-JAHĀNĪ-WA-MAKHZAN-I-AFGHĀNĪ

I UNDERTOOK to edit Ni'matullāh's *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghānī*, a very important and complete general history of the Afghans in India, with critical notes and annotations on the suggestions made by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, K.C.I., and my supervisor Prof. Muḥammad Zubair Ṣiddiqī, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., (Cant.). In connection with this work I consulted several catalogues of the Persian MSS.¹ preserved in the different foreign and inland libraries. I learnt that there is also an abridged version of it known as the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī*, translated by Dr. Dorn, which he names "History of the Afghans from the Persian of Neamatullah," and found a remark made by a certain Ibrāhīm Batnī at the end of its Daftar II, dealing with the history of the Sūrs in India. This remark, which was entirely out of place in this book, led me to confusion and suspicion. I had an earnest desire to go through the Persian text of it, but I had not then a single copy of it at my disposal. Dorn's History, which is open to serious criticism, could not serve my purpose. When I went minutely through the three MSS. of the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*, preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta and one, in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipur, I notice serious discrepancies in their contents—only two of them were complete, but even they did not completely tally with each other. This actuated me to see some more copies of it. During this time I read an article on the subject written by Dr. A. Ḥalīm, Aligarh University,² which also could not solve my difficulties, on the other hand it led to further confusion.

On enquiry I received information from Mr. Imtīyāz 'Alī 'Arshī, the librarian of the Rampur State library that there were two MSS. of the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*, one of them being complete and the earliest known MS. dated 1038 A.H. (1629 A.D.), and also two MSS. of the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī*. I went to Rampur and having consulted these MSS. I am now in a position to clear the confusion.

1. Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. V, p. 68.

2. *Transactions of the History Congress*, 1941, pp 377-383.

Having described the circumstances in which I am writing this article, I now proceed to deal with (1) the two books and their contents, (2) the discrepancies between them, (3) their author, (4) their sources and their importance and (5) the manuscripts of the *Tārīkh*.

.(1) THE TĀRIKH KHĀN-I-JAHĀNĪ

The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghānī* is an important work on the general history of the Afghans in India from the time of Adam to the death of Khwājah 'Uthmān (1021 A.H.=1612 A.D.), when the Afghans lost all power and finally submitted to Jahāngīr. In the preface, Ni'matullāh, the author, says that he began the work after the 'Aṣr prayer on Friday, the 20th Dhilhijjah, 1020 A.H. (the 13th/14th February, 1612 A.D.) at Malkapur in Berar.¹ At the end of the book, he says that he completed the work on Friday, the 10th Dhilhijjah, 1021 A.H. (the 22nd January, 1613 A.D.) at Burhanpur.² The work was dedicated to Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī,³ the author's patron, after whom it was entitled. The *Tārīkh* was divided into a *muqaddimah*, seven *bābs* and a *khātimah* (see chart).

The *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* is also a general history of the Afghans in India from their rise to their downfall (1021 A.H.=1613 A.D.). In the Introduction it is stated that it was composed by Ni'matullāh in 1018 A.H. with the help of Haibat Khān. Further it is stated, as we also find in the Introduction of the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*, that *Ma'dan-i-Akhhbār-i-Aḥmadī* composed by Aḥmad Khān bin Bihbal Khān Kambū in 1020 A.H. (1612 A.D.) was utilised by Ni'matullāh together with many other works for this book. It is divided into three *bābs* and three *daftlars*.

1. RASB. MS. No. 100, fol. 3.

Malkapur is a mahal of the Sarkar of Namala, Berar Suba, vide *Ā'in-i-Akbarī—Jarett II*, p. 234. This town is the headquarters of the ta'alluq of the same name in Buldana district, Berar, situated in 20° 53' N. and 76° 15' E., on the Nalganga, a tributary of the Purna, at the elevation of 900 feet 308 miles from Bombay and 213 from Nagpur—See Imp. Gaz. Oxf., Vol. XVIII, p. 91.

2. RASB. MS., No. 100, fol. 220b,

Burhanpur is a town in the Nimar district, C. P. It is situated on the north bank of the river Tapti about 40 miles south-west from Khandwa and 2 miles from the Railway station of Lalbagh in 21° 18' 33" N. and 76° 16' 26" E. It was founded by Naṣir Khān the first independent prince of the Farrukhī dynasty of Khandesh about 1400 A. D. and named by him after the famous Sheikh Burhanuddin of Daulatabad. It was a scene of great historical events during the Mughal rule in India (See Imp. Gaz. Hunt. Vol. II, p. 271).

3. Pir Khān, entitled Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī, son of Daulat Khān Lōdī, was a great favourite of Jahāngīr who called him his 'farzand' (son). He was raised to the rank of 5000. He rebelled against Shāh, Jahān. His son Ḥasan Khān was caught in the vicinity of Kalinjar, and Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī was shot by an arrow by Madhu Singh on the 1st Rajab, 1040 A.H. (Monday, the 24th January, 1631 A.D.) and his head was sent as a present to Shāh Jahān by 'Abdullah Khān, a general of Shāh Jahān. (For the detailed account of his life and deeds see the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*, Bāb V, the Persian text of the *Ma'āthir-al Umarā*, B. I., Part I, pp. 716-732; Blochmann's *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, pp. 503-506 and Roger's *Memoirs of Jahangir*).

CHART

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1. Preface ..	1. Preface .. Praise of God and the Prophet Muḥammad and the reasons for the composition of the book.
2. Muqaddimah ..	2. Bāb I .. History of Patriarch Ya'qūb Israyeel (Jacob Israelite).
3. Bāb I ..	3. Bāb II .. History of King Ṭālūt, the expulsion of the Israelites by Bukht Naṣar (Nebuchadnezzar) and the migration of the Afghans to Ghōr.
4. Bāb I ..	4. Bāb III .. History of Khālīd bin Walīd up to the end of the Khilāfat of 'Umar Fārūq and the governorship of Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī, the uncle of Bahlūl.
5. Bāb III ..	5. Daftar I .. History of the Lōdī Sulṭāns, from Bahlūl to Ibrāhīm Lōdī.
6. Bāb IV ..	6. Daftar II .. History of the Sūrī kings, from Sher Shāh to 'Uthmān, the last independent Afghan chief.
7. Bāb V ..	.. .. History of Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī.
8. Bāb VI ..	8. <u>Khātimah</u> ¹ .. Genealogy of the Afghans.
9. Bāb VII ..	.. .. History of the Emperor Jahāngīr.
10. <u>Khātimah</u> ..	7. Daftar III .. Life and miracles of the Afghan <u>Sheikhs</u> .

Having described the two books, now I proceed to clear the aforesaid confusion in the light of the contents of the two books. Elliot says, "The Makhzan-i-Afghani and the Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Lodi are frequently mentioned and referred to as separate works, but they are essentially one and the same. The Tarikh contains in addition, a memoir of Khan Jahan Lodi, from which the book takes its name and it also gives a meagre history of the life of Jahangir."² Prof. Sheikh A. Qādir-i-Sarfarāz, Bombay

1. Here the transcriber failed to arrange the contents of the *Makhzan* properly, for *Daftar III* contains the life of the *Sheikhs* as he states in the Introduction of the *Makhzan*, *Khātimah*, to which there is no reference at the time of dividing the book into *bābs* and *daftars*, contains the genealogies of the Afghans contrary to the statement.

چنانچه شمه ذکر خوارق ایشان (شیوخ) در حاتم کتاب مسطور و نحو اهد شد انشا الله تعالی
(cf. Rampur MS., No. 380, p. 2).

2. See Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. V, p. 67.

University, asserts, "The Tarikh-e-Khani Jahani is a further abridgment of Niamatullah's History of the Afghans."¹ Dr. A. Halim, Aligarh University, takes the two to represent one and the same work.² But an examination of the contents of the two texts leads us to a contrary conclusion. Some extracts from the two books are therefore given below for perusal.

Extracts from the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*:—

(I) بتاریخ بیستم ماه ذی الحجه سنه ۱۰۲۰ عشرين والف من الهجرة النبويه روز جمعه بعد از نماز عصر که بموجب حدیث نبوی افضل ترین ساعات و فرخنده ترین اوقات است در مقام قصبه ملکا پور من عمل بر ارکه شاهزاده بلند اقبال سلطان پرویز طول الله عمره مرتبه دوئم تسخیر مملکت دکن نهضت فرمودند التجا بکرم ربانی والتفات یزدانی نموده بتسوید بجراید احوال و انساب این طبقه کرام اقدام نمود.³

(II) و در مجلس بهشت آئین و محفل فردوس برین نواب مستطاب معلى الالقب خانجهان لودی که غرض از تالیف و تصنیف این تاریخ ذکر اوصاف حمیده و احوال پسندیده ایشان بود که در روزگار بماند مقبول و منظور سازد بمنه و کمال کرمه و این کتاب را بتاریخ خانجهانی و مخزن افغانی موسوم ساخت و آنرا بریک مقدمه و هفت باب و خاتمه مشتمل گردانید.⁴

(III) قطعه در اتمام این تاریخ خانجهانی المشتهر مخزن افغانی تحریر یافت و انتظام پذیرفت قطعه به—

هزار شکر خدا را که یافت این تاریخ زمین عاطفت و التفات او انجام
بروز جمعه و دهم ز ماه ذی حجه هزار و بیست و یک هجرت رسول اقام.⁵

(IV) تسوید این تالیف و تحریر او انحر و تصحیح این تاریخ بنحط شکسته بسته کترین متصدی جمع اضعف عباد الله نعمت الله بن خواجه حبیب الله عفی عنه در بلده فائره معموره برهانپور حمیه عن الالفاق و الحادئات بوقوع انجا مید..... نقل است اما بعد این کلمه چند است در بیان سلسله انساب کترین اضعف العباد هیبت خان که بتحریر و تقریر اقدام نمود.⁶

1. See Bombay University Catalogue, Vol. 96, No. 159.

2. See Indian History Congress—1941, pp. 377-383.

3. Cf. Bankipur MS., No. 529, fol. 6a (Introduction).

4. Ibid., fol. 6b (Introduction).

5. Cf. RASB. MS. No. 100, fol. 220b (*Khātimah*).

6. Ibid., fol. 221a (*Khātimah*).

Extracts from the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* :—

(I) چون کترین محراب این صحیفه خواجه نعمت الله بن خواجه حبیب الله هروی در سینه یکمزار و هژده بدور سلطنت نورالدین محمد جهانگیر بادشاه غازی و بموجب فرموده نواب خانجهان لودی که بحکم آن بادشاه خلایق پناه بخطاب فرزند می معز و مکرم بود و رتبه قرب او از امرای هراقوام مستثنی و ممتاز بود و وفات محبت شعاری (و مودت) فضیلت اطواری هیبت خان کا کرساکن سامانه که یکی از ملازمان نواب خانجهان لودی بود که در بهم رساندن و جمع نمودن انساب این سلسله طبقه افغانیه که منتشر و سرور کم بود بموجب سعی و کوشش مومی الیه احوال این طایفه از ابتدائی سلسله این طبقه که بحضرت یعقوب منتهی می شود مرقوم گردانید انتخاب نموده این کتاب را مخزن افغانی نام نهاده شده و بر سه باب و سه دفتر ختم گردانید .¹

(II) مصنف اصل این تاریخ شیرشاهی عباس سروانی است چون بعضی مقدمه احوال باز بهادر و وقایع کریانان و مذاکره لوخانیان و بعضی مقوله دیگر داخل درین تاریخ نبود ، بنابراین ناقص می نمود - درین ولا احقر العباد ابراهیم بتی آن را از تاریخ نظامی که او نیز احوال شیرشاه و اسلام شاه نوشته است و بعضی مقدمه از کتاب مخزن افغانی از تصنیف نعمت الله سامانی است انتخاب نموده داخل این تاریخ کرده با تامل رسانید .²

The preface of the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* agrees substantially with that of the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*. In the preface of the former, however the following statement occurs, which is not found in the latter. "Haibat Khan had collected and arranged the scattered and confused genealogy of the Afghans."³ Further it is stated that Ni'matullāh undertook to compose this book at the command of *Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī* in 1018 A.H. (1609 A.D.).⁴ In the *Tārīkh* Ni'matullāh says that he began to compose it on Friday, the 20th *Dhulhijjah*, 1020 A.H. (the 13th/14th February, 1612 A.D.) at Malkapur⁵ and finished it on Friday the 10th *Dhulhijjah*, 1021 A.H. (the 22nd January, 1613 A.D.) at Burhanpur.⁶

As regards the different dates of their composition something must be said to clear the confusion. Generally an author follows the same

1. See Rampur MS. No. 380, p. 2 Dr Dorn corrects the statement and says "and divided it into three chapters, three Books and a conclusion" (See Dorn, Part I, p. 4).

2. See Rampur MS No 380 p 265 The same statement is found at the end of Daftar II of the *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhi*, revised and enlarged by Ibrāhīm Batnī (see Sachau Bodl I, No. 177). For further details see the author's article "A visit to the Rampur State Library" (*Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, October, 1947, pp. 371-374).

3. See Rampur MS., No. 380, pp., 3-4.

4. *Ibid.*

5. See RASB MS., No. 100, fol. 3.

6. *Ibid.*

principle in the composition of his works ; but here in one case only the year of beginning the work is given, while in another the dates with days both of beginning and finishing the work are given. Besides, an author like Ni'matullāh, who was very particular about the dates, would have given the place, name and the date with the day of undertaking the work, if the *Makhzan* were actually his original work. Further 1018 A.H. was a year of hard days for the author. It was the year when he entered into the service of *Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī* on the 7th *Dhīqa'd*, 1018 A.H. (Monday, the 22nd January, 1610 A.D.) and reached Burhanpur on the 17th *Muharram*, 1019 A.H. (Sunday, the 1st April, 1610 A.D.).¹ In the campaign it was very difficult for him to live a life of ease and comfort, necessary for the composition of such a big book. According to the author's statement he came in contact with Haibat *Khān* in the journey. It is very probable that he met him at the close of the year 1018 A.H. or the beginning of the year 1019 A.H., as the campaign did not start before the month of *Dhīqa'd*, 1018 A.H. Thus it appears that he could not have received assistance from Haibat *Khān*² before 1019 A.H. for his work which is stated to have been composed a year before in 1018 A.H. This is absurd. The present theory further gains strength from the fact that *Ma'dan-i-Akhhār-i-Ahmadi (Majma'-ut-Tawārikh)*³ composed by Ahmād *Khān* bin Bihbal *Khān* Kambū in 1020 A.H. could not be utilised by Ni'matullāh for the work, which is said to have been undertaken by him two years earlier than its composition in 1018 A.H. And if the *Makhzan* was undertaken in 1018 A.H. and continued up to 1020 A.H. and upwards, as Dr. Dorn suggests,⁴ then the author should have referred to this book in his later edition, namely the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghānī* just as he has acknowledged there the importance and utility of the works of other authors.

Hence it is apparent that the *Makhzan* was not the original work of Ni'matullāh and he did not undertake to write any work in 1018 A.H. It is very probable that the *Tārīkh* was abridged into the *Makhzan* later on by somebody, who committed a mistake by giving 1018 A.H. as the year of composition of the *Makhzan*, while it was actually given in the *Tārīkh* as the year of the Deccan campaign. It is also possible that the author based the *Makhzan* on an incomplete and defective MS. of the

1. See Bankipur MS. No. 529, fol. 216b (Bāb V).

2. For the genealogy and detailed account of Haibat *Khān*'s life see the long eulogy of Haibat *Khān* included at the end of the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī* (cf. RASB. MS. No. 100, ff. 221a-224a).

3. See Bankipur MS., No. 529, fol. 6b.

Ma'dan-i-Akhhār-i-Ahmadi (Majma'-ut-Tawārikh) is an excellent general history of the Muslims in India from Adam to the seventh year of the reign of Jahāngīr. Ni'matullāh says that it was compiled in 1020 A.H. (1612 A.D.) by Ahmād bin Bihbal *Khān* Kambū. The distinctive epithet was derived from the author's name. It is quoted under the same title in the *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭin-i-Afghānī* and *Ma'dan-i-Jahāngīrī* (See Elliot, Vol. V, p. 1 and Vol. VIII, p. 354.) It is also designated as *Ma'dan-i-Akhhār-i-Jahāngīrī* (See Rieu B. M., Vol. III, p. 888 or 1766).

4. Dr. Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, Part I, p. IX.

Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī, in which the date of undertaking the *Tārīkh* (i.e., 1020 A.H.) was wanting and when he found the year 1018 A.H., given in the Introduction, he took it for the date on which the work was begun. To me, it appears, however, to be only a scribe's mistake and not the actual statement of the fact by the author himself.

The presence of the statement چنانچه ذکر خواری ایشان (شبوخ) در خاتمه in the Introduction of the *Makhzan*, while the life of the *Sheikhs* is given in Daftar III of the *Makhzan*, clearly shows that the *Tārīkh* was the original from which the above statement has been copied verbatim. At the end of the *Makhzan*, *Khātimah*, dealing with the genealogy of the Afghans, is given. But it is not mentioned in the Introduction, where the contents of the book are dealt with.²

The texts of the two books dealing with the genealogical account, are almost identical. In the part dealing with the *Lōdis* also there is little difference between the two books, but the concluding portion of the history of Sikandar has been very much abridged in the *Makhzan*. The two texts under discussion differ a good deal in details regarding the history of the *Sūrī* kings and the later independent Afghan chiefs. The two long eulogies of *Khawās Khān*³ and *Hājī Khān*,⁴ the regulations of *Sher Shāh* and *Islām Shāh* and the eulogy of *Sheikh 'Alāyī*⁵ found in the *Tārīkh* are not given in the *Makhzan*. The arrival of the *Sūrs* and their settlement in India and the conversation among 'Isā Khān, other

1. See the Introduction of the Rampur MS. Nos. 379 and 380 and Rai Mathura Prashad's MS.

Dr. Dorn perhaps corrects the statement and says, "Who having strenuously exerted themselves on the field of 'Fight for the religion of God,' returned from the minor combat to a greater one, namely, the combat against their passions, which they eradicated with the sword of abstinence and resistance, as will be related in the Third Book." (See Dorn, Part I, p. 3).

2. See the Introduction of the three MSS. of the *Makhzan* quoted above.

3. *Khawās Khān*, son of Malik Sikka, was commander-in-chief of *Sher Shāh*. At first he was a household slave of *Sher Shāh*, but later on he proved himself the best general of his time. He was very much respected by his contemporaries. He had conquered Gaur, extirpated Mahratha Chero and taken a distinguished part in the battles of Chausa and Bilgram. In the Punjab he was left with *Haibat Khān Nīāzi*, a good soldier, and a large tribal following to govern the Punjab.

His sister was married to *Hājī Khān*, a favourite of *Sher Shāh*. *Khawās Khān* is justly renowned for personal courage, strict sense of honour, skill in warfare and great generosity. He became a follower of *Sheikh 'Alāyī* (Cf. Footnote No. I, and p. 11) played an important part in politics during the reign of *Islām Shāh*. He wandered about from place to place for a long time during the period of his rebellion against *Islām Shāh*. He at last took shelter with *Tāj Khān*, governor of Sambhal, who assassinated him about 958 A.H. (1551 A.D.). His body was carried to Delhi and buried there. His tomb is frequented by the devout who consider him a saint.

4. *Hājī Khān* was the brother-in-law of *Khawās Khān*, just mentioned above. He was one of the favourites of *Sher Shāh*. He rose to the rank of 52,000. He was governor of the Punjab for some time. He was known for his bravery. After the death of *Islām Shāh*, when disunity prevailed among the Afghans, he fought bravely against *Udaisingh*. He defeated him and went to Gujerat. He lived there for some time in the service of *Sher Khān Fawladī*.

5. *Sheikh 'Alāyī* was the son of *Sheikh Hasan* and the disciple of the famous *Sheikh 'Abdullāh Nīāzi*. His father was residing at Biana. After his father's death he sat on the *masnad*. He made a great stir in the world in the reign of *Islām Shāh* by introducing a new system of religion. He called himself *Imam Mahdi*, who is believed to be the last Imam. He created great disturbances in the empire and converted some thousands by persuasion. After being twice banished by the King, he returned and kindled fresh troubles, for which he was scourged to death at Agra by order of *Islām Shāh* in 955 A.H. (1548 A.D.). He remained firm to his doctrine in the agonies of death but his religion was not long maintained by his disciples.

Amirs and Islām Shāh are given in more detail in the *Makhzan* than in the *Tārīkh*. The account of the Kerrānīs and Luhānīs, given in detail in the *Tārīkh* are but briefly narrated in the *Makhzan*. These discrepancies are due to the following reasons:—

(1) Daftar II of the *Makhzan* begins like a new book with بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم which clearly indicates that it is a separate chapter altogether borrowed from a different book.

(2) It ends with the remark of a certain Ibrāhīm Batnī quoted above. This passage indicates that it was meant for the *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī*. The latter book originally composed by 'Abbās Sherwānī just after 987 A.H. (1570 A.D.) was revised and brought down to 1021 A.H. (1613 A.D.) by one Ibrāhīm Batnī.¹ After comparison it is found that the Daftar II of the *Makhzan* begins and ends like that of the revised MS. of the *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī*.²

These facts leave no doubt about their being identical. Daftar II of the *Makhzan* is, therefore, only a copy of that of the revised version of the *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī*. This chapter might somehow have been missing from the MS. of the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī* which was made the basis for the *Makhzan* and for the fact that Daftar II of both the works dealt with the same subject and that of *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī* was bodily incorporated into the *Makhzan*, without any regard to the statement of Ibrāhīm Batnī, which could not fit with the text of the *Makhzan*. It is also possible that the compiler may have introduced this chapter into the *Makhzan* because he found it more exhaustive than the one given in the *Tārīkh*. From Ibrāhīm Batnī's own statement quoted above, it is certain that he had nothing to do with the *Makhzan*. Of course many scholars are of opinion that Ibrāhīm Batnī is the real composer of the *Makhzan*. But Elliot rightly observes, that "The most barefaced plagiarist and bookmaker would hardly assert that he had improved and completed a work by adding to it selections from its own pages."³

This theory is further strengthened by the fact that all the known MSS. of the *Makhzan* contain the above passage at the end of Daftar II⁴ and so far as I have been able to ascertain, the MSS. of the *Makhzan* are of later dates⁵ than those of the *Tārīkh*. Had the *Makhzan* been Ni'matullāh's genuine work then there must have been some MSS. free from this irrelevant statement.

1. Sachau, Bodleian I, No. 177.

2. See *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī*, Sachau, Bodleian I, No. 177.

3. Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. V, p. 68.

4. Rampur MS. Nos. 379 and 380, pp. 469-470 and p. 265, respectively; Rai Mathura Prashad MS. p. 343; Dorn's *History of the Afghans*, Part I, p. 184 and see Ethe, Vol. I, column 232, No. 578.

5. Rieu, I, p. 212 MS., dated Dhīqa'd, 1080 A.H. (1670 A.D.) is the earliest known MS. of the *Makhzan* and the earliest MSS. of the *Tārīkh* are dated 1038 A.H. and 1063 A.H. (see R. 381 and Ethe I, col. 230, respectively).

The other two chapters of the *Makhzan*—Daftar III and *Khātimah*, containing life of the Afghan *Sheikhs* and genealogies of the Afghans—also begin with *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم*.¹ This indicates that they were also borrowed from another book—namely the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*, but they are very much abridged.

Taking these points into account, I am inclined to think that the *Makhzan* is not an original work of Ni'matullāh and it was not composed in 1018 A.H.; but later on the man, who brought the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghānī* into the present form of the *Makhzan*, retained only the second half of its title as he left out the biography of the Nawwāb *Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī*, from whose name the original book had derived its first half of the title. The compiler of the *Makhzan* also left out the history of Jahāngīr as he was a Mughal King.

In a history of the Afghans the insertion of Bāb VII, dealing with the history of Jahāngīr, may appear to be out of place. The history of Jahāngīr was included in the *Tārīkh* perhaps for the following reasons.

(1) In the portion dealing with the history of the Afghans, the author treats of persons and kings with whom he was not directly familiar. He had to base his observations on previous authorities. He therefore may have been tempted to deal with contemporary periods where he could prove himself to be a good chronicler and historian. An account of the reigning sovereign, though outside the scope of the project of the work, may come in the natural course of things.

(2) The ancestors of Ni'matullāh and those of *Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī* were in touch with the Mughal kings and hence an account of the Emperor of the times would just fit in a contemporary chronicle.

(3) Bāb VII (Jahāngīr's history) may have been written to please the Nawwāb, who was so dear to the Emperor Jahāngīr that he was called 'Farzand' (son) by the latter.²

(4) Jahāngīr finally subjugated the Afghans and hence a reference to the Emperor and his reign are required for the sake of completion of his history of the current times. As a complete account of Jahāngīr's reign does not strictly fit in with his main scheme, which relates to the history of the Afghans, it was given as a separate section, so as not to interfere with the scope of the main work.

Dr. A. Ḥalīm observes that Bāb VII was added to the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī* after its completion on the 10th *Dhilhijjah*, 1021 A.H. (the 13th/14th February, 1612 A.D.) in fulfilment of his promise, that he made at the end of Bāb V, dealing with the biography of *Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī*.³ As one of the three Aligarh MSS. of the *Tārīkh* (No. 137/3 fol. 5b which Dr. A. Ḥalīm mistook for 136/3), contains six chapters, a *muqaddimah*

1. Rampur MS. Nos 379, pp. 471 and 380, pp. 266 and 320. Rai Mathura Prashad's MS: does not contain these two chapters.

2. See Rampur MS, No. 381, p. 3.

3. See *Transactions of Indian History Congress—1941*, pp. 377-383.

and a *khātimah*, he is of opinion that it was not a scribe's mistake but the actual statement of the author himself. I visited the Aligarh University library and personally perused the MSS. of the *Tārīkh* preserved therein. Aligarh MS. No. 137/3 really contains the above statement. Its date of transcription is rather late¹ and it may be that the scribe intentionally made the change from seven to six as he found Bāb VII wanting in the MS. from which he made his copy. This theory gains an additional strength from the fact that all the other known manuscripts of the work invariably contain statement in the Introduction that the work consists of seven chapters, though in some of them one or two *bābs* are wanting.²

Dr. A. Ḥalīm asserts again that a book stated to have been completed on the 10th *Dhilhijjah* cannot contain an account of the 14th *Dhilhijjah*, and hence Bāb VII, which contains the history of Jahāngir up to the 14th *Dhilhijjah*, must be a later addition. But according to all the other MSS., the date of the event referred to is the 14th *Dhiqa'd* and not the 14th *Dhilhijjah*. The author fulfils his promise, that he made at the end of chapter V, by writing the history of *Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī* from 1022 to *Jamādiuth-Thānī* 1024 A.H. in continuation of his biography,³ and not of course by writing chapter VII, as Dr. A. Ḥalīm suggests.

Different views about the authorship of the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī* and the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* have been expressed by different scholars. Some say that Ni'matullāh was the author, while according to others Haibat Khān or Ibrāhīm Batnī was the author of the book.

Elliot says, "At the end of the MS. of the *Tārīkh-i-Khan Jahan Lodi*, Niamatulla informs us that he finished the work at the City of Burhanpur, and a few lines later it is stated that 'There remain some words to be added on the genealogy of the most humble and most abject of slaves, Haibat Khān, who is occupied in writing and verifying this work.' The pedigree and history of his family are then related at some length. The terms of humility accompanying the name indicate that they were written by Haibat Khan himself. The authorship of the work is thus distinctly asserted both by Niamatullah and Haibat Khan."⁴ Morley says, "The materials of Niamatullah's work were collected by Haibat Khan Kakar of Samana, who appears also to have been the joint author of the book. Ibrahim Batni, the editor of the present edition (*Makhzan-i-Afghani*) mentions at the end of the fifth book, that he has supplied some omissions from the original of Niamatullah, and from the *Tārīkh-i-Nizami* of Khajah Nizamuddin Ahmad, but his name does not appear elsewhere."⁵ Stewart

1. See Aligarh MS., No. 137/3 is dated 1129 A.H. (1716 A.D.).

2. See RASB. MS., No. 100, fol. 169a.

3. See Bankipur MS., No. 529, fol. 329 and RASB. MS. No. 101, fol. 157a.

4. See Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. V, p. 67.

5. See Morley Persian MSS., Catalogue of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, LX, p. 74.

does not believe in the joint authorship of the work. He goes a step further and says that Haibat Khān was the author of the *Makhzan* (the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*). He further says, "There is also an abridgment of this work in Quarto, by the same author."¹

In order to determine the authorship of the book, it is better to examine the relevant parts of the texts in question. I therefore, give below such extracts from the two books, as may throw light on this problem.

Extracts from the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī* :—

(I) چون کترین متصدی و تحریر این صحیفه اضعف عباد الله خواجه نعمت الله بن خواجه حبیب الله الهروی در سنه ۱۰۱۸ ثمان عشر و الف بخد مت ملازمت نواب کامیاب مستطاب معلی القاب خان جهان لودی که بندگان حضرت خلائق پناه ظل الله ابو المظفر جهانگیر باد شاه غازی ایشان را بخطاب فرزندی معزز و مکرم ساخته اند ممتاز و مفتخر بود و حضرت خلافت پناه ایشان را بتسخیر آل که دکن رخصت فرمودند و با خدام محبت اطواری فضیلت شعاری میان هیبت خان ابن سلیم خان کا کر ساکن سامانه که یکی از جمله ملازمان نواب بودند درین سفر خبر اثر باین کترین نسبت اتحاد و اخلاص صوری و معنوی بهم رسید بموجب سعی و کوشش مومی الیه خواست که احوال خیر مآل این طایفه از ابتداء سلسله که بمهرت یعقوب اسرائیل الله منتهی می شود مرقوم قلم خجسته رقم گرداند.²

(II) و بیان سوانح حالات حضرت ظل الهی درین محل کتاب بنا بر موافقت سنین و شهر و سلطنت آن خدیو آفاق بود، چون ولی نعمت (والد) کترین متصدی جمع این تاریخ مدت سی و پنج سال در سرکار عرش آشیانی پرداخت عمل خالصه شریفه ایام زندگانی با انجام رسانیده بود و اضعف العباد مؤلف این تالیف نعمت الله نیز یازده سال در سلك بندگان درگاه خلائق پناه جهانگیری بخد مت واقع نویسی حضور و خدمات دیگر معزز و مکرم بود و در زمانیکه حضرت خلافت پناه را در سنه ۱۳۱۷ سبع و عشر و الف از سفر خیر اثر کابل و لاهور معاودت واقع شد و دار السلطنه آگره غیم سزادات اجلال گشت. بنا بر نامساعدی طالع و بخت ناسازگار و دل از ارسنکار از سعادت بندگی درگاه معلی محروم گشت در همان ایام معدود بشرف خد مت و ملازمت نواب کامیاب مستطاب خان جهان لودی اختیار نمود.

1. See Stewart's Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the late Tipu Sultan of Mysore, XLIV, p. 18.

2. See Bankipur MS., No. 529, fol. 5b.

3. See RASB. MS., No. 100, fol. 220-221.

- (III) آمید که حق سبحانه و تعالی حسن جزای اعمال این کترین متصدی جمع این تالیف نعمت الله بن حبیب الله و باعث تحریر این تاریخ هیبت خان کا کر را در نامه اعمال ثبت گرداند و خاتمت این نیاز مندان را بخیر و سعادت یختص بر حمت من یشاء مختوم سازد - ¹
- (IV) ذکر صالحه دوران و ساجده زمان بی بی صورت بنت ملک بستان کا کر جده میان هیبت خان باعث تسوید این تاریخ - ²

For the extracts from the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* see the quotation given above.

On the basis of the above quotations, the following facts may be established:—

(1) that Ni'matullāh was the actual author of the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghānī*.

(2) that Haibat Khān greatly helped Ni'matullāh in the composition of the work. The long eulogy of Haibat Khān, included in certain MSS. of the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*, is from the pen of Haibat Khān himself.³ The use of humble terms with the name of Haibat Khān does not show, as Morley and others think, that Haibat Khān composed the work. Haibat Khān may have written his biography in the usual disparaging fashion of an author writing of himself and he may partly be justified in it as he had materially assisted the author. This view is supported by the fact that as far as I know only four MSS.⁴ out of thirty-six MSS. of the book contain his biography. These four MSS. must have been based on the personal copy of Haibat Khān. Had his ancestry and history of his life been included in Ni'matullāh's personal copy, then most, if not all the copies of the *Tārīkh*, must have contained it.

Ibrāhīm Batnī had nothing to do with the *Makhzan*. He was the man who revised and enlarged the *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhi*, the Daftar II of which was incorporated in the *Makhzan* as it has been pointed out before.

NI'MATULLĀH, THE AUTHOR OF THE BOOK

As the historians and the biographers have, unfortunately, taken notice of Ni'matullāh, for the details of his life and work, we are entirely dependent on his own statements in the Introduction, the beginning of Bāb VII and occasional references in Bāb V and the *Khātimah*, of the

1. See RASB. MS., No. 100, fol. 221.

2. See RASB. MS., No. 100, fol. 219b.

3. See Rampur MS., No. 381, p. 306; RASB MS. No. 100, fol. 221; Ethe—I.O. Vol. I, Col. 231, No. 577, fol. 220; Rieu, B. M. I, p. 211, fol. 240.

4. RASB. MS. 100; Rampur, MS. No. 381; Aligarh Muslim University MS. No. 162/2; and Rieu, B. M. MS., No. Add 26, 283.

Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī. The information gathered from the available data regarding the author may be summarised thus:

Khawājah Ḥabibullāh-al-Hiravi, father of Khawājah Ni'matullāh served in the last thirty-five years of his life as a Khaliṣah Inspector at the Court of the Great Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.). The author was the librarian of Khān-i-Khānān in 993 A.H. (1576 A.D.), when he noticed that the Nāwwab Khān-i-Khānān wrote a letter, containing a Hindi poem (*ہندی دودھ*) to Mian Daulat Khān,¹ the father of Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī. No information is available about the activities of the author after 993 A.H. till he entered into the service of the Emperor Jahāngīr (1605-1627 A.D.) in 1006 A.H. (1597 A.D.) and discharged the office of Wāqī'a-Nawīs (historiographer) and other functions for eleven years up to 1017 A.H. (1608 A.D.). On the return of Jahāngīr to his capital Agra from Kabul and Lahore in 1017 A.H. (1608 A.D.), he lost his job "due to ill luck." The exact reason for his dismissal from the Court is not known.

Next he was employed by Pir Khān, better known as Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī, a great general of Jahāngīr. He became his favourite and accompanied him on the second Deccan campaign of Prince Pervez.² The campaign took place on the 7th *Dhīqa'd*, 1018 A.H. (Monday, the 22nd January, 1610 A.D.)³ against the Deccanis, who had assembled together under the leadership of Malik 'Ambar⁴ and were causing disturbances. The army reached Burhanpur on the 17th Muḥarram, 1019 A.H. (Sunday, 1st April, 1610 A.D.). During the journey he came in contact with Mian Haibat Khān bin Salīm Khān Kakar of Samana,⁵ with whose help he composed the present work as described above. Haibat Khān was also one of the attendants of Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī. The author was present in the battlefield with Khidr Khān,⁶ when the Bargis with about five thousand men attacked Khidr Khān's men and the latter dispersed the Bargis.

1. See Rampur MS., No. 381, p. 168.

Daulat Khān Lōdī Shahu Khail was the father of Nawwāb Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī. He served under Mirzā 'Aziz Kokā 'Abdul-Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān and Prince Daniai for several years. He was raised to the rank of 3000 in Ṣafar, 1009 A.H. (1600 A.D.). He died on the 28th Sha'bān, 1010 A.H. in the Deccan.

2. Prince Pervez was an amiable prince, but he had his father Jahāngīr's vice of drunkenness and died before him.

3. See Rampur MS., No. 381, p. 183.

4. Malik 'Ambar was an Abyssinian who rose from the condition of a slave to great influence and command in the Deccan. When Ahmadnagar was taken by Prince Daniai in 1600 A.D., Malik 'Ambar and Raju Minnan, a Deccan chief, divided the remaining territories between them leaving to a nominal Sultan, Murtaḍa Nizam Shāh II, a few villages for his support. When the trouble broke out at Delhi, Malik 'Ambar seized several imperial districts. Jahāngīr sent frequent armies to subdue him but in vain. Malik 'Ambar at length submitted to Shāh Jahān and remained loyal to him till his death (1035 A.H. to 1625 A.D.). He died at the age of 80. He was buried in Daulatabad under a splendid dome which he had erected. After his death his son Fataḥ Khān succeeded him.

5. Samana is a town in the Bhawanigarh Tahsil, Karungarh Nizamāt, Patiala State, Punjab. It is situated in 30° 9' N. and 76° 15' E., at a distance of 17 miles south-west of Patiala town. It is a place of considerable antiquity. (See Imp. Gaz. Oxf., Vol. XXII, p. 1).

6. Rampur MS., No. 381, p. 184. Khidr Khān was a great favourite manager of Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī. He was moving to Malkapur from Burhanpur with Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī, when he was attacked by the Bargis.

Ni'matullāh was a lover of hermits and 'derveshes.' He visited Sayyed Ahmad Shoon Šūfi,¹ who was put into prison by Jahāngīr, but later on was set free at the request of Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī, whom the Sheikh followed in his Deccan campaign. The Sheikh lived there with him for two years. The author lived in the company of Sheikh Bustan Barich for one and a half years. He accompanied him in the voyage of Bandar-Goa (بندرگوا)² and attended his funeral when he noticed demonstrations of his many spiritual powers.³ Ni'matullāh also visited Sheikh Zainuddin, whose father was living during the reign of Islām Shāh⁴ and Sheikh 'Abdullāh Niāzi,⁵ the religious teacher of Sheikh 'Alāyi.

It is not known how long the author lived after the composition of the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*. In the concluding lines of Chapters V and VII of the work in question he informs us that if he survived, he would continue their history. Accordingly he continued the history of Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī up to the 4th Jamadi-uth-thāni, 1024 A.H. (Wednesday, the 21st June, 1615 A.D.). From this supplementary information we come to know that Ni'matullāh was alive up to that date. The possibility is that he died after that date, having fulfilled only the first part of his promise in respect of *Khan-i-Jahān Lōdī*. This is apparent from the fact that the events of the reign of Jahāngīr between the years 1022-1024 A.H. (1613-1615 A.D.) are also not in the text.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TĀRIKH KHĀN-I-JAHĀNĪ

THE book is of great historical value. The most valuable parts of this book are the accounts of the first eight years of Jahāngīr's reign and the early achievements of Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī. It is better to examine critically the utility of this book chapter by chapter.

In the preface, which is written in highly inflated style after the fashion of the day, Ni'matullāh expatiates at length upon the need and usefulness of the compositions of the genealogical history of the Afghans and about the sources of his book. According to him none of the historians whose works were at his disposal, took the trouble of tracing the genealogy of the Afghans, who ruled India or governed a part of it from 855-932 A.H.=1447-1526 A.D. and again from 940-962 A.H.=1534-1556 A.D. and their continued claim for kingdom up to 1021 A.H. (1612 A.D.). Ni'matullāh therefore, undertook to trace their genealogy and write their history. The author mentions, among trustworthy

1. Rampur MS., No. 381, p. 212. (*Khātimah*).

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī* RASB., MS. No. 101, fol. 186a.

histories, which he consulted for the data, the names of the *Tārīkh-i-Tabarī*¹ the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda*,² the *Majma'-al-Ansāb*,³ the *Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī*,⁴ the *Maṭālī'-al-Anwār*,⁵ the *Ma'dan-i-Akhhār-i-Aḥmadī*,⁶ the *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīm Shāhī*,⁷ the *Waqi'āt-i-Mushtaqi*,⁸ the *Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhī*,⁹ the *Akbar Nāmāh*,¹⁰ the *Tārīkh-i-Aṣṇāf-al-Khalāiq*,¹¹ etc.

S. M. IMAMUDDIN.

1. The *Tārīkh-i-Tabarī* is a general history of the Muslims, composed in 309 A.H. (921 A.D.) by Ṭabarī (See Bankipur Cat., Vol. VI, p. 1).

2. The *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda* is a general history of the Muslims, composed in 730 A.H. (1330 A.D.) by Hamidullah Mustawfī (Cf. Bankipur MS. No. 453 and 454; Ethe—Bodl. No. 36, Col. 19 and Rieu, B.M. Add 22, 693, p. 80).

3. The *Majma'-al-Ansāb* is a concise general history from Adam to the reign of Sulṭān Abū Sa'id, who died in 763 A.H. (1362 A.D.). It was composed by Md. 'Alī b. Muḥammad in 733 A.H. (1333 A.D.) but subsequently rewritten, expanded and completed in 743 A.H. (1342-1343 A.D.). It was dedicated to the Wazīr Ghiyāthuddin Muḥammad b. Rashiduddin, the same person to whom the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda* was also dedicated. It contains an introduction and two books. (See RASB. MS. No. 240; Ethe, I. B. 21; and Sachau Bodl., Part I, No. 31).

4. The *Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī*, also called the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* is the celebrated history of the Muslims in India. It was composed by Nizamuddin in 1001 A.H. (1593 A.D.). It has been published by the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, and Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

5. The *Maṭālī'-al-Anwār* (مطالع الانوار) is a special history of our Prophet Muḥammad and his immediate successors. It was composed in 907 A.H. by 'Afīf bin Nūr (or as is variously given in different MSS. عفيف بن نور, عفيف نور, عفيف نور) Kāghānī. He says in the preface that in his twenty-first year he became a lawyer according to the Hanafite doctrine; then he applied himself to the study of the history of Prophet Muḥammad. (Cf. Buhār, Vol. I, No. 40; Sachau Bodl., Part I, No. 141 and Ethe I.O. Nos. 163 and 164).

6. The *Ma'dan-i-Akhhār-i-Aḥmadī* (See footnote, No. 3 p. 133 of this article).

7. The *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīm Shāhī*, also known as the *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūnī*, was composed by Ibrāhīm bin Harīrī Kalwānī, who flourished during the reign of Humāyūn. It is an abridged history of the Muslims in India from Adam to the conquest of Qandahar by Humāyūn (952 A.H.). It was composed in 957 A.H. (1550 A.D.) as it appears from the following sentence. (تاریخ که شهر دسج و خمسن و تسماه است یا زده بادشاه بر سر سلطنت نشسته اند از اولاد امجاد و احفاد آن عالی زاد (تمور) see Allahabad University library MS., p. 292 and Ethe I.O.No. 104, Col. 33).

8. The *Waqi'āt-i-Mushtaqi* is a collection of detached narratives and anecdotes, relating to the period of the Lōdī and Sūr dynasties. It was composed by Rizqu'llah Mushtaqī, the eldest son of a well-known devotee, Sheikh Sa'dullāh. He was born in 897 A.H. (1492 A.D.) and died at the age of ninety-two years in 989 A.H. (1581 A.D.), leaving behind several poetical compositions in Hindi and Persian. In the former he took the penname of Rajan, while in the latter he adopted the *Takhallus* Mushtaqī. For the account of his life see *Akhhār-al-Akhyār* by his nephew 'Abdul Ḥaq; his memoirs and *Riyāḍ-al-'Auliya* fol. 121. An account of the work, with copious extracts, is given in Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 534-557 (cf. Rieu B.M. MS. No. or. 1696). There is a photograph copy of it in the possession of Dr. Ishwari Prasad, Allahabad University.

9. The *Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhī* or the *Tuhfah-i-Akbar-Shāhī* is a history of the life and reign of Shēr Shāh and his successors. It was composed at the instance of Akbar by 'Abbās Khān bin Sheikh 'Alī Sherwānī shortly after 987 A.H. (1579), as the author states in a short prefatory note. It contains information received from the accomplished and trustworthy Afghans, who had followed Shēr Shāh from the time he rose to power to the end of his reign.

There is a copy in the Rampur State library and also two MSS. preserved in the Habib Gunj library and the private library of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar. It has been enlarged and brought down to 1021 A.H. by Ibrāhīm Batnī (see Sachau Bodl., No. 177).

10. *Akbar Nāmāh* is a famous work by Abul Faḍl, the Prime Minister of Akbar. It does not require further detail.

11. The *Tārīkh-i-Khalāiq*, composed by Khwājah Naṣiruddin Ṭūsī, is a history of prophets. It is also written as *Ansāf-al-Mashūqat* in the *Akhhār-al-Auliya* by 'Abdullāh Khalīfahjī (Cf. RASB. MS. No. 273, fol. 229b).

THE POETRY OF MIRZA FARHAT-ULLAH BEG

MIRZA FARHAT-ULLAH BEG, whom henceforward in this paper I shall call Farhat only, was born in Delhi in 1884. He came over to Hyderabad in 1907, and spent the rest of his life here. Farhat passed away in the night between the 26th and 27th of April this year (1947). He was born in a family which had produced some eminent Urdu poets, like Momin, Ghālib, Mīr Dard and Rangīn. Two of his own uncles were poets and they had left *divāns*, anthologies, of considerable merit. Farhat inherited the poetic gift from his family, and although he could not develop it until he was of mature age, yet the epigrams and satires which he wrote in his school and college days show the brilliance of his intellect, and also an irresistible sense of humour. He was a voracious reader and possessed a powerful memory, and knew by heart almost all the best poems of the important Urdu and Persian poets. God had given him a melodious voice, and he delighted his friends and also himself by reciting lines from master poets on suitable occasions.

Farhat joined the service of the Nizam's Government as a school-teacher, and rose by dint of sheer merit to the eminent position of Judge of the High Court. His official duties were always heavy, but he could find time for his literary pursuits; and Farhat was a totally different person when he was amongst his friends, bragging, laughing and making jokes in contrast to the manners of the reserved judicial officer, precise and just, and with an unflinching sense of duty. Farhat was fond of long walks; I remember to have walked with him some thirty-four miles on a chilly December day in the outskirts of Old Delhi. He kept his eyes and mind open during these walks, observed the phenomena of nature, talked with village folks, learnt their songs, and studied the history and geography of the country.

Farhat had a heart full of love and affection. He, therefore, made friends in all parts of India where he travelled; but he was neglectful in correspondence and evidently had no time to attend to it. His outlook upon life was joyful and he was never morose or melancholy, even when his health was shattered and he suffered from frequent heart-attacks.

Forty-eight hours before his death he read out in his own inimitable style some of his newly-written poems at a meeting of the Urdu Majlis held at his house.

Farhat gained popularity as an Urdu essayist in his forties. His writings came to the notice of the late Mahārāja Kishan Pershād, who was a great patron of Urdu literature. The Mahārāja admired his style immensely and often invited him to his palace and asked him to read some of his essays. The Mahārāja did not know that Farhat possessed the poetic gift, and once when there was a Mushā'ira at the Mahārāja's palace and Farhat read a love-poem composed for the occasion the Mahārāja was much impressed and applauded Farhat profusely. Farhat in the collection of his poems entitled *Mērī Shā'irī* appropriately remarks that he was only a prose-writer, but the Mahārāja's patronage and encouragement made him a poet.

In *Mērī Shā'irī* Farhat has modestly placed himself amongst poets of the third class, but his rich imagery, his great command over the language, his artistic expression and flowing rhythm entitle him to a high place even among poets of the second class and to support this view I shall shortly read to you some of his poems and also give English translations of them as faithfully as I can.

Farhat has composed love-poems in the style of Mīr and Momin, satires in the style of Sauda, national poetry in the style of Hālī and Iqbāl, comic *ghazals* and quatrains in the style of Rangin and Akbar Allahbādī, and patriotic and popular poems in the style of Nazīr Akbarābādī. Farhat admired Nazīr immensely. He has edited his *Divān* and written a long introduction which is a comprehensive study of the mind and writings of the poet. Farhat also read a paper on Nazīr before the Poetry Society of Hyderabad, which was much liked by all, including Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the late Sir Akbar Hydari and other connoisseurs of distinction.

A *Mukhammas*, a kind of verse consisting of five lines in each stanza, was composed by Farhat in the style of Nazīr. It will be recited before you presently, and you will notice the poet's subtle craftsmanship, his wide and sympathetic outlook on the different aspects of life, his patriotic feelings and above all his exquisite choice of words and the effective rhythm of the lines. The poem is entitled *Jamna Ka Kināra*, "By the Bank of the Jamna," on which Delhi city is built. The river, as you know, has many religious traditions associated with it, apart from its natural beauty at different seasons of the year. Farhat has portrayed them in his own inimitable way and I give below some stanzas of the poem with an English translation, however poor:—

یاد وطن

(۱) اے اہل وطن بوجہ نہ یہ مجھ سے خدا را دلی کا بھی ہے یاد تجھے کوئی نظارا
ہے یاد وطن ہی مرے جینے کا سہارا اس شہر کا ہر گوشہ ہے یوں تو مجھے پیارا
آنکھوں میں سدا بہر تارے جہنا کا کنارہ

چاندنی رات

- (۲) وہ چاندنی رات اور وہ فضا نور سراپا رہ رہ کے وہ پھر باد سبک سیر کا جھونکا
 بانی کا وہ انداز روانی کہ کہوں کیا اس منظر خاموش میں گھاٹوں کا وہ نقشہ
 آنکھوں میں وہی پھرتا ہے جہنا کا کنارہ
- (۳) اس عکس رخ ماہ میں پانی کا وہ دھارا بگھلی ہوئی چاندنی تہی کہ بہتا ہوا پارا
 اور سطح کو کچھ موج ہوا نے جوابدارا پھر لہروں کا اٹھ اٹھ کے بلانے کا اشارا
 آنکھوں میں وہی پھرتا ہے جہنا کا کنارہ
- (۴) اور سامنے ہی قلعہ کا وہ منظر مابوس وہ شمع زبان دانی کا ٹوٹا ہوا فانوس
 اک حسن کہ ہے چادر ویرانی میں ملبوس تھا ہند کا پہلے جو کبھی مرکز ناموس
 آنکھوں میں وہی پھرتا ہے جہنا کا کنارہ

صبح

- (۵) مشرق میں افق کے وہ چمکدار کنارے اور ان میں وہ کرنوں کے پراز نور شرارے
 مغرب میں اترتے ہوئے وہ ماند ستارے دریا کی وہ بیداری وہ موجوں کے طرارے
 آنکھوں میں وہی پھرتا ہے جہنا کا کنارہ
- (۶) ہر گھاٹ بہ دلی کے حسینوں کا وہ جہر مٹ وہ ساڑیاں ہر رنگ کی دوہاتہ کے گھونگٹ
 وہ حسن خدا داد نہیں جس میں ناوٹ قدرت کے تماشائی کا دل جس سے ہو تلپٹ
 آنکھوں میں وہی پھرتا ہے جہنا کا کنارہ
- (۷) ہر گھاٹ کے نزدیک وہ ڈبکی کا لگانا گہبرا کے مگر بانی سے جلدی نکل آنا
 بھیگی ہوئی ساڑی میں بدن کا وہ چراغا جھک جھک کے وہ جلاتھوں سے سورج کو چڑھانا
 آنکھوں میں وہی پھرتا ہے جہنا کا کنارہ
- (۸) سادھو کا کہیں بیٹھنا مارے ہوئے آسن کہیں چے ہوئے دنیا کی تمناؤں سے دامن
 خاموش مگر ہاتھ میں بھرتی ہوئی سمرن اور ٹوٹا لوگوں کا وہاں کرنے کو درشن
 آنکھوں میں وہی پھرتا ہے جہنا کا کنارہ
- (۹) بلڈھوں کا وہ پایاب کنارے بہ اترنا اور جوش عقیدت سے وہ جل گھٹی میں بھرنا
 بند آنکھیں کئے دل میں دعائیں یہی کرنا ہے رام ہمارا تو یہیں جینا ہو مرنا
 آنکھوں میں وہی پھرتا ہے جہنا کا کنارہ

(۱۰) ایک سمت وہ جلتی ہوئی دو چار چٹائیں شعلوں کی لپک اور دھوئیں کی وہ گھٹائیں
وہ شیون اور فریاد کی دلدوز صدائیں سن کر جنہیں دشمن کے بھی آنسو نکل آئیں
آنکھوں میں وہی بھرتا ہے جہنا کا کنارہ

برسات

(۱۱) برسات کے عالم کا نہ کچھ بوجھہ فسانہ دریا پہ امنڈ آتا تھا سارا ہی زمانہ
لہروں کی زبانوں پہ وہ ساو کا ترانہ سنگت میں وہ گرداب لئے چنگ و چٹانہ
آنکھوں میں وہی بھرتا ہے جہنا کا کنارہ

(۱۲) بجتا تھا کہیں ڈھول کہیں دف کہیں مرجنگ چلتا تھا کہیں یاروں میں دور مئے گل رنگ
گانجا کہیں اڑتا تھا تو چھتی تھی کہیں بھنگ تھا سب کا غرض شوق جدا اور جدا رنگ
آنکھوں میں وہی بھرتا ہے جہنا کا کنارہ

(۱۳) وہ بیلے کے ہر کونہ سے مورونکی جھنکاریں اور آموں پہ کویل کی وہ کو کو کی پکاریں
وہ ابر کے رنگوں کے بدلنے کی بہاریں ان اودی گھاٹوں میں وہ بگلون کی قطاریں
آنکھوں میں وہی بھرتا ہے جہنا کا کنارہ

* * *

(۱۴) وہ قسمت بیدار کے دن اور وہ راتیں وہ کشمکش دھر کے جھگڑوں سے نجاتیں
اور لطف جوانی کا اٹھانے کی وہ گھاتیں فرحت کو نہ بھولی ہیں نہ بھولینگی وہ باتیں
یاد آئیگا ہر وقت وہ جہنا کا کنارہ

Translation

- (1) "O comrade, do not ask me
Whether I remember any special sites of Delhi;
The remembrance of that city is the solace of my life,
I love all its lanes and nooks,
But the vision of the bank of the Jamna is ever present before
my eyes."

MOONLIT NIGHT

- (2) "The moonlit night and that atmosphere of resplendence,
The timely movement of the light-footed breeze,
The charm of the flow of waters, how to describe it,
And the appearance of the river-side in that serene environ-
ment!
The bank of the Jamna is ever present before my eyes,"

- (3) "The waters lighted by the reflection of the moon,
Were they molten silver, or fluid mercury?
Their surface ruffled by the blows of the air,
And the rising of the waves as if making the gesture to call—
The bank of the Jamna is ever present before my eyes."
- (4) "And in front the miserable sight of the Fort,
The broken shade of the candle of the Urdu language.
A beauty, but wrapped in a tattered sheet,
Was it not once the centre of India's culture?
The bank of the Jamna is ever present before my eyes."

MORNING

- (5) "The bright fringe of the horizon towards the east,
And the dazzle of the rays of the sun in issuing forth,
The setting of the pale-faced stars in the west;
The awakening of the river and the leaping of waves!
The bank of the Jamna is ever present before my eyes."
- (6) "At each bathing-place the crowds of beautiful women;
Their *sāris* of various colours, and long veils covering the
faces;
Their god-endowed beauty with no artificiality therein,
Such beauty as may enthrall the heart of the admirer of
nature!
The bank of the Jamna is ever present before my eyes."
- (7) "The women dipping into water near the bank,
And emerging quickly in an excited manner:
Shrinking their bodies in the wet sheets,
And prostrating to the sun and offering handfuls of water to
the deity!
The bank of the Jamna is ever present before my eyes."
- (8) "The hermit squatting somewhere on the river-side in a
meditative attitude,
Having withdrawn the skirts of his robe from all the desires of
the world,
Silent, but holding an ever-moving rosary in his hand,
And the rush of votaries to see his revered face!
The bank of the Jamna is ever present before my eyes."
- (9) "The aged people's entering the shallow waters;
And in religious fervour filling their goblets with the sacred
waters,
Closing their eyes and offering this prayer—
O God, may our life and its end be at this holy site!
The bank of the Jamna is ever present before my eyes."

- (10) "On one side a few burning pyres,
The leaping flames and the clouds of smoke :
The heart-piercing cries and moans,
On hearing which even an enemy will shed tears !
The bank of the Jamna is ever present before my eyes."

RAINY SEASON

- (11) "Of the romantic effect of the rainy season* do not ask me
anything,
The entire population is assembled at the river-side ;
The waves themselves singing the songs of Sāwan,
And the whirlpool holding in its arm the harp and the lyre !
The bank of the Jamna is ever present before my eyes."
- (12) "At one place the drum was beaten, at another a tambour,
at another a trumpet was blown ;
The cups of red wine were circulated among friends,
At one place *ganjha** was smoked ; at another place *bhang** was
drunk.
Each had his own choice and enjoyed himself in a different
mood !
The bank of the Jamna is ever present before my eyes."
- (13) "The cries of the peafowls from each nook of the river parks,
And the shrill notes of the cuckoo (*koyal*) from the mango-
grove ;
The charm of the colourful horizon,
And the rows of white pelicans in the mauve clouds !
The bank of the Jamna is ever present before my eyes."

* * *

- (14) "Those days when my fortune was awake,
And those nights when I was free from the struggles of life ;
And those moods of enjoying the period of youth :
Farhat has not forgotten nor will ever forget those care-free
days !

And will always remember the bank of the Jamna."

In this poem line 4 of the third stanza—

بہر لہرون کا اٹھ اٹھ کے بلانے کا اشارا

lines 2 and 3 of stanza 4 :

وہ شمع زبانہانی کا ٹوٹا ہوا فانوس

and

اک حسن کہ ہے چادر ویرانی میں ملبوس

**Ganjha*, hemp (*cannabis sativa*), the seeds of which are powdered and smoked as a strong intoxicant
Bhang, leaves of the same plant ground in water and drunk. Both *ganjha* and *bhang* are used by Indian
faqirs.

lines 2 and 3 of stanza 7:

کھرا کے مگرسانی سے جلدی نکل آنا

and

بھگی ہوئی ساڑی میں بدن کا وہ چرانا

lines 2 and 3 of stanza 12:

چلتا تھا کہیں یارون میں دور مٹے گل رنگ

and

گانجا کہیں اڑتا تھا چھتی تھی کہیں بھنگ

and line 4 of stanza 13:

ان اودی کھٹاؤن میں وہ بگلون کی قطارین

exhibit art of a high order, and future connoisseurs of the merit of such lines may accord Farhat a place, as I have observed above, amongst the poets of the second class. Lines 2 and 3 of stanza 12 are reminiscent of the art of Nazir Akbarabadī among Urdu poets, and of Qa'ānī among Persian poets. Farhat was a great admirer of Qa'ānī and often recited this stanza :

من ار شراب می خورم بیانگ کوس می خورم بیارگاہ تہمتن بہ بزم طوس می خورم
پیالہ های دہ منی علی الرؤس می خورم شراب گبر می چشم مٹے محوس می خورم
نہ جو گیم کہ خوکنم بر گ کوکنارہا

I now invite your attention to the *ghazals* (odes) of Farhat, which he composed in large numbers both in the classical and modern styles. His short-rhymed poems composed in the style of Mīr have become specially popular. I quote now a few verses with English translations :

اپنے بیمار غم کو دیکھ تو آ کہتے ہیں ہوشیار اے ابتک

"Go and see thy friend, who has fallen sick through thy love :
They say that he is still conscious."

ہے خزان اور دل کے زخموں سے میرے گھر میں بہار ہے اب تک

"It is autumn, but with the freshness of the wounds of my heart
There is still spring in my abode."

موت آچک کہ غیر کے غم میں دیکھ وہ سوگوار ہے اب تک

"O death, come quickly, dost thou not see
That she is mournful on the death of my rival?"

The feelings of rivalry caused by the sentiment of love are most effectively shown in the above line.

اس کے وعدہ کو ہو گئے برسوں اور مجھے انتظار ہے اب تک

"Years have passed since she made the promise,
And I am still waiting for her."

کیا زمانہ بھی تھا جوانی کا جس کا فرحت نثار ہے اب تک

"How intoxicating was the period of youth,
The after-effect of which I still enjoy!"

I shall now recite before you a few couplets from another ode by Farhat which exhibit the superior qualities of his intellect. The couplets are as follows :

زاہد تو میکدے میں آجا۔ مگر بتادے کیا تجھ سے نبہہ سکیں گے آئیں مئے پرستی

"My religious friend! thou art welcome in the tavern,
But tell me whether thou wilt observe the etiquette of wine-bibbers."

In this line Farhat has exposed the lack of moral discipline in many so-called religious persons.

اس عشق نے بھلا دی سب بزم آفرینی خاموش ہو گیا ہے گویا کہ ساز ہستی

"The ecstasy of love, has made me forget all my jocularity,
The organ of my existence, as it were, has come to a stop."

شہرت طلب ہے شاید آہ و فغان سے اپنے یہ عاشقی نہیں ہے اے محو خود پرستی

"Perhaps thou seekest notoriety by thy moans and cries?
This is not love, thou art occupied by selfish motives."

کیا کیا نہ میرے دل میں ارمان بھرے ہوئے تھے اور اب تو غم کے ہاتھوں ویران ہے یہ بستی

"What ambitions did my heart not cherish!
But now through love this abode has become desolate."

کم فرصتی سبب ہے دنیا میں کوششوں کا ہے خوف مرگ ہی سے یہ سب بہار ہستی

"The idea of the shortness of life is the moving force of all the activities of the world;
The fear of death is the cause of the mirth and joy of life."

فرحت تمہاری حالت کیون دن بدن نہ بگڑے اتنی بلند نظری اور ایسی تنگ دستی

"Farhat, your pecuniary condition is bound to deteriorate,
With such high standards of living and such limited means."

Though Farhat has addressed himself in this line he is really thinking of the literate classes of India, who, with a very limited income, adopt western ideals of living.

I shall now quote stray lines from different odes of Farhat which may give you an idea of the background of his mind. He wrote:

ابنے لگی جام میں خود شراب جہان ذکر دردی کشاں آگیا
یہ کعبہ ہے فرحت نہیں بتکدہ بھٹک کر کہاں سے کہاں آگیا

"The wine of itself began to foam in the cup,
Whenever the names of trippers were mentioned,
"This is Ka'ba Farhat, not the idol-house,
Having lost thy path, thou hast come to the right place."
And again:

کیوں ٹھہر گیا آخر وسط رہ الفت میں مسجد سے ہی نکلی ہے زاہد رہ بتخانہ
فرحت کی طبیعت بھی اک راز ہے سر بستہ میکش تو نہیں لیکن کچھ رنگ ہے رندانہ

"Why hast thou stopped midway in the path of truth?
My religious-minded friend, from the 'mosque' proceeds the
road to the 'temple.'"

"Farhat's nature is an unknown secret,
He does not drink but possesses the habits of a drunkard."
In another ode he writes:*

کرے اپنی نظروں سے ہم خوار ہو کر ابھی دیکھیں قسمت میں کیا خواریاں ہیں
زمانہ ہے عیش و مصیبت کا چکر مگر آگے بیچھے کی یہ باریاں ہیں
قویٰ مضحل ہو گئے سارے فرحت
یہ چلنے چلانے کی تیاریاں ہیں

"Having been disgraced we have fallen in our own esteem
What further downfall awaits us in future?
Life is a cycle of pleasure and misery,
But they come by turns, one following the other.
Thy faculties have become feeble, Farhat,
The time for passing away has come."*

In a love-ode he has written:

نگاہیں ان کی تصدیق محبت کر کے کہتی ہیں
مگر دیکھو کسی سے تم نہ یہ راز نہاں کہنا

1. This poem is in the style of Hâli.

2. The following line of Ghâlib.

مضحل ہو گئے قویٰ غالب وہ عناصر میں اعتدال کہاں

" Her glances confirm my love but also warn me
That I should not betray the secret of love before others."

Farhat wrote some odes in the style of *Ghālib*, one of which is given below. In this ode we find more the charm of cadence than the lofty thoughts of *Ghālib*. You had better decide for yourselves:—

(۱) دل مرا روز ازل سے یقیناً نغمہ ہے ہر نفس اس کے لئے آواز تار نغمہ ہے
(۲) ہے مصیبت کیا، گزشتہ راحتوں کی یاد ہے نوحہ بھی دیکھو تو گویا یادگار نغمہ ہے
(۳) ساز کی حاجت نہیں ہے نغمہ جانسوز کو گوش اہل ذوق کو ہر ساز عار نغمہ ہے
(۴) گوش بر آواز بلبل ہیں تو سب گلہاں باغ شاید ان کو اس فضا میں اعتبار نغمہ ہے
(۵) جل بجھے یہ لو میں دل وہ چیز ہے ساز و سرود درد کا اس میں جو بردہ ہے شرارت نغمہ ہے
(۶) یہ نہیں آواز مطرب ہے روان اک جو تبار تان جو اس میں ہے گویا آبشار نغمہ ہے
(۷) ابر ہے ساقی ہے مئے ہے اور زمانہ سازگار چھڑ مطرب وقت کی ہاں اب بہار نغمہ ہے
(۸) انقلاب دھرم میں جب رنج و غم کا بھی ہے دور کیوں دل راحت طلب کو انتظار نغمہ ہے
میں کہاں فرحت کہاں اس طرز غالب میں عزل
یہ مگر رور ازل کا ہی نغمہ ہے

Translation

- (1) " From the very beginning (eternity) my heart is ardent for
music :
To it each breath sounds like the note of a musical organ.
- (2) What is misery ? The remembrance (or reaction) of past
pleasures :
The elegy is the memorial of a delightful ode.
- (3) A heart-burning note does not require the accompaniment of a
musical organ,
To the ears of adepts the notes of a musical organ are super-
fluous for the true melody.
- (4) All the flowers of the garden are eager to listen to the sweet
song of the bulbul (nightingale),
In this season (spring) they perhaps have a taste for music ?
- (5) The organ and song may kindle fire and turn into ashes
the heart ;
Because susceptibility to pain in the human heart harmonises
the fire of melody.
- (6) This is not the sweet voice of the minstrel, but a stream is
flowing
And the high notes of his melody are like the sound of a
waterfall.

- (7) There are spring clouds, and also the cup-bearer and wine;
the time is also agreeable;
O minstrel, sound a suitable note, for it is the time to enjoy
music.
- (8) In the revolution of time, when pain and grief also form a
cycle,
Why should the pleasure loving heart be always expecting
sweet melody?
- (9) What is Farhat, and what is his attempt to write an ode in the
style of Ghālib?
But perhaps it is the after-effect of the wine of melody which
he drank on the day of eternity.”
- For philosophical thought and beauty of rhythm there is another ode
which has been much admired in literary circles. It runs as follows:

- (۱) ہوں۔ مٹت خاک لیکن ہستی کی داستان ہوں
دیکھو تو کچھ نہیں ہوں، سمجھو تو اک جہاں ہوں
- (۲) صد حیف عمر ساری کس بے خودی میں گزری
یہ بھی کہلا نہ مجھ پر میں کون ہوں کہاں ہوں
- (۳) کس طرح قافلے کے ہمراہ چل سکوں میں
جواٹھہ کے بیٹھ جائے وہ گرد کارواں ہوں
- (۴) جس کی تلاش میں ہیں سارے جہاں کے رھرو
اس بے نشان کام میں بھی دھندلا سا اک نشان ہوں
- (۵) آزادی حقیقی مانتی ہے کس کو بلبیل
تو ہے قفس میں اور میں پابند آشیان ہوں

Translation

- (1) “I am a handful of dust, but I illustrate the story of the
universe,
If you look at me I am nothing, but if you ponder I am the
universal spirit.
- (2) Alas! the whole of my life has been spent in an indifferent mood;
Even this is not clear to me, ‘who I am’ and ‘where I am.’
- (3) How shall I go with the caravan?
I am like the dust which rises at the passage of the caravan
and afterwards settles down.

- (4) The 'entity' which is sought by all seekers after God,
I am a faint trace of that untraceable 'entity.'
- (5) O bulbul, the real freedom is not obtained by anyone,
Thou art imprisoned in the cage, and I am fettered in my own
abode."

In this ode the two lines—

دیکھو تو کچھ نہیں ہوں سمجھو تو اک جہاں ہوں

"If you look at me I am nothing, but if you try to understand me I am
the universal spirit,
and ;

اس بے نشان کا میں بھی دھندلا سا اک نشان ہوں

"Of that untraceable entity I am a faint trace "

possess both poetic beauty and mystical thought. For mystical ideas
and musical effect I shall quote another ode of Farhat ;

- (۱) کس شان کے ساقی نے میخانے بنا ڈالے
جو ٹوٹے ہوئے دل تھے بچانے بنا ڈالے
- (۲) دل کس کا تھا اور ہم نے کس کس کو جگہ دی ہے
اس کعبہ میں لاکھوں ہی بت خانے بنا ڈالے
- (۳) یہ راز حقیقت کیا اوروں سے نہ چھپ سکتا
تو نے جو یہ ہم جیسے دیوانے بنا ڈالے
- (۴) اے فصل خزاں تیرے ممنون ہیں دیوانے
سب باغ و چمن تو نے ویرانے بنا ڈالے
- (۵) مذہب کے یہ سب جھگڑے بس اس لئے برہا ہیں
سمجھے نہ حقیقت کو افسانے بنا ڈالے
- (۶) میں سر بھی کیا لیکن قدرت کا غضب دیکھو
مٹی میری لے کر پروا نے بنا ڈالے
- (۷) اے پیر مغان ہم ہیں قایل تری جدت کے
مسجد کے نمونوں پر مٹے خانے بنا ڈالے

Translation

- (1) "How cleverly the keeper of the tavern has built the wine-shops,
The material of the broken hearts has been utilised for making the cups.
- (2) God was to be housed in the temple of the heart, and whom
have we accommodated?
In this Ka'ba we have set up thousands of false images.
- (3) Were not others capable of concealing the secret of
'existence'?
Why hast Thou created fools like us? ¹
- (4) O Autumn, those mad through intensity of love are grateful
to thee,
Because thou hast made gardens and orchards desolate.
- (5) All the quarrels over faith are due to this fact,
They did not understand the truth and followed the myth. ²
- (6) I had died, but look at the tyranny of Nature!
She created moths out of my ashes.
- (7) O keeper of the tavern, I admire thy ingenuity,
Thou hast designed the wine-shops in the style of mosques."
- In this ode these two couplets are particularly good:

دل کس کا تھا اور ہم نے کس کس کو جگہ دی ہے

اس کعبہ میں لا کہوں ہی بت خانے بنا ڈالے

"God was to be housed in the temple of the heart, and whom
have we accommodated?"

In this Ka'ba we have set up thousands of false images."

and:

اے پیر مغاں ہم ہیں قایل تری جدت کے مسجد کے نمونوں پر بیٹے خانے بنا ڈالے

"O keeper of the tavern, I admire thy ingenuity,

Thou hast designed the wine-shops in the style of mosques."

To show the art of Farhat in combining human sentiments with mystical ideas, the following ode is also worthy of note:—

(۱) کیا نزاکت کیا ادا کیا ناز کیا انداز ہے تیری صورت پر یہ قدرت کو کیا کیا ناز ہے

(۲) ہر نگاہ ناز گویا تیرے آواز ہے اس کی ناولک افگنی میں یہ غضب کاراز ہے

1. This hemistich has a reference to the following line of Hāfiz and also to the verse of the Qur'ān (xxxiii-72)

وَحَمَلَهَا الْإِنْسَانُ إِنَّهُ كَانَ ظَلُومًا جَهُولًا

2 This line is a translation of the well-known line of Hāfiz.

فرہ فال بام من دیوانہ زدند
چون نہ دیدند حقیقت رہ افسانہ زدند

- (۳) حسن طالب عشق کا اور عشق طالب حسن کا تم کو مجھ پر ناز ہے اور مجھ کو تم پر ناز ہے
 (۴) بے نیازی اور تیرا ناز یکہ ہیں ایک سے فرق اتنا ہے کہ اسمیں سوز اسمیں ساز ہے
 (۵) ہر قدم پر ہوتی ہے سیل حوادث پاے بوس یہ ہماری زندگی ہے جس پہ یہ کچھ ناز ہے
 (۶) ہاں نہ پوچھہ ان میکشوں کے دلکی کیفیت نہ پوچھہ یہ وہ گنجینہ ہے جسمیں دوجہاں کاراز ہے
 (۷) اے حریص زندگی کیوں موت سے ڈرتا ہے تو زندگی دایمی کا موت ہی آغاز ہے
 (۸) مجھہ کو فرحت شاعری میں دخل تو ہر گز نہیں
 ہاں مری غزلوں کا بیشک اک نیا انداز ہے

Translation

- (1) "What delicacy, what expression, what grace and what elegance
 (thou possessest) I
 How proud is the Divine hand, thy maker, of thy figure!
 (2) Each amorous glance is but a soundless arrow,
 This is the terrible secret of her marksmanship.
 (3) Beauty seeks love and love seeks beauty;
 You are proud of me and I am proud of you.
 (4) Thy indifference and love are akin to one another,
 The difference is only this, that one entertains with pain and
 the other by soothing words.
 (5) At each pace the typhoons of misery break upon you,
 This is your life, of which you are proud.
 (6) Do not inquire of me regarding the heart of the wine-bibbers
 It is the treasury in which the secret of both the world is
 housed.
 (7) O fond of this life, why dost thou fear death,
 For death is the beginning of the everlasting 'existence.'
 (8) Farhat is not at all proficient in the art of poetry,
 His love poems however exhibit a new style."

Farhat himself felt a kind of self-praise in the last couplet, so he writes in *Mērī Shā'irī*: I quote his own words:

مقطع میں تعلیٰ کے علاوہ صریح جھوٹ ہے

'In the last couplet besides 'conceit' there is utter falsehood.' He was inclined to change it but afterwards let it remain as it was originally written on the grounds that so much praise is permissible for poets, otherwise their self-esteem will suffer. His own words are:

'His dignity will suffer.' • رعب کم ہو جائیگا۔

Farhat was a humorist, as a poet, an essayist or as a playwright. He was essentially a humorist and his comical poems, the number of which is quite large, have gained popularity in all parts of India. They appeal to all, young or old, man or woman. They are recited by school-boys and read with gusto in drawing-rooms and social gatherings. Amongst these his *Shikva* and *Jawāb-e Shikva* stand prominent. They depict a quarrel between a husband and wife caused by pecuniary difficulties. The disagreement assumes a serious form and they both feel inclined to separate but at the last moment the advice of friends based on religious and social obligations prevails, and the temper of both cools down. The poems being very long it is difficult to reproduce them here, but I shall give another comic poem of the poet to enable you to judge Farhat's wit and humour :—

کہ دھرے جائیں سدا عشق کی بیگار میں ہم	(۱) کیا اسی واسطے پیدا ہوئے سنسار میں ہم
گھٹ کے دم مر ہی گئے کوچہ دلدار میں ہم	(۲) اس بری طرح پھنسے مجمع اغیار میں ہم
کچھ عجب ٹھانڈا ہے ہاں چھپتے ہیں اخبار میں ہم	(۳) شکل تو ایسی ہے واللہ کوئی منہ نہ لگائے
کہیں جاتے ہیں تو جاتے ہیں مگر کار میں ہم	(۴) ہم نے مانا کہ سنہ انیس کی ہی فورڈ سہی
کیا ہو اگر کبھی بٹ بھی گئے بازار میں ہم	(۵) چھیڑ خانی سے حسینوں کی نہ باز آئینگے
کچھ برے بھی نہیں یوں دیکھو تو دو چار میں ہم	(۶) مان لیتے ہیں کہ ہم شکل میں گلفام نہیں
بیٹھے رہتے ہیں کتابوں کے اٹبار میں ہم	(۷) لوگ سمجھیں کہ بھی یہ تو بڑے عالم ہیں
ہاں نظر آتے ہیں کچھ ریچھ سے شلواریں ہم	(۸) شوق میں ڈانٹ تولیتے ہیں پٹھانوں کا لباس

Translation

- (1) "Were we created in this world for the simple reason
That we should always be forced to work without pay by
'love'?"
- (2) In the assemblage of my rivals I am pressed in such a manner
That there is danger of my getting suffocated in the street
of my mistress.
- (3) My appearance is such that none is likely to pay attention to
it,
But my representation in the newspapers has most striking
features.
- (4) I admit that I possess the 1919 model Ford car,
But wherever I go, I go in my car.
- (5) I shall not give up teasing the beautiful (girls),
No insult! even if I were beaten in public for misbehaviour.
- (6) I admit that I do not possess a rosy complexion,
But I do not appear ugly when compared with several others.

- (7) People talk among themselves—'Comrade, he is a very learned person.'

For the reason that I am always buried in piles of books.

- (8) For fashion's sake I put on the dress of Pathans,
But in their baggy trousers (*shalwār*) I appear more or less like a bear."

The English translation of the above verses does not express fully the piquancy of the joke as expressed by words and phrases like

دھرے جائیں سدا عشق کی یگار میں ہم

or

کچھ عجب ٹھانٹھ سے چہپتے ہیں اخبار میں ہم

or

کیا ہوا گر پٹ بھی گئے بازار میں ہم

or

کتا بوں کے اٹمار میں

or

کچھ ریچھ سے شلوار میں

The versatile genius of Farḥat may be judged from the variety of his poems, which comprise not only *ghazals* and comic poems, but also encomiums, elegies, quatrains, satires, and even chronograms. He composed a chronogram when I returned from my first voyage to Europe in 1924. Since it is addressed to me I cannot praise it, but it may be read in *Mērī Shā'irī* in which it is printed as the first poem.

Farḥat's satires, on account of the inherent gift of humour which he further developed in congenial company and by wide study, are particularly delightful. Besides poetic artistry there is considerable freshness and spontaneity in them. I give below some lines from his 'Quack Maulavi,' a satirical poem very typical of his style:—

بناوٹی مولوی

* * *

(۱) سب انہیں مولوی تو کہتے ہیں پروہ مذہب سے دور رہتے ہیں

(۱) ان کو مذہب سے کیا تعلق ہے ان کا مذہب فقط تعلق ہے

* * *

(۳) کب ہے ایسی کسی میں شان کہیں سرکہیں منہ کہیں ہے کان کہیں

(۴) ان کی صورت بھی کیا تماشا ہے گویا پچھا ہوا بتاشا ہے

- (۵) ہائے چہرے پہ کیا رونق ہے
(۶) کالی رنگت بہار دیتی ہے
(۷) آنکھیں چھوٹی ہیں ناک ہے موٹی
(۸) چہاچ سی ڈاڑھی ایسی ان کی ہے
(۹) یا کہیں آپ اس کو بے وسواس
(۱۰) تھوڑے سے رہ گئے ہیں موے سر
(۱۱) موچھیں ٹھوڑی تک ان کی آتی ہیں
(۱۲) جوش میں حب کبھی یہ آتے ہیں
(۱۳) مونچھے منہ میں اگر نہیں جاتی
(۱۴) ناک یہ مڑ کے منہ پہ آئی ہے
(۱۵) اپنے پنجے جہاں جاتے ہیں
(۱۶) تر نوالہ کہیں جو یہ پائیں
(۱۷) میوے آجائیں اگر نظر ان کو
(۱۸) اس طرح دونو کلتے بھرتے ہیں
(۱۹) اب ذرا ان کے دیکھئے اطوار
(۲۰) شہر سے دور دور رہتے ہیں
(۲۱) دور جنگل میں ایک ٹھکانا ہے
(۲۲) اپنا مطلب نکلتا گر پائیں
(۲۳) کام ان کا کسی سے گر نہ بنے
(۲۴) پھر یہ ہیں اور اس کی غیبت ہے
(۲۵) خود تو یہ ہر کسی سے اڑتے ہیں
(۲۶) گالیوں پر اتر ہی آتے ہیں
(۲۷) اب کوئی لاکھہ ان کو سمجھا ئے
(۲۸) کب کسی کی یہ بات مانتے ہیں
(۲۹) کون پروا ان کی کرتا ہے
- آدمی کیا ہے بس حونق ہے
بہینس سے بھی خراج لیتی ہے
گل جیسے جلی ہوئی روئی
جیسے روئی کسی نے دھنکی ہے
کالی مسجد پہ خشک ہو گئی گھاس
بٹے کا گھونسلا بنے ہیں مگر
اوراڑاڑ کے منہ میں جاتی ہیں
اپنی موچھوں کو کھائے جاتے ہیں
پھر تو ڈاڑھی کی آتی ہے باری
پہنکی چولھے پہ یا جھکائی ہے
خوب دل بھر کے نوچ کھاتے ہیں
کتے کی طرح لوٹ ہی جائیں
بھر نہیں رہتی پکھہ خبر ان کو
جس پہ لنگور رشک کرتے ہیں
ایسے اطوار پر خدا کی مار
ان کو گیدڑ جب ہی تو کہتے ہیں
گویا الو کا آشیا نہ ہے
سو دفعہ دوڑ دوڑ کر جائیں
تو یہ سمجھو کہ اب بہ اس سے تنے
رات دن بس یہی مصیبت ہے
کوئی چھڑے تو اس سے لڑتے ہیں
بے تقط اس کو پھر سناتے ہیں
نہیں ممکن سمجھہ میں پکھہ آئے
سب ہی بیہودہ ان کو جانتے ہیں
گالیوں سے ضرور ڈرتا ہے

Translation

- (1) "Everyone calls him a *Maulavī*,
But he dwells miles away from the faith.
- (2) He has no connection with religion;
His cult is the cult of flattery.
- * * *
- (3) When has anyone possessed such features?
His head, his mouth and his ears are all abnormal.
- (4) His face, what a funny sight!
It is like a crushed *batāsha*.*
- (5) What a striking face!
Is he a man or a senseless chimpanzee?
- (6) His black complexion has a charm;
For darkness the buffalo pays tribute to him.
- (7) His eyes are small and his nose is thick,
His cheeks are like burnt loaves.
- (8) The large grey beard with its wavy undulations,
Appears to be a heap of carded cotton.
- (9) Or you may compare it without hesitation
With the dried grass on the weathered pile of the 'black mosque.'
- (10) On his head few hairs are left,
But unkempt and frizzed, like the nest of a *baya* (*loxia indica*).
- (11) His moustache flows down the chin,
And then waves up and enters his mouth.
- (12) When he is in an excited mood,
Through frenzy he bites his moustache.
- (13) When the moustache fails to appease his anger,
He resorts to biting his beard.
- (14) His large nose has overshadowed his mouth,
Like a large funnel over an oven.
- * * *
- (15) Wherever he fixes his talons,
He does not stop clawing until he is satiated!
- (16) If he smells a tasty dish at any place,
He loiters there like a dog.

**Batāsha*, thin wafer-like sugar drop.

- (17) If by chance he notices fruit anywhere,
He loses all self-restraint.
- (18) He fills his cheeks with fruit in such a way
That even monkeys envy him.
- (19) Now look at his behaviour,
May God's curse be on such behaviour!
- (20) He lives always at a distance from the town;
For this reason people call him a jackal.
- (21) Away in the jungle is his abode,
As if it were the nest of an owl.
- (22) If anywhere he could gain his object,
He would run about there hundreds of times.
- (23) If he fails to win over anyone,
Then he stiffens his back against him.
- (24) There he is, and his favourable pursuit of blackmail,
The whole day, that is his accursed occupation.
- (25) He himself picks quarrels,
And if anyone criticised him, he would fight him.
- (26) He abuses in the foulest language,
And curses his critic most vehemently;
- (27) If anyone advises him to refrain from such acts,
He never understands, nor is he ever convinced,
- (28) He listens to nobody,
All consider him to be a blackguard.
- (29) None pays any regard to him,
Although everyone fears his blackmail."

The above satire from the English translation may appear to be somewhat poor in conception, but in the original its phraseology is such that even a serious person cannot help laughing.

Farhat possessed a very affectionate heart and held very catholic views regarding religion and social customs. He was much grieved by the recent communal riots in different parts of India and wrote a poem on the subject a few months before his death. The title of this poem is *Jahān main hūn*, 'Where I am':—

جہاں میں ہوں

- (۱) نہ بوجہ اس شہر کی حالت تو اے ہمدم جہاں میں ہوں
کہ ہر گھر پر چڑھے ہیں جنگ کے پرچم جہاں میں ہوں
- (۲) یہاں والوں میں ہے وہ کشمکش باہم جہاں میں ہوں
کہ ہر اخبار میں چھپتے ہیں دو کالم جہاں میں ہوں

- (۳) سدا چلتی ہیں چھریاں اور سدا چاتو نکلتے ہیں
ہمیشہ رہتا ہے بس ہو کا عالم جہاں میں ہوں
- (۴) پہننے کے لئے ڈھونڈے سے بھی ملتی نہیں کھادی
جلاڈ الاہے لا کھون گز مگر ریشم جہاں میں ہوں
- (۵) کبھی ہے جیپ کی ہوں ہوں کبھی ہے توپ کی گھڑ گھڑ
کبھی ہے فوجیوں کے پاؤں کی دھم دھم جہاں میں ہوں
- (۶) اذان کیسی کدھر کے سنکھہ کیسے چرچ کے گھنٹے
برین کی ہاں مگر آواز ہے ہر دم جہاں میں ہوں
- (۷) ہے نافذ کر فیو آڈر کھڑی ہے فوج سڑکوں پر
مگر پھر بھی مجا رہتا ہے ایک اودھم جہاں میں ہوں
- (۸) یہاں ہتھر چلے ، لائٹی چلی ، گولی چلی پہلے
مگر اب پھینکتے ہیں آنسوؤں کے بم جہاں میں ہوں
- (۹) کہیں سڑکوں پہ زخمی ہیں ، کہیں گلیوں میں لاشیں ہیں
سمندر پر کسی کا ٹوٹتا ہے دم جہاں میں ہوں
- (۱۰) ہے بجلی بند ، ٹیلیفون سب بے کار ہیں بالکل
کہ ٹوٹے ہیں یہاں سے وہاں تک سب کہم جہاں میں ہوں
- (۱۱) یہاں چھوٹے بڑے جتنے ہیں سب چکر میں آئے ہیں
اٹھائے پھر کسی کا کون غم آخر جہاں میں ہوں
- (۱۲) کہان کا ناچ گانا اور کہان کی بزم آرائی
کہان وہ رنگ محفل اور وہ چہم چہم جہاں میں ہوں
- (۱۳) نہ گھر میں اب جوان ہی ہے نہ بڈھا ہے نہ بچہ ہے
کسی کا کون کرے آخر ماتم جہاں میں ہوں
- (۱۴) یہاں کی دیکھ کر حالت فلک کا دل بھر آیا ہے
نہیں ساون برستا ، روتا ہے موسم جہاں میں ہوں
- (۱۵) کچھ ایسے زندگی سے آگئے ہیں تنگ مرد و زن
کہ اب کرنے لگے ہیں موت کو ، ولیکم جہاں میں ہوں

- (۱۶) مصیبت کو نسی ہے جو یہاں نازل نہیں ہوتی
 ہے قصہ مختصر ہر وقت، می نالم، جہاں میں ہوں
- (۱۷) نہ کپڑا تن کے ڈھکنے کو نہ روٹی پیٹ پھر نے کو
 مگر پھر جی رہا ہوں، درچنین عالم، جہاں میں ہوں
- (۱۸) یہاں کے شور و شر سے اب تو یہ وحشت ہوئی فوجت
 کہ اپنے آپ کو بس، من نمی دانم، جہاں میں ہوں

Translation

- (1) 'O friend do not inquire of me the condition of the city *where I am*,
 The flags of war have been hoisted on each house *where I am*,
- (2) The people are engaged in such a controversy *where I am*,
 That in each newspaper two columns are filled by the report of it.
- (3) The knives are thrust and daggers unsheathed frequently,
 The streets are ever deserted *where I am*.
- (4) If a search for cloth is made even *khādi* (course cotton) is not available,
 But thousands of yards of silk have been burnt *where I am*.
- (5) Sometimes the hoot of the *jeep* is heard, sometimes the thunder of guns,
 Sometimes the heavy sound of the footsteps of soldiers, *where I am*.
- (6) Where is the *adhān* (call to prayers), where the sound of the sacred horn, where the chime of bells of the church?
 But there is the continuous roar of Bren guns *where I am*.
- (7) The curfew has been imposed, troops are posted at the way sides,
 But the noise and clamour still rage high *where I am*.
- (8) Stones were hurled, *lathi*-attacks made, and bullets shot,
 But now bombs of tear-gas are thrown *where I am*.
- (9) The wounded are lying at all places, corpses are scattered in lanes,
 Some are breathing their last on the seaside.
- (10) The electric connection has been destroyed, the telephone made useless,
 Because all the posts are dislodged *where I am*.
- (11) Here all, old or young, are in a state of misery;
 Who is then to remedy their sufferings *where I am*?

- (12) Where are the dances and music, and where the social
entertainments ?
Where that gaiety of assemblies and where that sweet tinkle of
ornaments, *where I am ?*
- (13) In the house, neither old nor young nor children are left,
Who is to mourn their loss, when none has survived *where
I am ?*
- (14) The heart of the sky has been touched by the distress ;
It is not the monsoon (*Sāvan's*) shower, but the heavens are
weeping, *where I am.*
- (15) Men and women are so tired of their lives,
That they welcome death *where I am.*
- (16) What misfortune does not afflict people here ?
To be brief, I have to weep day and night *where I am.*
- (17) Neither cloth to cover the body, nor bread to fill the stomach,
But still I survive in such a predicament *where I am.*
- (18) The tumult and noise has robbed me, Farḥat, of my senses to
such an extent,
That I do not know anything about myself *where I am ?*

In this poem Farḥat's sense of humour is apparent, but the inner significance of the poem is one of pathos. Farḥat was very fond of his native place, Delhi, and he would have felt much afflicted if he had lived to witness the brutal acts recently perpetrated there in the name of religion. Farḥat will always be remembered with feelings of love and affection by his friends and associates, whether they be Hindu or Muslim, Parsi or Christian. May his soul rest in peace !

G. YAZDANI.

MĪR FAḌLULLĀH UNJŪ*

MĪR FAḌLULLĀH UNJŪ was a great scholar-statesman who came to the Deccan from abroad in the early part of the Bahmani period and served the country in various capacities as a scholar, minister and warrior. He rose to eminence by dint of his intellectual attainments and political foresight. His long career extending over forty years is closely associated with the glorious reigns of Moḥammad Shāh II and Fērōz Shāh Bahmanī. He started life as a scholar, propagated art and science throughout the kingdom and imparted higher education to the princes of royal blood. Later he was called upon to assume the responsible position of Prime Minister which he held to the end of his life. The rôle of Faḍlullāh in the Bahmani Deccan is conspicuous for its contribution to learning and administration. The Bahmanī history remains void without the mention of his life and works. Faḍlullāh's only counterpart was Khwājā Maḥmūd Gāwān who flourished in the late Bahmani period; but the latter is far behind his predecessor as far as the nobility of character and sincerity of purpose are concerned. Mīr Faḍlullāh's early life is enveloped in obscurity. The Deccan historians fail to give satisfactory information about his early career outside India. It is strange that the author of *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, who is considered to be a reliable authority on the history of the Deccan, makes no mention whatever of Faḍlullāh who figures so prominently in the Bahmani Deccan. Even the history of Ferishta which is the only source of information about Faḍlullāh is silent about his early life in Shirāz and elsewhere, although the same history gives a detailed account of his later career in the Deccan. It is equally futile to trace Faḍlullāh's early career in the histories and biographies of Islam, which were written in Turkistan and Persia and which throw light on the famous men of letters who flourished in the Islamic countries. This is because Faḍlullāh had migrated to the Deccan and had left nothing in his native country that could attract the attention of the Islamic historians. Thus we have to be content with the fragmentary references made by Ferishta about Faḍlullāh's early days. According to this historian Faḍlullāh belonged to the Syed family of Unjū, a town in

* Unjū (عنجل) a countryside of Zauzān situated between al-Mawṣil and Armenia. See *Mu'jamul Bulḍān*. Ed. I.C.

the upper part of Transoxania.¹ The erudition and culture of which he gave evidence in his Deccan career denote that his family had, to its credit, high traditions of scholarship and piety. Firishta speaks of his family in terms of respect like the Sādāt-e-Unjū:² and the exalted Sādāt of Shīrāz³ (سادات عظیم المرتبت شیراز), which point to a high degree of culture and social status the family enjoyed.

The distinctive feature of Faḍlullāh's education was that he received his education at Shīrāz in the literary circle of 'Allāma Sa'duḍḍīn Taftazānī. The 'Allāma was a celebrated Islamic divine who flourished in the middle of the 8th century of Hijra and died in 791 A.H.⁴ and was the author of many standard works on rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, theology and law, which are still recognised undisputed authorities on these subjects. Faḍlullāh is known as the pupil of the 'Allāma.⁵ This established his academic position in the world of learning. His association with 'Allāma Taftazānī was sufficient for his claim as a great scholar. Faḍlullāh was however a great scholar himself and had mastered almost all the branches of arts and sciences current in the mediæval times, and proved himself worthy of his great teacher. Firishta says that he was well read in arts and sciences, i.e., geometry, mathematics, logic, philosophy, astronomy, theology and other subjects which were included in the mediæval curricula.⁶

The exact date of Faḍlullāh's migration to the Deccan is not known. The first reference to him in history occurs in the reign of Moḥammad Shāh II, whom Firishta by mistake calls Mahmood Shāh, and he is represented as a minister in charge of religious affairs. (برسند صدارت متبکین یزد).⁷ The words imply that he had arrived in the Deccan not in the reign of Moḥammad Shāh II, but in the time of some previous king, because the sudden rise of a stranger like Faḍlullāh to the Ecclesiastical Minister immediately after his advent was improbable. It is true that he held the post of religious affairs either in the earlier or later part of Moḥammad Shāh's reign; but there are grounds to believe that he had come to the Deccan and was introduced to the people and the government long before he became Minister. A later historian who professes to have derived his information from contemporary sources says that Faḍlullāh had joined the Bahmani

1. Faḍlullāh and his family belonged to a Turkish tribe known as Unjū after the town of the same name. The town is probably in the upper part of Persia. According to *Mu'jamul Buldān*, it lies in the neighbourhood of Zouzan between Musal and Armenia, though it is difficult to locate it in the present map. Yāqūt spelt it as *انج* without *و*, *Mu'jamul Buldān*, Vol. I, p. 371.

2. Firishta, Lucknow edition, p. 308.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 305.

4. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol., IV., p. 604

5. Firishta is the only authority which is to be relied upon for this information, whereas, Faḍlullāh's name is not mentioned in the group of 'Allāma Taftazānī's pupils known to Islamic history. Ḥisāmuddīn and Burhānuddīn were the two pupils of 'Allāma known to history as mentioned in *Rowḍatul Jamnat*, *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. IV., p. 604.

6. Firishta.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

Darbar as early as the reign of 'Alāuddin Shāh Bahmanī. This is to be borne in mind that even the early Bahmani rulers, unlike other mediæval kings, were noted for their literary pursuits. If 'Abdul Jābbār Khān is to be relied upon, we find signs of literary activities even in the court of 'Alāuddin Shāh Bahmanī though he was mainly occupied with the establishment and consolidation of his new kingdom. According to this historian Faḍlullāh's name appears among the literary luminaries who surrounded his court. The other scholars who are mentioned are Maulāna Luṭfullāh Subzvarī, Mullā Mo'inuddin Harvī, Muftī Aḥmed Harvī, Mullā Moḥammad Ishāq Sirhindī, Mullā Ḥakīm 'Alīmuḍdin Tabrēzī, Ḥakīm Nāṣiruddīn Shīrāzī, Sādāt-Sheriff Samarkhandī, Malik Ruknuḍdin Ghōrī, Malik Saifuddīn Ghōrī and Syed Raḍiuddīn Jagajut.¹ Firishṭa gives only three names of this group, i.e., Malik Saifuddīn Ghōrī, who also held the post of Prime Minister, Ḥakīm 'Alīmuḍdin Tabrēzī and Ḥakīm Nāṣiruddīn Shīrāzī, physicians who treated the king on his death-bed.² It is quite probable that Firishṭa has either omitted the remaining names by oversight or he had no access to the authorities which were available to later historians. Firishṭa only speaks of the persons who, besides their academic distinction, had also attained a prominent position in politics and administration of the kingdom. And therefore Faḍlullāh who had not yet become prominent then was not mentioned.

It is probable that for sometime Faḍlullāh led a quiet life devoting himself to his literary pursuits. It was not till the reign of Moḥammad Shāh II, that his academic merits were recognised and found royal favour. Moḥammad Shāh II, who ascended the throne in 1378 A.D., was a peace-loving ruler and devoted his time and energy to the cultivation of the arts of peace and to the moral and mental development of his subjects. What he aimed at in his fairly long reign of 19 years was the dissemination of light and learning throughout his kingdom. Moḥammad Shāh was the pioneer of the mediæval culture of the Deccan. He was called the Aristotle of the age by his contemporaries. He patronised men of letters, established schools in the capital as well as the far-flung districts, and liberally granted salaries to teachers and allowances to students. It was then that the academic merits of Faḍlullāh were recognised and employed to the benefit of the public and the government.³

It is evident that there was a close association and mutual trust between Moḥammad Shāh and Faḍlullāh, even before he ascended the throne, but it is difficult to say whether this contact was that of a teacher and the taught or based on mere friendship. It is, however, certain that the king was much impressed by his learning and thought him a suitable candidate for a responsible post. Faḍlullāh was soon appointed Ecclesiastical Minister. But history tells us that he attended to public instruction as well

1. *Maḥboobul Watan* محبوب الوطن by 'Abdul Jabbār Khān Aṣaffī, p. 92.

2. *Firishṭa*, p. 281.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 302, *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, p. 37.

This shows that either the Ecclesiastical Ministry carried with it the portfolio of education, or that Faḍlullāh, being a great scholar, might have been desired by the king to handle educational affairs as well. It is, however, undeniable that Faḍlullāh was chosen especially for implementation of the educational scheme which Moḥammad Shāh had prepared for the intellectual and moral development of his subjects, and the minister perfectly justified the confidence which was reposed in him.¹

Moḥammad Shāh was a highly enlightened ruler of the Bahmani house. He ushered in a new era in the history of the Bahmani Deccan with an elaborate scheme of reforms and specially his cherished scheme of education which he introduced for the intellectual advancement of his subjects. He was probably the first Indian ruler to hold his government responsible for public education in the mediæval age when public instruction was hardly recognised as a government function. Faḍlullāh was his right-hand man in executing the scheme. He appointed able teachers to impart proper education in all the important cities and towns. He also invited many scholars from outside with a view to increase the literary activities and raise the standard of education. Firishṭa speaks of a Persian poet who approached the royal court through Faḍlullāh and was rewarded 1000 sovereigns for his learned ode to the king. The celebrated poet of Persia, Khwājā Ḥāfiz Shīrāzī, was also invited, but the poet could not unfortunately come. He, however, sent a *ghazal* regretting his inability to accept the invitation and also expressing contentment with his lot. The king was pleased to grant 1000 sovereigns to the poet which was remitted to him by Mullā Qāsim Mashhadi.²

Faḍlullāh's services to the members of the royal family are equally admirable. Although the report of his being a teacher of Moḥammad Shāh II is doubtful, it is certain that he had taught the young members of the royal family. He is known in history as a teacher of Fērōz Khān and Ahmed Khān who were destined to be the great kings of the Bahmani kingdom. The princes who were born of the same mother, were mistakenly supposed by Firishṭa to be the sons of Daūd Khān, but according to *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* and other reliable sources they were the sons of Ahmed Khān, the third son of 'Alāuddin Shāh Bahmanī; and as such they were the first cousins of Moḥammad Shāh II. And Moḥammad Shāh who was equally conscious of his duties towards the members of the royal family, never failed to impart proper education to his cousins. The king had no male issue for a long time and therefore the two Princes Fērōz Khān and Ahmed Khān whom he had given the hands of his two daughters in marriage, were nominated for the throne. Fērōz Khān was declared heir-apparent of the kingdom in an open Darbar and was duly trained for the royal duties which were in store for him. The education of the princes was entrusted to Faḍlullāh and he performed his duties most

1. *Firishṭa*, p. 302.

2. *Ibid.*

conscientiously. The royal pupils went to their teacher regularly and acquired high proficiency in all the branches of art and science which were available in the mediæval times.¹ Fērōz Khān, who is known as Fērōz Shāh Bahmanī was indebted to Faḍlullāh for his high intellectual attainments.²

Faḍlullāh's rôle as a politician, administrator and a military commander is equally brilliant. It opens an interesting chapter of his life. In the turbulent times which followed the death of Moḥammad Shāh II he took an active part in politics and supported the Bahmani kingdom which was then seriously threatened. The death of Moḥammad Shāh in 1397 A.D. was followed by a set-back which marred the glories of the early Bahmani kings. If Moḥammad Shāh had been succeeded by his able cousin Fērōz Khān in accordance with his previous decision, Bahmani politics would have remained undisturbed. But the accession of Ghiāthuddin and Shamsuddin, one after another upset the equilibrium of the government. The young kings who were the sons of Moḥammad Shāh, either fell victims to or were dominated by Tāghalchīn, a low-born Turkish slave, who had entered the Bahmani service in the previous reign. Ghiāthuddin was murdered in cold blood for his independent spirit, and Shamsuddin who succeeded his brother, was a puppet, with absolutely no administrative power.³ It was a grim situation which alarmed all the classes of people, and the kingdom seethed with dissatisfaction. There was a general cry to save it from ruin and ignominy. A large number of people, high and low, rallied round Fērōz Khān and Aḥmed Khān in whom the future hopes were centred. A national movement was set on foot with the support of the faithful elements in the kingdom and plans were made to oust the upstart and to restore the kingdom to its rightful heir. The national party proceeded to Sagar⁴ with a view to collect men and material to cope with the situation. Faḍlullāh was at the head of the party along with his royal pupils and gave his best counsel whenever called for. He was recognised as a great politician and the leader of the party and he was accordingly nominated as the future prime minister in the same meeting in which Fērōz Khān was proclaimed the future king.⁵

The party equipped with men and material supplied by Siddu, the local officer of Sagar, marched to Gulbarga to give battle to Tāghalchīn and to capture the throne, but they failed in their first attempt. They were compelled to retreat to Sagar from Marqū⁶ where the battle was fought between the national and the royal armies and were forced to

1. *Firishṭa*, p. 305.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 308.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 304-305.

4. An old town near Krishna in the Nizam's Dominions.

5. *Firishṭa*, p. 305.

6. It seems to be a village near modern Wādī or Shahabad in the Nizam's Dominions not traceable in the map.

resort to other measures which might prove successful in the circumstances. They sought for peace and retired to Gulbarga where they secretly planned to kill Taghalchin and capture the government. One day they succeeded in overwhelming the usurper as he attended the palace on his government duties. The party which lay concealed round the palace took Taghalchin and his accomplices unawares and put them to death. It paved the way for Fērōz Khān and his party to take possession of the government on the spot. Fērōz Khān was proclaimed king under the title of Tājuddin Fērōz Shāh in a darbar which was held the very next day. Faḍlullāh was made Prime Minister with the title of Malik-Naib and Ahmed Khān was created Khānkhānān, the leading nobleman of the kingdom.¹

Fērōz Shāh's reign marked another great change in Faḍlullāh's career. His elevation to the most responsible office in the state added to the fame he had already acquired as a great scholar. He was held in high esteem both by the king and the people. In his capacity as Malik-Naib he was the pivot of the civil and military administration, and was consulted in all the important state affairs. Even the question of marriage which the king wished to contract could not be finally settled without his advice.² Faḍlullāh's near relatives were also honoured with the conferment of titles and grants of posts.³ His son Shamsuddin Unjū, who enjoyed the unique honour of being the son-in-law of the king, was appointed governor of Daulatābād. Faḍlullāh's daughter was married to Ḥasan Khān, the son and heir of the king, and his son-in-law Taqiuddin was sent as an envoy to Tamerlane, who had then invaded India.⁴

Almost all the military operations and transactions which were undertaken in Fērōz Shāh's reign, were personally conducted by Faḍlullāh. He followed the king to every battlefield, took active part in military operations and settled the problems of war and peace with his customary promptness and prudence. Almost all the battles which were fought in Fērōz Shāh's reign were connected with the Prime Minister. The first battle of the reign was fought against Vijayanagar in 801 A.H.—1398 A.D. for the districts of Raichur and Mudgal, which formed the bone of contention and occasioned sanguine wars between the two kingdoms. The war was caused by a sudden attack on the districts by Bukka, the then Raja of Vijayanagar, and the situation was further complicated by the hostile attitude of the neighbouring rulers who, at the instigation of Vijayanagar, entered Berar and ravaged the rich province as far as Mahhor and committed outrages against the Muslim population. Fērōz Shāh was forced to detain his army at Daulatābād and Berar to resist the northern aggressor and he proceeded in person to the south with a picked army of the

1. *Firishṭa*, pp. 306-309.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 307.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 308.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

capital. But his progress was deterred at the Krishna as the river was in floods on account of the heavy rain. The king consulted his officers about the next move. A leading courtier who was known as Qāḍi Sirāj advised the king not to go ahead until the situation was favourable. He offered to go to the capital of Vijayanagar in disguise and handle the situation in a manner as to facilitate the march of the Bahmani army. The Qāḍi contrived to join the private party of the Crown Prince of Vijayanagar with a dancing girl. Taking advantage of the favourable opportunity he killed the Prince. It caused a great panic in the palace and the city so much so that the capital was thrown into utter chaos. It helped the Bahmani king to cross the river and make a surprise attack on Vijayanagar. The Bahmani army entered the capital looting and plundering and putting thousands of people to the sword. The Central Government was not in a condition to face the unbidden guest. The feeble resistance offered by the local militia was successfully overcome. Firishṭa says that it was all through the untiring efforts and prompt action of Faḍlullāh that the Bahmani army was triumphant on every occasion.

The matter did not stop there only. The Bahmani army commanded by Faḍlullāh and the Khānkhānān inflicted heavy casualties. A body of influential Brahmins urged the Raja to purchase peace at any cost and put an end to the calamity. They were willing to advance any indemnity which the invaders might claim. A sum of 10 lakhs of huns were offered to the Bahmani king and one lakh to Faḍlullāh for his personal services. Five lakhs were advanced from the Raja's treasury and six lakhs were collected from private sources. The peace terms were drawn by Faḍlullāh and ratified by the king.*

After a brief respite of two months a punitive expedition was led to Berar in 802 A.H.—1399 A.D. to teach a lesson to Narsing who was in league with the Raja of Vijayanagar. He was master of Gondwana and the neighbouring territory. In spite of his request, the Raja received no help from the neighbouring kingdoms and was left to fight alone with the Bahmani army. The battle took place at a distance of two miles from Kherla. Fērōz Shāh wanted to lead the army in person but at the request of Faḍlullāh and the Khānkhānān he left it to them. It was grim battle which inflicted heavy losses on the Muslim army ending in the death of many prominent officers like Shujā'at Khān, Dilāwar Khān, Rustum Khān and Bahadur. The Khānkhānān and Faḍlullāh who commanded the right and left wings respectively were perplexed for a time and knew not what to do. To add to this the latter received a false report of the Khānkhānān's death which he tried his utmost to conceal and prosecuted the war to a successful close. He stood firm in his post and gave out that he had received a fresh reinforcement from the king. The enemy was at last put to flight and pursued to the walls of the fort of Kherla. The Khānkhānān also later on joined him. Narsing was forced to conclude

* *Firishṭa*, pp. 309-311.

peace but Khānkhānān and Faḍlullāh declined to hear his overtures and left the matter to the king. The Raja's envoy approached Fērōz Shāh who had his camp at Elichpur and begged for peace, which was accepted by the Bahmani king on the offer of forty elephants, five maunds of gold, fifty maunds of silver and other costly presents. The Raja's daughter was also given to the king to be maid of honour in the royal harem. In recognition of the prominent part which Faḍlullāh had played in the successful prosecution of the battle, he was created Sarlashkar of Berar.¹

The two kingdoms, Bahmani and Vijayanagar, were again at war in 809 A.H.—1406 A.D. owing to default of the annual tribute due from the latter, and over the question of Parthal the goldsmith's beautiful daughter whom the Raja desired. On the refusal of the maiden to enter the Raja's harem, he resorted to tyrannical measures to capture her. He attacked Mudgal, the Bahmani district, where the goldsmith's family lived. He failed to achieve his object as the family had fled from their native village, but his attack brought the Raja into open clash with the Bahmani army. The danger was partly averted by the local officer, Faḍlād Khān, who managed to resist the invader with the local forces and in the meanwhile help came to him from the Centre. Fērōz Shāh advanced as far as Vijayanagar, but he was flung back by the overwhelming strength of the enemy. Aḥmed Khān and Miān Siddu were despatched with an army of ten thousand to lay waste the southern country, and Faḍlullāh with the provincial army of Berar was to lay siege to Bankapur in preference to the feeble attempt on Vijayanagar itself. The siege of the fort of Vijayanagar was, however, continued by Fērōz Shāh, which ended in as many as eight skirmishes and all in favour of the Bahmanis, but the actions of Aḥmed Khān and Faḍlullāh brought inestimable success to the Bahmani cause. All the southern districts of Vijayanagar were plundered and the important fort of Bankapur was captured. And later the king and Faḍlullāh proceeded to lay siege to the important fort of Adoni, leaving Vijayanagar to the care of Aḥmed Khān. Bukka was alarmed by the news and sent his envoys to Fērōz Shāh to make peace. At first the king was not willing to concede, but it was ultimately accepted through the mediation of Faḍlullāh on condition that the daughter of the Raja would be given to the Bahmani king in marriage in addition to a sum of 10 lakh huns, 5 maunds of pearls, 50 elephants and 2000 slave girls and boys, skilled in the art of singing and dancing. Bankapur was ceded as the dowry of the bride, though it was already captured by the Bahmani army. The marriage ceremony was celebrated with great pomp and pageantry, and the bride was brought from Vijayanagar to the royal camp by Faḍlullāh and the Khānkhānān.²

In 820 A.H. the two kingdoms were again at loggerheads with each other in spite of the matrimonial connections which existed between the

1 *Firishṭa*, pp. 311-312.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

royal families. But this time the war was brought about by the aggressive policy of Fērōz Shāh himself. Firishṭa says that Fērōz Shāh laid siege to the fort of Pangal which is situated 140 miles from Adoni, without the least regard to the family relations. But the expedition ended in utter failure on account of the prevalence of epidemic which carried away a large number of men and horses. It was a favourable opportunity for the Raja to wreak his vengeance, which he was not slow to miss. A big army of Vijayanagar with reinforcements from the Telingana chieftains was on the field and Fērōz Shāh, much against the best counsels of Faḍlullāh and other people, decided to fight. Faḍlullāh, who was in full command of the Bahmani army, never failed to meet the foe and made so valiant an attack that the vanguard of the Hindu army was hurled back, and then he turned to the right wing of the enemy in a manner which promised sure success to the Bahmani arms. But unfortunately he fell a victim to a treacherous and fatal blow from the Kanada Hindu boy, who had long been in his service and had enjoyed his favours. This was done at the instigation of the Raja of Vijayanagar. He died on the battlefield a martyr in the service of his master. His remains were brought to Gulbarga and buried in the royal graveyard.*

Thus ended a long and brilliant career, replete with learning, wise administration and successful military operation. The name of this great scholar and statesman will always live in annals of the Bahmani kingdom.

* *Firishṭa*, pp. 316-317 ; *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, Hyderabad edition, pp. 46-47.

ABDUL MAJEED SIDDIQI.

FRESH OBSERVATIONS ON PERCEVAL'S 100 YEAR OLD NOTES ON THE ARAB CALENDAR BEFORE ISLAM

INTRODUCTION

MY purpose in sending a translation of Caussin de Perceval's *Notes on the Arab Calendar Before Islam* for publication in the *Islamic Culture* (April 1947), was threefold :

1. That article, published in the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris in 1843, still represents the most important contribution to the subject ; in fact, it forms the basis on which almost all scholars of Islamic history have based their early Islamic chronologies—Lane's *Lexicon* and Sir William Muir's *Life of Mohamet*, being the most prominent.

2. It throws light on the origins of the lunar Hijri calendar current in Islam for 13 centuries ; and acquaintance with it will be of help to the present-day and future students of Islam and its development.

3. In spite of the general acceptance given to Perceval's thesis throughout the past 100 years, I detected certain serious flaws which I wished to bring before modern scholars for analysis and discussion.

In the following paragraphs I shall try to present these points. But Perceval's *Notes*, which I wish to discuss, are fairly lengthy ; one has to read them more than once in order to grasp his ideas clearly. In order to open the discussion here, therefore, I shall first outline his thesis below and then go on to discussing it point by point.

PERCEVAL'S THESIS

The argument in Perceval's *Notes* can be summarised under the following eight paragraphs :—

1. It is apparent, says Perceval, that in ancient times the year of the Arabs was primarily the vague lunar year. Their months had no permanent connection with the changes due to temperature ; and their designations were different from those current now and in the time of Mohammd. The beginnings of their year and the dates of their pilgrimage festivals, being brought forward eleven days every year, revolved round the seasons in successive years.

2. Some two hundred years before Islam, the Arabs, inconvenienced by the Hajj falling due in seasons of scarcity, adopted the luni-solar

calendar involving the intercalation of a thirteenth lunar month and gave to these lunar months, a series of names some of which represented the seasons and others their religious gatherings. For example, *Ramaḍān*, meaning intense heat; *Rabī'* meaning verdure, vernal rain; *Dhul-Ḥajj*, representing the annual pilgrimage.

3. The Arabs had adopted this intercalation with a view to timing their pilgrimage to take place in that season when provisions were abundant, that is in or about autumn; for the fruit harvest, staple food of the Arabs, ends in their country at the beginning of September.

4. But, (going back through the past 13 centuries in regular succession of current lunar months) one finds that Moḥammad's pilgrimage, at the end of the 10th year of the *Hijra* fell not in autumn but about the approach of spring, or, to be more precise, about 9th March, 632 A.D.

5. If, therefore, argues Perceval, the intercalation practised by the Arabs during the preceding 200 years had been in operation correctly, e.g., in 7 years out of every cycle of 19 years, as in the case of the Jews, this change would not have come about. But this change is explained away as natural acceleration if it is assumed that the Arabs intercalated a month not at irregular intervals as in the case of the Jews, but *regularly every three years*. So Perceval, taking the last pilgrimage in *Dhul-Ḥajj*, 10 H. to correspond to 9th March, 632 A.D., works out a calendarical table for the *preceding* 220 years and arrives at 413 A.D. when the *Hajj* according to his above-mentioned formula, would correspond to 21st October, 413 A.D., i.e., the season of autumn, when he says, it was originally designed to occur.

6. As a corroboration of this thesis Perceval points out to a historical reference pertaining to the year 541 A.D. (that is, in the middle of this 220 years period) in which the *Hajj* apparently corresponded with the summer—a fact which coincides exactly with the 220 year calendar which he has worked out on a purely hypothetical basis.

7. Perceval finds still further corroboration in two historical references pertaining to the Prophet's period in which the names of the lunar months are accompanied with remarks pertaining to the prevailing heat or cold.

8. Supported by this dual historical corroboration to his calendarical hypothesis, Perceval assumes the latter to be a proved fact and justifies the abolition of intercalation by the Prophet with the following sentence which concludes his notes:

"One can easily imagine that since the pilgrimage no longer coincided with the season originally selected as the most favourable for that purpose, embolism was but a vain and useless practice which Mohammed could well abolish without let or hindrance."

ANALYSIS

Let us now analyse these points one by one.

1. The very first point of Perceval's argument, namely that the Arabs apparently observed a purely lunar calendar until about 413 A. D. lends

itself to doubt and question. Paganism is, in essence, deification of natural phenomena, and this is based on Man's observation of nature through an immemorial period of time. The fact that twelve lunations do not correspond to a full cycle of the *year* must have been discovered by all sections of mankind thousands of years before the fifth century of the Christian era. It is blinding oneself to the facts of anthropology and ethnology even to suggest that the people of a region not far from what is so far regarded as "the Cradle of Civilization," the neighbours of Babylon and Ninevah, Egypt and Phœnecia, should have been following a purely lunar calendar as late as 400 A.D. when the Christians had had a purely solar calendar for four centuries and the Jews had been observing a fairly accurate luni-solar reckoning for many centuries. It is attributing to the pagan Arabs an amount of ignorance which they hardly deserve, to suppose that they had from time immemorial, observed a "year" which was no "year" and a calendar which was no calendar and which had no reference to the seasons. It would be much more logical to assume that a luni-solar calendar was prevalent among the pagan Arabs also from time immemorial, but that, as amongst all other peoples of that age, it was based on faulty calculations and lent itself to falling out with the solar years at frequent intervals.

But the analysis of this first point of Perceval is of little consequence to Islamic history; it only leads one to the discussion of the next point namely that the pagan Arabs adopted the luni-solar calendar only in the beginning of the 5th century.

2. In the light of the above criticism, what probably did happen in Arabia in the beginning of the 5th century A.D. was that the existing luni-solar calendar was once again *adjusted* in the light of new facts and in view of its having fallen out with the solar cycle. The *Hajj* was probably not corresponding to the season to which it was intended to correspond and hence a *calendar adjustment and reform* took place. One characteristic of this reform might well have been, as Perceval suggests, that the names of some of the months were freshly designated so as to correspond with the seasons in which they fell.

3. The contention that the Arabs had adopted the intercalation with a view to timing their pilgrimage to take place in or about *autumn*, when the fruit had been harvested, is reasonable but does not rule out the possibility of being questioned. For, autumn is not the only suitable season for such gatherings. The spring equinox is and has been, everywhere and always, the rival of the autumn equinox for fixing such occasions. And from meteorological data pertaining to the Hijaz, which after long efforts, I have been able to secure only recently, I find that rain there occurs not in one but in two seasons; March, April and May and again in October, November and December. Of harvests too, there are more than one. It is true that fruits, among which dates occupy the most important place, ripen in autumn, but wheat and barley ripen in the spring. The temperatures also are moderate in both autumn and

spring—neither too hot nor too cold. That is why the new years* of all calendars based on logic, as against religion and tradition, fall either in the one or the other season.

Why, then, is it not logical to assume that, even two hundred years before Islam, the Hajj was intended to correspond (with the spring as it occurred in the time of the Prophet) rather than with the autumn? And, even assuming that it had been fixed for autumn, what facts rule out the possibility of another reform during these two hundred years, when an autumn Hajj having been missed owing to epidemic or famine, the next in succession was held in spring and the practice continued ever afterwards until the time of the Prophet? If either of these two alternatives is accepted, Perceval's whole thesis falls to the ground.

4. The same kind of reasoning may be applied to cast a doubt on the generally accepted hypothesis that the last pilgrimage of the Prophet fell in the spring of 632 A.D. and not in autumn. It is true that, receding backwards from the present day, and keeping the *Hijri* and Christian calendars running parallel, one does arrive at this conclusion. But how can one absolutely rule out the possibility of some meddling even with the *Hijri* calendar during the early centuries after Moḥammed? It will be argued that no reference whatsoever exists to show that any such meddling had been done. That is probably true; but when we are conscious of the scarcity of the data available as compared to that which must have been sacrificed to the flames over and over again in the history of Islam, are we justified in assuming that what has not reached us did not exist?

There has been more than one period in Islamic history when reaction to tradition has been apparent. A friend of mine, better versed in Islamic lore than I, tells me that the period of the Faṭimide or of Qarāmiṭah provides one such example. Is it absolutely impossible that in this period the prescribed sequence in the names of the lunar months had been meddled with, for some secular or religious purpose?

And finally, how are we to reconcile certain facts which do not fit in with the calendar of Perceval according to which the last pilgrimage corresponded to the spring. Take for example the battle of Badr. The references to it in the *Qur'ān* as well as the *Ḥadīth* make this out to have occurred in the hot season. But, according to Perceval's calendar, this falls in January. We know that it was the *summer* caravan which went to the cooler climates of the North and it was the *winter* caravan which went south to Yemen. How then was the northern caravan returning in January?

Take another problem. Since a luni-solar calendar had been followed until the last pilgrimage then not only the *Hajj* but *Ramaḍān* too must

*Iran observes two new years. One in spring and the other in autumn. Likewise almost the only difference between the *Sambath* and *Shaka eras* in India is that the new year of the former falls in spring while that of the latter in autumn.

have occurred more or less in the same season year after year and Rama-dān, according to Perceval's calendar, fell in January. Is it logical to assume that the Prophet observed the fast, throughout his life-time in the cold season? And is January the most suitable part of the year for retiring to the cave of Hira?

I realise that I am merely casting doubts on the existing hypothesis without offering some other hypothesis upon which to base Islamic chronology. But this is because I am myself still in that initial stage of investigation when a thesis which I can wholeheartedly accept and present for criticism has yet to emerge. Perhaps what I am saying here will help some readers of this article to find such a thesis before I am able to do so myself.

5. Perceval finds the regular intercalation of a month every three years as the only explanation of the *Hajj* corresponding to autumn in 413 A.D. and to spring in 632 A.D. In the preceding paragraphs, I have questioned the validity of the assumptions regarding the seasons in which the *Hajj* occurred in these two terminal dates. Let me now deal with the thesis for the intervening process.

For the purpose of argument, let us take for granted that the terminal suppositions suggested by Perceval are correct, that the *Hajj* did occur in autumn in 413 A.D. and in spring in 632 A.D. But even then is the thesis that this came about by intercalation of a month regularly every three years tenable? If this had been done *regularly* every three years, where was the necessity of a *Qalammas*, family to declare when the intercalary month was to be added? And even supposing that this was a mere formality and an honour involving little responsibility, how would misunderstanding have occurred among the people? And finally, how are the verses of the Qur'ān to be explained which refer to the *Nasi* and state that the addition of the *Nasi* causes confusion among the idolators—sometimes they make a sacred month ordinary and at other times ordinary month sacred (Sūrā 9:36-7)? Can this refer to a practice followed regularly every three years?

One is, therefore, forced to the conclusion that even if the *Hajj* had occurred in autumn in 413 A.D. and in spring in 632 A.D. this juxtaposition must have been the result of one or more mutational changes rather than as a result of a gradually evolutionary process such as that suggested by Perceval. The existence of misunderstanding and confusion, corroborated by the Qur'ān, leaves no doubt that the Arabs followed one or the other of the several embolismic formulas; they intercalated according to a cycle of 7 months in 19 years or 9 months in 24 years, thereby giving the power of some choice to their *Qalammas*, whose decisions naturally led to confusion and misunderstanding.

6. Perceval's presentation of a historical reference to the year 541 A.D., as a corroboration of his thesis, is rather amusing in as much as it shows how we are all apt to catch at straws which seemingly support our

views. I shall therefore, quote the full passage inserting Italics of my own for purposes of discussing the passage subsequently.

"Here is, besides, an historical event which will throw some light on the matter in question.

"Procopius tells us that at a meeting of Roman Generals convened at Dara by Belisarius, 541 A.D., to discuss a plan of campaign, two officers who commanded a corps formed of Syrian troops declared that they could not march with the main army against the town of Nisibius, alleging that their absence would leave Syria and Phœnicia an easy prey to the raids of the Almondar Arabs (al-Mundhir III). Belisarius showed these two officers that their fears were groundless, because they were nearing the *summer solstice, a time when the pagan Arabs used to devote two whole months to the practice of their religion, abstaining from any bellicose act whatsoever.*"

"Evidently this refers to the time of the pilgrimage, for it was the only time of the year when the Arabs had two consecutive holy months ; in fact, there may have been three : Dhu'l-Qa'da, Dhu'l-Hijja and Muharram. The pilgrimage held in the 129th year of the *Nasi* (see Table published in *Islamic Culture* for April, 1947) fell in fact, on June 22, 541 A.D., precisely at the summer solstice."

Perceval here assumes that this period in which the Arabs "abstained from war" can only refer to the season of pilgrimage ; and, because, in the tables worked out by him, the Hajj in 541 A.D. corresponds with 22nd June, he takes this historical reference to corroborate his tables as also the theory of regular triennial intercalation underlying them. But the Hajj is not the only period in which the Arabs abstained from warfare. One of their holy months was *Rajab* also ; and if the Hajj came in autumn, as I believe it did, *Rajab* would naturally correspond with the summer solstice. If the summer solstice in 541 A.D. had corresponded with the Hajj instead of with *Rajab* the reference would not have merely noted the Arab's custom of abstaining from warfare but would also have contained a mention of their assembling for pilgrimage.

Those "two whole months" have perhaps misled Perceval ; but the figure "two" is as much akin to "three" as to "one." And it is more likely to have been used in place of "one," because the Arab months, (being lunar) did not correspond with the solar months of the Roman calendar but generally spanned a part of one and the succeeding month of the solar reckoning. This reference is most probably to *Rajab* and not to Dhul-Hajj and therefore supports my thesis rather than Perceval's.

7. The references to the corroborating evidence in the time of the Prophet also need analysis and will bear some actual quotation. Perceval says :

"To verify my conjectures and check my table of correspondence, I have looked up among Arab historical documents especially during the first 7 years of the Hijra, those containing any mention of temperature, together with date and month (Arab). I found only two of that kind.

"In the very year of the opening of the Hijra, Muhammad migrating from Mecca arrived at Medina in the middle of Rabi I; the heat was then very inconvenient, from the table the middle of Rabi I coincides with the first days in July.

"In the 5th year of the Hijra, an army of allied tribes which was besieging Madina in the month of Shawwal had much to endure from cold and the inclemency of the weather. From the table, that month of Shawwal covers the periods from January 23 to February 22."

By these quotations, Perceval's intention is only to prove that during the first 10 years of the Hijra intercalation *had* been practised; and, according to him, in the 1st, 4th and 7th years. According to those who believe that *Nasi* did not mean intercalation and that the Arab calendar was purely lunar even before the abolition of the *Nasi*, in the year 10 H. the middle of Rabi'ul-Awwal in the year 1 H. would correspond to the end of September or beginning of October when, Perceval assumes, the heat would not be so intense as to be worthy of mention, and the middle of Shawwal 5 H. would, according to the same reckoning, correspond to the beginning of March when cold too would not be inclement enough to deserve particular record.

These last quotations certainly tend to disprove the theory that the Arab year was a vague lunar year even before the abolition of the *Nasi* in 10 H. They corroborate the more generally accepted theory that *Nasi* did mean intercalation and that it was practised until the last pilgrimage. But beyond that they do not go. They neither prove nor disprove Perceval's theory of *regular triennial intercalation* or my own line of argument namely that intercalation was practised irregularly in cycles of 7 months in 19 years or 9 months in 24 years. For *Rabi' I* and *Shawwāl* would have fallen exactly where Perceval supposes them to have occurred, whether intercalation had been practised one way or the other.

8. After picking holes in Perceval's other theses, I find myself in agreement with this final conclusion. Whatever the system on which it was based, the luni-solar calendar, involving intercalation of the 13th month every now and then, was the cause of confusion, disorder and strife among the Arabs. Its abolition by the Prophet therefore was as perfectly justified as its rejection was justified by the Romans 600 years earlier. But, whether the verses in the Qur'ān abolishing *Nasi*, prescribed a purely lunar vague year, as observed by the Muslims ever since, or whether they lend themselves to a more logical interpretation, this question I shall leave for discussion at some future date.*

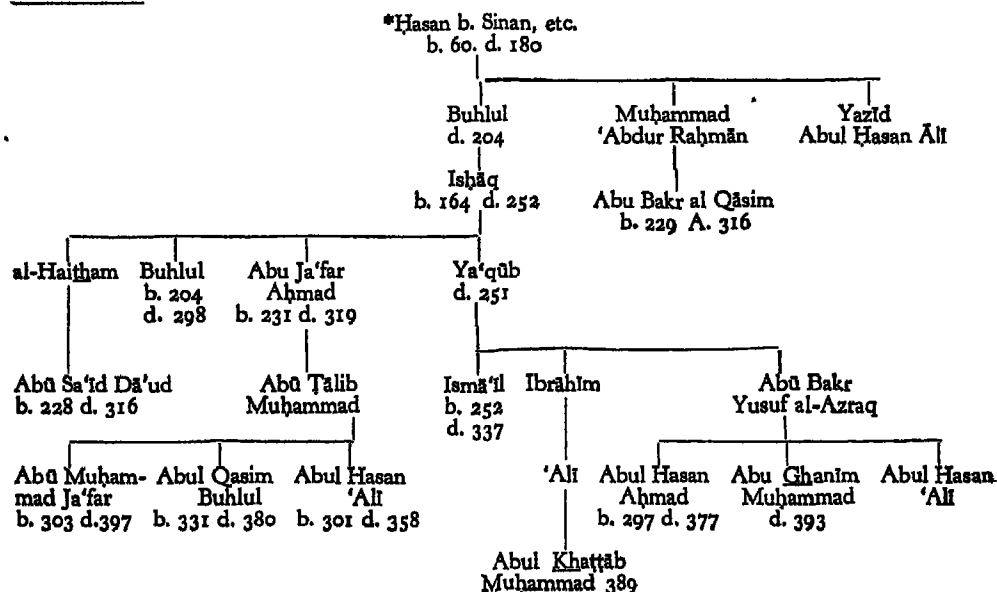
H. AMIR ALI.

*This seemingly unfinished aspect of the problem has already been dealt with by the author in his treatise on "Our Four Calendars" incorporated in *Facts and Fancies* recently published in book form.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

AL-MUḤASSIN AT-TANŪKHĪ AND THE KITĀB ALMUSTAĪĀD.

THE TANŪKH were originally South Arabian tribes which, in their wanderings after the break of the dam of Ma'rib, settled on the northern fringe of the Arabic world in Syria and became Christians before the rise of Islam. When the Arab conquest swept past them they were, not immediately, converted to Islam, but they seem to have always had a leaning towards Shi'ism and we find two families migrating from Antākiya (Antioch) and Syria to 'Irāq where they were Ḥanafī lawyers. The more conspicuous family were descendants of one Buhlul who died a Christian in 204 A.H. Both families rose to eminence during the Shi'ah ascendancy in the fourth century of the Hijra, but I have not been able to trace any members of one family who died after the year 397. The schedule at the foot gives all the names and dates of death,* as far as



Of most members of this family biographies are found in the *Jawāhir al-Mudī'a* (Ed. Dā'irat-ul Ma'ārif).

they can be ascertained, of the more prominent family many of whom are mentioned in the writings of the chief member of the other family, al-Muḥassin. This family derives its descent from one Abul Fahm Dā'ūd whose exact date I have not found mentioned anywhere. The first of this family to come to Baghdād was Abul Qāsim 'Alī, the son of Muḥammad, the son of Abul Fahm. He was born in 278 and died in 342. He had two sons one Aḥmad and the more celebrated Abū 'Alī al-Muḥassin who was born late in the life of his father in 337 and died in 384. He apparently had only one son Abul Qāsim 'Alī, born in 365 and died in 447. Both are at times claimed to be the author of the *Kitāb al-Mustajād*, which I shall discuss later. 'Alī had one son Abul Ḥusain Muḥammad whose date of birth is not known, but whose death occurred in 494 and with him, according to Ibn al-Jauzi, this family died out.

To al-Muḥassin, in most manuscripts, which are numerous, is attributed a work containing anecdotes about men who distinguished themselves by acts of exceptional generosity. For the biography of al-Muḥassin I refer the readers to the accounts in the *Irshād* of Yāqūt, the *Wafayāt* of Ibn Khallikān and the *Jawāhir al-Muḍī'a*. We possess editions of the principal works of al-Muḥassin and the best known in Arabic literature is the work entitled "al-Faraj ba'd ash-Shidda" (Relief after great suffering). This book has been translated into Persian and Turkish and is, for the greater part, worthy of translation into European languages. The printed edition of it leaves much to be desired and as several good manuscripts are known a new edition would be welcome. Less known was his principal work "Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara." Of this work Margoliouth published in 1921 the first volume (out of eleven of which it originally consisted) after the unique Paris manuscript. Later the second and eighth volumes of the same work were discovered in the libraries of the late Aḥmad Taimur Pāshā and the British Museum. Both these volumes were also published by Margoliouth in Arabic by the Académie Arabe in Damascus and a translation into English appeared in "Islamic Culture" and as a separatum. The *Nishwār* deals avowedly with events and occurrences which the author himself witnessed or heard from trustworthy persons and he emphasises that none of his tales are taken from books. Consequently the author, not in all cases, conscientiously cites his sources as he does also in the above-mentioned *Faraj ba'd ash-Shidda*. For the purpose of this article I have taken the trouble of making myself a list of all the persons whom the author mentions in these books as the source of his informants.

The *Mustajād* differs fundamentally in this respect, which, for establishing the authorship of al-Muḥassin, is regrettable. A direct reference to an informant occurs only twice in the book, of which later. I had gone through the whole book with a student of mine, Leo Pauli, at Bonn, who desired to present a study of the work for his degree. I was favoured by Habib ar-Raḥmān Khān Shirwānī, at one time Ṣadr as-Ṣudūr at Hyderabad, with the loan of his precious copy, the oldest of all known, which

he sent to me at Bonn. I also had the loan of the manuscript preserved in the library of the University of Alger through the kind offices of Professor Henri Perez, both of whom I thank herewith publicly as apparently Pauli has not done so. The work was printed in Germany in 1939 and I have never seen a complete copy of this edition, but through a friend I received a copy of the "Dissertation" containing 48 pages of the Arabic text and an introduction in German containing the results of Pauli's studies. The Arabic text is a lithographic reproduction of the manuscript so kindly lent by Sayyid Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān Khān. I do not know if this edition is accompanied by a complete translation into German. I was surprised when I learned that another edition was published last year (1365/1946) by the Académie Arabe in Damascus; the editor being the well-known scholar and President of the Académie, Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī. I have received this edition and I find that Kurd 'Alī had the edition of Pauli at his disposal but based his text upon an independent manuscript much recent in date. Meanwhile as I had sent the "Dissertation" to Kurd 'Alī for his reference I can refer to it only from memory.

While I was going through the *Mustajād* with Pauli I had my doubts whether al-Muḥassin was the author or his son 'Alī because in quite a number of cases tales are introduced as being related by the latter. There were however other doubts. A manuscript in the British Museum, and I believe there are others too, attributes the work to Abū Maṣṣūr ath-Tha'ālibī. This was certainly curious and I compared a number of passages for Pauli with the text as found in other manuscripts and made sure that the work was identical. There is not the slightest likelihood that Tha'ālibī is the author. He was a confirmed Sunni and would not have included some of the tales which are of decided Shī'a provenance.

I have no time to trace all the sources from which the author of the *Mustajād*, whoever he be, has derived his tales, but a preponderating number are directly borrowed from the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, nay even one tale is found in what is called the 21st volume, the existence of which the editors of the new edition of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* wished to deny. Though many cases of these borrowings are acknowledged, there are others from this work where the source is not given at all. All tales refer to persons and events early enough for al-Muḥassin having received them from sources available to him except in two cases. Al-Muḥassin certainly had been a student under Abul Faraj al-Isfahānī.

Tale No. 89 is introduced in the words: The Shāikh Abū Sa'īd (read Abū Sa'd) al-Khargūshī an-Naisābūrī said, I heard Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ say I heard ash-Shāfi'ī say, etc. Abū Sa'd al-Khargūshī is mentioned by Sam'ānī fol. 195v (and in the *Lubāb*, I, 357) and among his pupils is mentioned Abul Qāsim at-Tanūkhī, the son of al-Muḥassin. He died after much wandering in Naisābūr, in 406 A.H. The date of his birth appears to be unknown but he could hardly have been an informant for al-Muḥassin. That he should have heard from Shāibānī, a pupil of ash-Shāfi'ī, is of course quite impossible.

Jarwal not by al-Ḥutai'a." Actually al-Ḥutaia's name was Jarwal b. Aus. P. 168 in a tale taken from the Bonn edition we find the words بحى من حمدان. The correct reading here and a little lower is حمدان. The Hamdān, a South-Arabian tribe, were settled in al-Kūfa, but the author or scribe was thinking of the family of Saif ad-Daula and Nāṣir ad-Daula who were descended from Ḥamdān with the letter Ḥā. On the same page Abu Zaid the grammarian is not the great scholar of the Baṣrian school, but the traditionist 'Umar b. Ṣabbāḥ. On p. 171 the tale about 'Amr b. Duwaira دورة (not Dausara) is found in the excellent manuscript of the poets named 'Amr by Ibn al-Jarrāḥ and in the edition of the *Faraj ba'd ash-Shidda* II, 148/9 with the correct name of his father. P. 173, tale 83 mentions the celebration of the Nawrūz in the time of Mu'āwiya; this festival was not celebrated till centuries later. P. 187, Note 2 misprint read لاى الطيب الوشا p. 222, Tale 132. The recorder is the celebrated Kūfī scholar al-Mufaddal (not al-Faḍl). P. 223, Tale 134. The caliph is according to the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (VI, 282) al-Walīd b. Yazīd, not al-Yazīd. p. 238, Tale 151. This tale is taken from the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (*Dār al-Kutub*, IX, 290) where we find the better reading خبر but the editors say nothing about a clan called حضور. P. 35 of appendix read Sahl instead of Suhail. I think that in Tale 54 (p. 258 of the appendix) we should read الحيتة instead of المحيطة. "By a tale uttered by one like thee do the birds find a grain."

F. KRENKOW.

II

REMARKS ON THE NOTICE PRINTED IN THE JULY ISSUE, PP 365-366—YĀQŪT AL-MUSTA'ŠIMĪ

THE note contains several inaccuracies both as regards the name and other details. Yāqūt is a name which was given in early times to slaves, especially to those of Greek extraction and history mentions quite a number of such slaves in prominent positions. At the beginning of the seventh century of the Hijra there were three men of distinction of this name. The most celebrated was certainly Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, the author of the *Irshād al-Arīb* and the *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, who died in 626 A.H. Another was a poet who lived in Ḥalab and died in 622 A.H. The third was Yāqūt al-Musta'šimī, named after the caliph, renowned for his beautiful writing. There is no evidence that the caliph al-Musta'šim gave him the name of Yāqūt, he may rather have had this *nisba* because he had been one of the many slaves of the household of the caliph. He

died in 618 A.H. Strangely enough there was another Yāqūt al-Musta'şimi who died long after the fall of the caliphate in 698 A.H. who was also celebrated for the beauty of his calligraphy.

Manuscripts of the older Yāqūt are by no means rare. As there was a public with money and anxious to possess luxury editions, if we may call them by this name, he made copies of several small works which sold at good price. One of these works is the small *diwān* of the pre-Islamic poet al-Ḥāḍira which fills only a few pages. Of this *diwān* there exist in Europe and Istanbul several copies. Another work is the *diwān* of the pre-Islamic poet Laqīṭ al-Iyāḍī which consists of one poem only with a short historical introduction. A manuscript was at Leipzig and was published long ago by Nöldeke. Yāqūt has omitted in the poem one verse but has the commentary on that verse, which is found in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* in the article on Laqīṭ. I was glad when I learned that a library in Istanbul possessed a manuscript of this *diwān* and with the assistance of Dr. Rescher I obtained photographs which I have since presented to the library of the India Office. This manuscript is also written by Yāqūt and lacks the same verse as the Leipzig manuscript. With a little attention the scribe could have supplied the missing verse. The writing is very beautiful but not very correct and the same can be said of the copies of the *diwān* of al-Ḥāḍira.

In earlier days two calligraphists were renowned and copies written by them were sold at high prices. These were Ibn Muqla and Ibn al-Bawwāb, but, as far as I am aware, no manuscripts in their handwriting are preserved. But the library of 'Ashir Efendī in Istanbul (No. 904) preserves a manuscript written by Ibn Asad, the pupil of Ibn Muqla and the teacher of Ibn al-Bawwāb from which we can safely assume that his writing closely resembles that of his teacher and pupil. In addition to the beauty of the writing the manuscript is very correct and several devices are added to assure the correct reading of uncommon words. But we have also specimens of the writing of contemporaries of Yāqūt al-Musta'şimī which are by no means inferior to his. One is the celebrated scholar Mauhūb al-Jawālīqī a facsimile of whose writing is given in the edition of the *Kitāb al-Khail* by Ibn al-Kalbī (Leiden 1928). Another learned scribe was Kamāl ad-Dīn ibn al-'Adīm in whose handwriting is the Oxford manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Mujtanā* by Ibn-Duraīd on which the edition published by the Da'irat al-Ma'ārif is based.

As regards autograph writings by Emperor Aurangzeb there is a Qur'ān in the India Office Library in which the exalted writer, right at the beginning, omitted in the *Bismillah* the word الرحمن which is written above the line, when he discovered the omission. I am not to judge whether the imperial writer had far more important tasks.

F. KRENKOW.

III

FURTHER REFERENCES TO COSMIC PHENOMENA IN THE
KITĀB AL-MUNTAZAM OF IBN AL-JAUZĪ, AND A FEW
IN TĀRĪKH-E-RĀḤAT AFZĀ (INDIA)

A. Accounts of some fifteen fireballs of great luminosity observed in Baghdād, Baṣra, etc., from 925 to 1060 A.D., taken from Ibn al-Jauzī's *Kitāb al-Muntazam* have been published in my brochure, *Meteoric Showers, Past and Present*, (H. K. Lewis and Co., Ltd., 136, Gower Street, London) and some of them discussed by me in the *Islamic Culture Magazine*, Vol. XX, No. 4, 1946, under title *Muslim Contribution to Meteoric Astronomy*. Thirteen additional fireballs (3 or 4 dropping meteorites) and three comets are here described taken from the same source. It may be noted that Abu al-Faraj 'Abdur Raḥmān ibn al-Jauzī was descended from the Khalif Abu-Bakr in the twentieth generation (according to *Ibn-Khallikān*). He was born in Baghdād in 508 A.H. (1114 A.D.) and died there on 12th Ramaḍān, 597 A.H. (1201 A.D.). He was one of the greatest Arab encyclopædists of the Middle Ages and wrote an immense number of voluminous works on practically all branches of learning then known. Among his predecessors, perhaps, only al-Ṭabarī (838-923) and Ibn-Ḥazm (994-1064) and among later scholars Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (1445-1505) could match him in prolific authorship. In his most important work *Kitāb al-Muntazam*, Ibn-al-Jauzī describes not only important historical and political events but unusual natural phenomena also. He is very particular about his authorities and his accounts are thoroughly reliable.

Fireballs:

(1) On Wednesday night, Ṣafar 16, 373 A.H. (July 30, 983 A.D.) a brilliant fireball occurred, followed by a noise like thunder.

(2) On Sunday, Rabī'-al-Awwal 20, 389 A.H. (March 11, 998 A.D.) some time after sunrise (at breakfast time) a big fireball broke forth from the sky.

(3) On Wednesday night, Ramaḍān 22, 392 A.H. (August 4, 1001 A.D.) a bright 'hairy star' rose in the sky—(In the absence of further details it has been decided to take this expression to mean a shooting star with a prominent train).

(4) On Monday night, Dhu-al-Qa'dah 3, 392 A.H. (about August 15, 1001 A.D.) a fireball was seen as bright as the full moon. It broke up after a time, but its streak (about 2 dhira's long and 1 broad) continued to be visible for some time.

[NOTE.—A dhira' is about 1.627 foot. For celestial objects measurements should be *angular* of course. A dhira' would subtend a few degrees, depending on its position from the observer's eye.]

(5) On Wednesday night, Rajab I, 399 A.H. (March 1, 1008), after sunset, a very bright fireball appeared. It broke into three pieces which moved away in different directions.

(6) On Thursday afternoon, Šafar 22, 400 A.H. (October 15, 1009), a fireball was seen to travel from West to East towards the capital, Baghdād. It was so large that a bigger one was never seen.

(7) On Wednesday night, Šafar 27, 403 A.H. (September, 17, 1012), at the time of 'Ishā' prayers a huge fireball burst on the "right side" of the West—meaning thereby N. W. probably. Its light illuminated the ground underneath. People wondered at its size.

(8) In the month of Ramaḍān 403 A.H. (Ramaḍān 1, 403 A.H. corresponds with March 17, 1012) a fireball flashed from East to West. Its light overpowered that of the moon. It burst into pieces, but the streak persisted for a time.

(9) In the early part of the night, on Tuesday, Rajab 20, 420 A.H. (August 4, 1029) a fireball was seen which illuminated the Earth. It burst into four pieces with a noise like that of thunder.

(10) A similar fireball appeared on the following Thursday night (August 6, 1029), somewhat less bright than the first.

(11) On Wednesday night, Rajab 28, 420 A.H. (August 12, 1029), a third fireball of the month appeared, brighter than the first. Its light spread all around.

(12) On Wednesday, Jamādi-al-Awwal 5, 423 A.H., (April 19, 1031) just when the sun was seen to set, a tremendously big fireball of great luminosity appeared.

(13) On Monday night, Shawwāl 2, 423 A.H. (about September 11, 1031) a fireball burst which illuminated the ground and people were struck with terror. Its shape changed (meaning thereby perhaps, its train drifted), and it finally disappeared.

Combining these with the fireballs described in the former papers, it would appear that from 925 to 1060 (i.e., 135 years) altogether twenty-eight of them were recorded.

Comets :

(1) On Monday night, Dhu-al-Qa'dah 21, 364 A.H. (August 2, 974) a bright comet appeared in the East. It was estimated to measure twice as long as a spear. It continued to be visible in this manner every night till Dhu-al-Hajjah 20, (i.e., for nearly one month).

(2) On Friday night, Sha'bān 1, 396 A.H. (May 3, 1005) a very large comet was seen on the left side of the West (i.e., in the South-West). It was as bright as Venus, and shed its light on the ground like the moon. It continued to be visible every night till the middle of Dhu-al-Qa'dah (i.e., for nearly three months and a half), and then disappeared.

(3) About Jamādi-al-Ākhir 20, 448 A.H. (about September 4, 1056), a comet of white colour appeared in the morning, with an apparent

length of 10 dhira's and breadth one dhira'. It continued to appear in this form till the middle of Rajab (i.e., for some 24 days) and then grew dim.

People say a similar comet was seen in Egypt and the country lost its independence. When such a comet appeared in Baghdād its suzerainty vanished and the royal *Khutbah* began to be read in favour of the Sultāns of Egypt.

[NOTE.—During the sultanate of Ma'add al-Mustanşir in Egypt (1035-94 A.D.) longest Muslim reign on record—and the Caliphate of the Abbasid al-Qā'im bi-Allāh (1031-75), al-Basāsīrī (d. 1060), the Turkish General of the Abbasids revolted and usurped power in Baghdād in 1058. Through Basāsīrī's usurpation, al-Mustanşir's name was mentioned in the mosques of Baghdād on 40 successive Fridays. The revolt was put down afterwards by the Saljuq General, Tughril (*de facto* ruler of Baghdād from 1037 to 1063 A.D.), on his return from an expedition to the North. He reinstated al-Qā'im and punished Basāsīrī with death].

I have not been able to trace these comets in A. C. D. Crommelin's Catalogue, which is by no means exhaustive for Mediaeval Ages. It would be interesting to know if there are other equally reliable records about these comets in European or Chinese chronicles. Crommelin writes of a comet in 1006, which was not Halley's as wrongly conjectured by Hind's predecessors. (Hutchinson's *Splendour of the Heavens*, p. 422).

* * *

B. *Tārīkh-e-Rāhat Afzā* is a much later Indian work of local importance only, compiled by one named Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Ṣādiq al-Ḥusainī, whose forefathers are stated to have held at one time good posts in 'Irāq and Khurāsān. The book was completed in 1173 A.H.

In it there are references to a comet, a detonating fireball or two, and an earthquake observed at Burhānpūr, C. P. (lat. 21° 25' N. and long. 76° 15' E.) on the river Tapti.

(a) About the comet, it is stated that in the year 1154 A.H., a comet appeared at evening in the West, during the months of Shawwāl, Dhu-al-Qa'dah and Dhu-al-Hajjah. Afterwards it made its appearance in the East, during the early morning, for a few days in the month of Muḥarram, 1155 A.H.

Shawwāl 15, 1154 A.H. corresponds to December 13, 1741. Dhu-al-Hajjah, 1154 happens to be in February, 1742. A reference to A. C. D. Crommelin's Comet Catalogue (1925, London)—Memoirs of the B.A.A., Vol. 26, Part II, 1926, discloses the fact that a large comet was visible at that time. The date of its perihelion passage is given as February 7.6533 A.D. (Reference No. 84 in the Catalogue).

(b) About the fireballs.

(i) On Wednesday night, Muḥarram 6, 1125 A.H. (March 2, 1742), in the first quarter of the night, a large fireball started from the East and proceeded towards the West. After a short time a loud report was heard.

[The loud report would imply the bursting of the bolide and dropping of meteorites].

(ii) In 1171 A.H. on Monday, Muḥarram 15, (September 29, 1757), an earthquake was felt at Burhānpūr accompanied by a fearfully loud report from the sky. The minarets of many mosques in the city got bent or fell down.

[The loud report from the sky is an indication of an unusually large bolide perhaps passing and bursting in a region of the sky, below the horizon of Burhānpūr. From its destructive effects, the concussion in the air must have been on a tremendously big scale. The earthquake may have been due to the impact of a large meteorite dropped from the bolide and striking the ground with great momentum. A large meteor crater is generally supposed to exist in the Central Provinces. A geological survey would—if the reports are correct—establish its nature and approximate date of formation. It would be interesting to know whether this hypothetical crater has any connection with the above-mentioned fireball].

(c) On Rabī'-al-Awwal 15, 1173 A.H. (November 6, 1759 A.D.) a slight earthquake was felt in Burhānpūr and the fort of Asīrgarh. Some people felt it, others did not. Evidently it was a feeble tremor, due perhaps to a land-slide as was noticed in the city of Hyderabad, Deccan on April 27, 1938 at about 1h. 5m. p.m., I. S. Time—a sudden jerk followed by a rumbling noise with rattling of doors.

MOHD. ABDUR RAHMAN KHAN.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

I. The Institute of Meteoritics :

THE RESEARCH ASSOCIATESHIPS in the Institute of Meteoritics of the University of New Mexico are complimentary appointments made in recognition of individual contributions of outstanding importance in the field of meteoritics. Appointees to these positions are listed as honorary members of the staff of the Institute of Meteoritics and are accorded the research and publication facilities provided by the Institute.

The Director of the Institute of Meteoritics writes that in recognition of the important personal contributions to meteoritics as evidenced by the numerous publications on this subject and by indefatigable activity as an observer and investigator of meteoric and meteoritic phenomena, an invitation to become a Research Associate has been extended to Prof. Mohd. A. R. Khān and has met with his acceptance.

We heartily congratulate Prof. Mohd. A. R. Khān, a member of the Islamic Culture Board, on his becoming a Research Associate of this great institute.

II. The Proceedings of the Deccan History Congress :

In our July issue of 1945, there appears a detailed note on the Deccan History Congress, which held its session in April of the same year. Besides this, there is a short list of the papers read. The list, as is apparent from what we find in the Proceedings now published is not complete, for it mentions only those papers read, and thus others which were taken as read, have been inadvertently omitted.

Among the papers published, which were not mentioned, some deserve, even though, so late as now, more than a passing notice. The paper entitled "The Enthronement of Nawab Muzzafar Jung," by Mo'inuddin Rahbar Farūqī, merits notice, in view of the fact that the writer has brought to light an epistle of Nawāb Muzaffar Jung addressed

to the Mughal Emperor. This document, historically important as it is, throws light on the interregnum period from the time of the murder of Nawāb Nāṣir Jung to the enthronement of Nawāb Muzaffar Jung.

Another paper contributed on "Omdat-ul-Omra and the Court of the Recorder at Madras," by K. Sajun Lal, deals with such questions as whether a person in the service of the Nawāb was entitled to privileges? whether the Nawāb could be considered as a sovereign entitled to the right of an Ambassador, etc.

These very questions pertaining to the sovereign status of the Nawāb of Arcot form the subject of the paper contributed to the proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Peshawar Session by Prof. Rao Bahadur Srinivasachari, under the title "The Sovereign Status of the Nawabs of Carnatic as discussed in the Recorder's Court and Supreme Court."

III. The 'Aiwān :

In October and November 1947, combined issue of the 'Aiwān Mr. Khurshid 'Alī has given a biographical sketch of the life of Nawāb Nizām-ud-daulah Nāṣir Jung Shahīd, covering 20 odd pages. The martyr prince reigned for no more than 2 years 7 months and 10 days, and was at the prime of his life, that is, 40 years old, when he met a tragic death at the hands of the assassin.

The writer has lucidly described the early life, education and character, which merits notice.

While the events that led to the martyrdom, as narrated by the writer, have been dealt with at great length by historians, and among modern writers, Professor C. S. Srinivasachari, in his book entitled "A History of Ginjee and its Rulers," (vide pp. 480-515), and also his paper contributed to another session of the Indian History Congress, Allahabad Session, throws more light on this sad and tragic event.

But what is more interesting in this contribution, is that the writer has given us something of Nawāb Nāṣir Jung as a Prince Poet, whose *diwān* in three volumes was published by Nawāb Daulat Yār Khān and Mirzā Naṣrullāh Khān.

Maulāna Āzād Bilgrāmī narrates an incident, that soon after the murder of the Nawāb, when his *diwān* was opened, the first line on the page read as گر را خواہش قتل است یا بسم الله دم ممشیر تو و گردن ما بسم الله

How prophetic !

IV. K. Sajun Lal's plea for the study of the mid-nineteenth century Urdu Newspapers as the source of Indian History :

Sir Charles Metcalfe, who, during the tenure of office as the Governor-General of India, passed the Act XI of 1835, giving full freedom of public opinion rightly earned the undying name and distinction of Liberator

of the Press. From that time onwards up to the outbreak of the Mutiny and the post-Mutiny period, the contributions made by the contemporary Urdu newspapers, have added a wealth of most delightful topical information to Indian History.

As a material for the study of the mid-nineteenth century period of Indian History, these newspapers have an abiding value. They reveal the inner history of great and small national events of their time, presenting historical personages and characters in their true perspective. The little incidents of every day life, rumours of the courts, society scandals, country-side gossips, movements of armies, the enactment of laws and the slow but steady growth of public opinion, etc., give us a profound insight into the thoughts and actions of our forefathers, as such no amount of description can provide. To read these contemporary newspapers is to enter into the life of the bygone days, and to accompany the editor, correspondent and the newsletter writer through the nook and corner of the vast subcontinent of India, seeing it as they did through their eyes, sometimes as silent spectators, watching their struggle with the local authorities through cumbersome proceedings of the courts of law, and hearing a chain of witnesses giving their evidence, sharing their joys in victories, and mourning with them in their loss of suits.

These newspapers not only relate the history of the people, but also trace the progress of useful arts and describe the rise or decay of religious sects and also the change in literary taste. They portray the manners, customs of successive generations and even record the revolutions which have taken place in dress and public amusements. In short it may be said that these newspapers place before us a true picture of the life of our forefathers.

Reflective as they are of the public opinion on the burning topics of the day, these newspapers also offer a sure index to the popular reaction to a given measure, but one must be careful of the editorial comments, as they may likely share the political bias of a particular party. The news columns also supply chronological data, the advertisements also form an interesting material of social and economical history.

It is Mr. Sajun Lal's firm conviction that no book dealing with this important period could be considered complete unless and until the historian includes therein facts alluded to above after delving deep into these volumes. These contemporary sources give us information from the public point of view and whereas state papers and government records preserved in archives bear official tinge or colour.

The list given below, though not complete in itself, is sufficient for our purpose to emphasise the importance of the subject. In this short space, it is not possible for us to mention the date and year against the name of the newspaper, nor do we think it will serve any useful purpose to mention which newspapers are tri-weekly, bi-weekly, weekly, fortnightly, and daily, etc. These details are reserved for some other occasion. The list includes a few newspapers published in Persian language while

a few others are bilingual such as, Hindi-Urdu, Persian-Urdu. The list covers up the period from 1835 to 1885, and only in the case of Urdu newspapers of Hyderabad Deccan, it runs a wider range, that is, up to 1898.

The material for study of this subject is vast for we know from Mr. Sajun Lal's collection that some volumes contain as many as 350 pages each and some more than that number. From this one can gauge the magnitude of the task and immensity of the material, if one has patience and perseverance to search them. Of these the first scholar to emphasise the importance of the newspapers, was Garcende-Tassey. He had very ably utilised the material for his lectures which were printed in book form in the French language. Indeed he is the first foreign scholar who laid the Urdu knowing public under a deep debt of gratitude, and we are in no way less indebted to Dr. 'Abdul Haq, Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqī-i-Urdu, for getting the work of the learned Garcende-Tassey translated. Some volumes of these newspapers have been lost for ever. Some volumes are happily preserved and utilised and among scholars interested in this field, the well-known Pandit Dattatriya Kaifi deserves our great thanks, for not only has he preserved them, but he has also utilised them. Afzal-ul-'Ulemā Dr. 'Abdul Haq too, possesses some volumes, while a few form the private collection of Mr. K. Sajun Lal. A few issues and a few volumes are scattered here and there in the Record Offices, India Office and Private Libraries.

Delhi Urdu Newspapers :

(1) Delhi Urdu Akhbār (2) Mazhar-i-Haq (3) Sayyid-ul-Akhbār (4) Fwāid-un-Nāzirīn (5) Qirān-us-Sa'dain (6) Nūr-i-Mashraqī (7) Nūr-i-Maghrabī (8) Wāhid-ul-Akhbār (9) Daqīq-ul-Akhbār (10) Šadr-ul-Akhbār (11) Nūr-i-Nazar (12) Urdu-Akhbār-i-Delhi (13) Akmal-ul-Akhbār (14) Diā-ul-Akhbār (15) Khaikhāh-i-'Ālam (16) Našīr-ul-Akhbār (17) Nušrat-ul-Akhbār (18) Šādiq-ul-Akhbār (19) Mufīd-i-'Ām (20) Khaikhāh-i-Hind (21) Ashraf-ul-Akhbār (22) Safīr-i-Hind (23) Mehr-i-Darukhshān (24) Diā-ul-Islām (25) Delhi Punch (26) Rikhti-Akhbār (27) Armughān (28) Ā'in-i-Hind (29) Hāmī-i-Islām (30) Akhbār-i-Nisā (31) Zarīf-i-Hind (32) Durbār-i-Akbarī (33) Šahīfa-i-Qudsī (34) Mayo Gazette (35) The Advertiser (36) Memorial Gazette (37) Sirāj-ul-Akhbār (38) Karīm-ul-Akhbār.

Lahore :

(1) Bāgh-o-Bahār (2) Nūr-un-'ala Nur (3) Dariyā-i-Nūr (4) Kōh-i-Nūr (5) Riāḍ-un-Nūr (6) Khurshīd-i-'Ālam (7) Chashma-i-Faiz (8) Humā-i-Bebahā (9) Shu'ā-ush-Shams (10) Mīr-i-'Āzam (11) Punjāb Akhbār (12) Chashma-i-Khurshīd (13) Mohibb-i-Riyat (14) Majma'-ul-Behrain (15) Quetta Gazette (16) Bahār-i-Hikmat (17) Rahnumā-i-Punjāb (18)

Khairkhāh-i-Punjab (19) Sitāra-i-Hind (20) Ṣādiq-ul-Akhbār (21) Ṣādiq-ul-Anwār (22) Gunj-i-Shā-i-Gham (23) Anwār-ush-Shums (24) Nūr-i-Bahār (25) Kalid-i-Umīd (26) Atāliq-i-Punjab (27) Akhbār-i-Anjuman-i-Punjab (28) Humā-i-Punjab (29) Āina-i-'Aibnumāi-Hind (30) Akhbār-i-'Ām (31) Behr-ul-'Ulūm (32) Amīr-ul-Akhbār (33) Lahore Kohinur (34) Rafāh-i-'Ām (35) Aftāb-i-Punjab (36) Vakil-i-Hindustān (37) Atāliq-i-Hind (38) Rōznāmcha-i-Punjab (39) Tohfa-i-Punjab (40) Safir-i-Budhana (42) Amritsar Gazette (42) Atāliq-i-Zamindār (43) Akhbār-ōn-ka-Qiblagāh (44) Safir-i-Hind (45) (45) Kapurthala Akhbār (46) Victoria Paper (47) Āftāb-i-Hind (48) Fitna-Fitna (49) Qaisiri (50) Amir-ul-Akhbār-i-Lahore (51) Khairkhāh-i-Kashmīr (52) Sham'-i-Wiṣāl (53) Shafiq-i-Hind (54) Rafiq-i-Hind (55) Nasīm-i-Lahore (56) Nasīm-i-Subh (57) Wazīr-i-Hind (58) Hidāyat (59) Haryana Punch (60) Lahore Gazette (61) Nāzīm-ul-Hind (62) Safir-i-Government (63) Sirāj-ul-Akhbār (64) Shaikh-Chilli (65) Hardil-'Aziz (66) Jhelum Punjab (67) Nūr-i-Afshan (68) Hādī-i-Haqīqat (69) Sayyid-ul-Akhbār.

Lucknow :

(1) Tilism-i-Lucknow (2) I'Jāz (3) Sahr-i-Sāmri (4) Oudh Akhbār (5) Nasīm-i-Jaunpur (6) Ā'in-i-Haq (7) Oudh Gazette (8) Hindustāni (9) Anjuman-i-Hind (10) Kārnāma-i-Lucknow (11) Koukab-i-Hind (12) Shams-ul-Akhbār (13) Thamra-i-Hind (14) Aftāb-'Ālam-Tāb (15) Saunders' Gazette (16) Saharanpur Gazette (17) Akhbār-ul-Akhyār (18) Rōznāmcha-i-Oudh (20) Mukhbir-i-Ṣādiq (21) Khairkhāh-i-Oudh (22) Āthar-ul-Amṣār (23) Oudh Press (24) Tajammul-Akhbār (25) Riad-ul-Akhbār (26) Muraqq'-i-Tahdhīb (27) Lāma'-i-un-Nūr (28) Akhbār-i-Tamanna (29) Akhbār-i-Hind (30) Anwār-ul-Akhbār (31) Adīb-i-'Ālam (32) Oudh Punch (33) 'Omdat-ul-Akhbār (34) Biyān-ul-Akhbār (34) Nasīm-i-Hind (37) Nafis-ul-Akhbār (38) Mohr-i-Zarif (39) Shauq-i-Oudh (40) Indian Punch (41) Sair-i-Oudh (42) Mumtāz-ul-Akhbār (43) Najm-ul-Akhbār (44) Lucknow Punch (45) Sultān-us-Zurafā (46) Atāliq-i-Hind (47) Jam-i-Jehān Numa (48) Abul Husaini (49) Oudh Reformer (50) Jalva-i-Tūr (51) Shām-i-Oudh (52) Mehshar (53) Rafiq-i-Niswān (54) Jāmi'-ul-Akhbār (55) Bai-Nisār (56) Adīb-i-Hind (57) Akhbār-i-Chunar (58) Nasīm-i-Sahr (59) Muraqq'-i-Nigār (60) Dard-i-Dil (61) Āzād (62) Rāh-Numa (64) Rōzānā (65) 'Itir-i-Fitna (66) Mushir-i-Qaisar (67) Ta'wīz (68) Amjad-ul-Akhbār (69) Latīf-ul-Akhbār (70) Badāun-i-Albali.

Agra :

(1) Ṣadr-ul-Akhbār (2) Zubdat-ul-Akhbār (3) Akhbār-un-Nawāh (4) Qutb-ul-Akhbār (5) I'jāz-ul-Akhbār (6) Jām-i-Jamshīd (7) Akhbār-ul-Haqāiq (8) Maṭba'-ul-Akhbār (9) Agra Government Gazette (10) Aḥmadī (11) Nūr-ul-Akhbār (12) Tafriḥ-un-Nāzirīn (13) Safir-i-Agra

(14) Mufīd-i-Khalāiq (15) Government Gazette (16) Nūr-ul-Absār (17) Aftāb-Alam-Tāb (18) Urdu Delhi Gazette Agra (19) Akhbār-i-Haider (20) Khairkhāh-i-Khalq (21) Āb-i-Hyāt-i-Hind (22) Agrā Akhbār (23) Agra Educational Gazette (24) Mufīd-i-Ām (25) Āina-i-Ilm (26) Illāhi (27) Khurshīd-Jahān-Tāb (28) Makḥzan-i-Mahābharat (29) 'Abdul-'Alā'ī (30) Chashma-i-Faiz (31) Nasīm-i-Agra (32) Anīs-i-Hind (33) Nazhat-ul-Anwār (34) Bahār-i-Hind (35) Asad-ul-Akbār.

Meerut :

(1) Miftāḥ-ul-Akbār (2) Jalva-i-Tūr (3) Akhbār-i-Ālam (4) Latīf-ul-Akbār (5) Najm-ul-Akbār (6) Lawrence Gazette (7) Meerut Gazette (8) Muir Gazette (9) Koukab-i-'Iswi (10) Mohibb-i-Hind (11) Ā'ina-i-Sikandar (12) Afdal-ul-Akbār (13) Tūṭi-i-Hind (15) Meerut Punch (15) Islām (16) Shahnā-i-Hind.

Muradabad :

(1) 'Umdat-ul-Akhbar (2) Madhāq (3) Ahsan-ul-Akbār (4) Rohilkhand Gazette (5) Dab-daba-i-Sikandari (6) Ghālib-ul-Akhbar (7) Aftāb-i-Hind (8) Riād-un-Nūr (9) Mehr-Nauroz (10) Lauḥ-i-Mahfūz (11) Tāj-ul-Akbār (12) Dab-daba-i-Qaisiri (13) Nayyar-i-Āzam (14) Najmul-Hind (15) Ā'in-ul-Akbār (16) Sitāra-i-Hind (17) Iqbāl-i-Qaisiri (18) Ā'ina-i-Sikandar (19) Tahdhīb (20) Tahdhīb-Āfāq (21) As-Šādiq (22) Āzād (23) Sarwar-i-Qaisiri (24) Nizām-ul-Mulk (25) Hadīqat-ul-Akbār (26) Ripon Gazette (27) Strachey Gazette (28) Rahbar.

Allahabad :

(1) Rōznāmcha-i-Ālam (2) Nūr-ul-Absār (3) Amīn-ul-Akbār (4) Qaiser-ul-Akbār (5) Rōznāmcha-i-Qaiser (6) Dabir-i-Hind (7) Ahsan-ul-Akbār (8) Nayyar-i-Hind (9) Shamīm (10) Karīm-ul-Akbār (11) Mu'allim-i-Dabistān-i-Karra (12) Khurshīd-Āfāq (13) 'Urūj-i-Muḥammadī.

Benares :

(1) Bāgh-o-Bahār (2) Zarrin-i-Hind (3) Aftāb-i-Hind (4) Subḥ-i-Benāres (5) Fārūq (6) Bāvā-Ādam-Punch (7) Guldast-i-Benares (8) Shams-i-Hind (9) Public Opinion (10) Khairkhāh-i-Khalāiq (11) Wālī-i-Hind.

Bangalore :

(1) Tilism-i-Kirtān (2) Qāsim-ul-Akbār (3) Manshūr-i-Muḥammadī (4) Mysore Akhbār (5) Muḥāfiz-i-Bangalore (6) Bād-i-Šabāḥ (7) Muḥāfiz-i-Bangalore.

Bombay :

(1) *Majma'-ul-Akhhbār* (2) *Shams-ul-Akhhbār* (3) *Matla'-ul-Anwār* (4) *'Umdat-ul-Akhhbār* (5) *Kashf-ul-Akhhbār* (6) *Barq-i-Khāṭif* (7) *Mansūr-ul-Akhhbār* (8) *Latīf-ul-Akhhbār* (9) *Rōḍat-ul-Akhhbār* (10) *Khāṭif* (11) *Amīr-ul-Akhhbār* (12) *Riāḍ-ul-Akhhbār* (13) *Mūfferih-ul-Qulūb-wa-Matla'-ul-Khurshid* (14) *Farḥat-ul-Akhhbār* (15) *Ḥadiqat-ul-Akhhbār* (16) *Saif-ul-Akhhbār* (17) *Mukhbīr-i-Surūr* (18) *Akhtar* (19) *Makhzan-i-Surūr* (20) *'Indelīb-i-Hind* (21) *Armughān* (22) *Jahān-Numā* (23) *Mazhar-i-Shaukat-i-Islām* (24) *Khairkhāh-i-Islām* (25) *Matīn Akhhbār* (26) *Altāf* (27) *Khādim-i-Hind* (28) *Abul-Zurfa* (29) *Dab-daba-i-Islām* (30) *Dida-i-Islām* (31) *Sarpunch* (32) *Kharikhāh-i-'Ām* (33) *Aḥsan-ul-Akhhbār*.

Madras :

(1) *'Āzam-ul-Akhhbār* (2) *Tiasir-ul-Akhhbār* (3) *Mazhar-ul-Akhhbār* (4) *Amīr-ul-Akhhbār* (5) *Shams-ul-Akhhbār* (6) *Ṭilism-i-Hairat* (7) *Madrās Punch* (8) *Subh-i-Ṣādiq* (9) *Jama'-ul-Akhhbār* (10) *'Umdat-ul-Akhhbār* (11) *Akhhbār-i-Kirtān* (12) *Ṣādiq-ul-Akhhbār* (13) *Riāḍ-ul-Akhhbār* (14) *Jarīda-i-Rōzgār* (15) *Hakīm* (16) *Zahir-ul-Islām* (17) *Safīr-i-Madrās* (18) *Mazhar-ul-'Ajāib* (19) *Aḥsan-ul-Jarā'id* (20) *Ittiḥād* (21) *Ittifāq* (22) *Dabīr-i-Hind* (23) *Dabīr-i-Madrās* (24) *Meezan* (25) *Karnatak Punch* (26) *Deccan Punch*.

Calcutta :

(1) *Jām-i-Jahān Numā* (2) *Mir'at-ul-Akhhbār* (3) *Sultān-ul-Akhhbār* (4) *Māh-i-'Ālam* (5) *Mehr-i-Munīr* (6) *Akhhbār-i-Harkāra* (7) *Mir'at-ul-Khyāl* (8) *Anjuman Ārā* (8) *Gulshan-i-Naubahār* (9) *Urdu Guide* (10) *Rafīq-i-Hind* (11) *Dūrbīn* (12) *Muḥammadī* (13) *Tijārat-ul-Akhhbār* (14) *Dār-us-Sultānat* (15) *Amīr-ul-Akhhbār* (16) *Mālik-ul-Akhhbār* (17) *Gauhar-i-Najfī* (18) *Humā-i-Bugal* (19) *Jarīda-i-Waṭan* (20) *Bahār-i-Hind* (21) *Rōznāmcha-i-Mulk* (22) *'Ālīm-ul-Akhhbār*.

Cawnpur :

(1) *Shu'la-i-Ṭūr* (2) *Darya-i-Latafat* (3) *Matla'-un-Nūr* (4) *Nūr-ul-Anwār* (5) *Mukhbīr-i-Ṣādiq* (6) *Ḥabīb-i-Hind* (7) *Nūr-ul-Āfāq* (8) *Cawnpūr Gazette* (9) *Mukhbīr-i-Ḥaḳīqī*.

Bhopal :

(1) *'Umdat-ul-Akhhbār* (2) *Dabīr-ul-Mulk* (3) *Mauj-i-Narbadā* (4) *Safīr-i-'Ām*.

Malwa :

- (1) Akhbār-i-Mālwa (2) Anjuman-i-'Aql Afroz (3) Mohtasham.

Patna :

- (1) Khurshīd-i-'Ālam (2) Chashma-i-'Ilm (3) Akhbār-ul-Akhyār (4) Habīb-ul-Qulūb (5) Nādir-ul-Akhbār (6) Anīs-i-Behār (7) Dia-ul-Abṣār (8) Safir-i-Arrah (9) Behār Punch (10) Nasīm-i-Ṣubḥ (11) Nasīm-i-Saran (12) Mushīr-i-Bahār (13) Ṣubḥa-i-Waṭan (14) Bhagalpur Akhbār (15) Sharf-ul-Akhbār (16) Ṣidq (17) Akhbār-i-Behār (18) Anīs (19) Nasīm-i-Sahr.

Aligarh :

- (1) Fāteḥ-ul-Akhbār (2) Tahdhīb-ul-Akhbār (3) Scientific Institute.

Ajmeer :

- (1) Rajputānā Akhbār (2) Moḥibb-i-Mārwar (3) Chirāgh-i-Rajestān (4) Amīn-ul-Akhbār (5) Afsūn.

Hyderabad :

- (1) Shams-ul-Akhbār (2) Āṣaf-ul-Akhbār (3) Shafīq (4) Shāh-i-Deccan (5) Hazār-dāstan (6) Piām-i-Āṣafī (7) Aṣam (8) Afsar-ul-Akhbār (9) Khyāl-i-Maḥbūb (10) Deccan Punch (11) Safir-i-Deccan (12) Maḥbūb-ul-Qulūb (13) Hyderābādī (14) Deccani (15) Jalva-i-Maḥbūb (16) Shāukat-ul-Islām (17) Mulk-o-Millat (18) Aftāb-i-Deccan (19) Nazzara-i-'Ālam (20) 'Azīz-ul-Akhbār (21) Jām-i-Jamshīd (22) 'Ilm-o-'Amal (23) Mazāhār-i-'Ālam (25) Kashful-Ḥaqāiq (26) Mushīr-i-Deccan.

V. Mr. Sajun Lal's Private Collection :

We shall give a detailed note on Mr. Sajun Lal's private collection, some other time, for the benefit of our readers.

K. S. L.

DECCAN

Indian Historical Records Commission :

THE twenty-fourth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission took place at Jaipur during the third week of February. Thirty-two papers, based on unpublished documents were read on

different aspects of Indian history. Only the following, as noted below in brief, dealt with Indo-Muslim history :

Some New Documents on Jaipur-Mahratta Relations :

Mr. G. H. Khare's paper was based on documents relating to early Jaipur-Mahratta relations which were not well known. But progress of historical studies and the discovery of new historical material have revealed some facts about these relations. Three Rajasthani documents show that Mahadevabhata Hingane's family was intimately connected with the early Jaipur chiefs. Other Mahratta Brahman families migrated to Jaipur during Savai Jaisingh's regime. According to Mr. Khare these were only cultural relations. The extracts of four Persian documents show that political relations were established and continued in the same regime by Bajirao, the elder and his son Balajirao (2nd and 3rd, Peshwas). There are thousands of Persian documents in the Peshwa Daftar, bearing on this and several other topics connected with North-Indian affairs of the 18th century.

Three Persian Documents concerning Baglana (Baglan) in Khandesh :

Baglana (modern) Baglan is one of the talukas of the Nasik district in the Bombay Presidency. Throughout the Muslim rule in India it held a great strategical position. Dr. M. A. Chaghatai has discovered three Persian documents which are engraved on copper plates. They concern the grant of the office of Deshmukh and Qānūngo of Baglana to the Rathor Rājputs—One Muḥammad Murād and his descendants who were the descendants of the old family of Rathors and they were generally called Bahārji by their family title. Muḥammad Murād was a convert to Islam. The first document is a farmān of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr and others are parwanas of Muḥammad Shāh's reign. Through these documents the importance of the place as well as of the old family of the Rathors is obvious.

The Early Phase of the Struggle between Barbhais and Raghunath Rao :

Mr. V. S. Chitale has discussed, basing his information on the new material in hand, the foul murder of the Peshwa, Narayanrao the Barbhai. There are about six unpublished documents which throw much light on the activities of Trimbakrao Pethe and show how he succeeded in securing an accommodation with Sabaji and Daryabai Bhonsle and enlist their help and also that of the Nizam to further the cause of the Barbhais. The first document gives the reason why Trimbakaramama wanted to effect a compromise with Daryabai. It was to enlist her sympathy for the cause of the Barbhais. The second document describes how reconciliation was brought about between Sabaji and Daryabai by Trimbakrao. The third

document shows how Sherjang was eager to persuade the Nizam to join the Barbhais against Raghunathrao. The fourth document states how Trimbakrao was unwilling to serve Raghunathrao in the future. The fifth document details the Nizam's answer to Raghunathrao who wanted to secure his help against the Barbhais. The Nizam asked Raghunathrao if he had ever kept his promise and maintained friendly relations with the Nizam and told him that he was willing to help him, who was able to protect his own kingdom. At last Trimbakrao secured the help of Sabaji Bhonsle and the Nizam but lost the battle in an engagement at Kasegaon on March 26, 1774.

Lord Cornwallis and the Nizam's Claim to Kurnool :

Shortly after the Treaty of Srirangapatam was signed, the Nizam revived his claim to Kurnool on the ground that it had been once subject to his suzerainty. He hoped to secure the diplomatic and military support of the English in the matter. But Lord Cornwallis not only refused him any kind of help but strongly urged him not to meddle in the affairs of Kurnool as his title to the territory was no longer tenable. For over twenty-five years its Pathan ruler, Rustam Khān, had been subject to the Mysore Government. During all this period the Nizam never disputed the right of Haider and Tipu to collect tribute from Kurnool. Prof. Muhibbu'l-Hasan, the writer of this paper says that even at the Srirangapatam Conference (1792), no serious attempt was made by Mir 'Ālam, the Nizam's representative, to establish the claims of his master to the district. In fact the allies by not objecting to the inclusion by Tipu in the schedule of his possessions the Peshkash from Kurnool virtually recognised the Sultan's supremacy over the district.

A Farmān of the Mughal Emperor Muḥammad Shāh :

Prof. A. B. M. Habibullāh has contributed an interesting paper which he has mainly based on the so far unknown papers in the Burdawan Raj estate, which are a number of Mughal documents and Farmāns relating to the zamindari. They begin from Aurangzeb's reign and cover the 18th century. The Farmān noticed here was issued by Muḥammad Shāh granting the Zamindari of Burdwan along with the title of Raja to Chitrasen on the death of his father Kirtichand in return for the payment of two lakh thirty thousand *rupeya* as Peshkash to the government. It was issued on the representation of Sarfarāz Khān and is dated 21st regnal year, i.e., about 1740.

The Aligarh Diary :

Prof. A. Ḥalīm's contribution expounds the family *Ruz-Namcha* of the ancestors of Babu Girja Prasad Mathur, a very well-known Kayasth

gentleman of the city and an Old Boy of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh. It was started in 1772 by Munshi Sundar Lal, an officer of the Imperial Dīwān-i-Khālṣa, and continued after his death by his sons and grandsons and great-grandsons, so that it is being continued up to the present day. It is in Persian (shikasta script) up to 1872 but after that date, the entries are made in Urdu. The events of importance are recorded against each date of the Christian month with corresponding dates of Hijra, Vikrami, Fasli and Saka eras. Each page contains entries in tabular calendars. It is a record mainly of local events, such as births, marriages, and deaths in the leading families of the city, the appearance of an epidemic, the appointment or transfer of a District Magistrate, Collector or Judge, the visit to the city of notables like Governors, the news of the movements of the Governor-General or transfer of landed property. Its main features, according to Prof. Ḥalīm are : the death of Shāh 'Ālam or murder of Lord Mayo by Shēr 'Alī, an Andaman convict, or capture of the fort of Bharatpur by the English. It also records that General de Boigne had a Mughal wife, whose name was Mihrunnisa.

Bahādur Shāh II of Delhi and the Administration Court of the Mutineers :

Dr. S. K. Banerji read the above paper in which he dealt with five important points of the reign of Bahādur Shāh, viz., sketch of the administration introduced by him ; the administration court formed of ten members of whom six were mainly military and four civil ; the regulations were framed for the conduct of the meetings of the Court ; the decisions of the Court were subject to revision by Bahādur Shāh ; the Court did not act very effectively due to the state of lawlessness prevailing at Delhi.

Zafar-Nāma.—A translation of the Manual of Military Training:

It is a rare and contemporary manuscript preserved at the Central Museum, Lahore. It is examined by Prof. G. L. Chopra and he has confined himself to its description. He says that it was originally drawn up in French by M. Ventura, the veteran general, under orders of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who was singularly impressed with the western methods of military training and wished to initiate his Sardars into the same. It was translated into Persian with the collaboration of the said Sahib and was copied by Munshi Harbhagat Rao. The manual opens with a brief account of the history of the Sikh gurus, the rise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the profound impression created on him by the reorganisation of the army under European generals. The latter part of the MS. deals with comprehensive rules and regulations for the training of the armed forces in western style. It contains numerous coloured illustrations relating to various aspects of the drill. The general orders are in French, written in Persian script. It is probably of a unique type.

The Punjab News in the Akhbār-i-Darbār-i-Mu'allā :

Prof. Ganda Singh of Amritsar had made an effort to throw further light on the Sikh history through the Records—a rich collection of News-letters of the Mughal days, called the *Akḥbār-i-Darbār-i-Mu'allā* covering a period beginning with the 9th regnal year of Aurangzeb to the 7th year of Farrukh Siyar. According to Ganda Singh these records throw some new light on the rise and fall of the first Sikh kingdom carved out by Banda Singh, the disciple of Guru Govind Singh. The Sikh leader's greatness, according to the inscription on his seal (as reported to the Emperor Bahadur Shāh), belongs to Guru Nanak and the kingdom of the spiritual as well as temporal world belongs to the True Lord Himself. *Deg* and *Tegh*, the Kettle and the Sword, the symbols of means to feed the poor and of power to protect the weak and helpless are obtained, says another inscription, from Guru Nanak and Govind Singh. There are other details of the death of Banda Singh.

Madho Singh of Jaipur and some of his Contemporaries :

Prof. Syed Hasan 'Askari of Patna has contributed his paper which he has based on the unpublished correspondence relating to Maharaja Madho Singh of Jaipur and some of his contemporaries : (a) Letters of Shāh 'Ālam and one of his trusted officials to Maharaja Madho Singh of Jaipur with extracts relating to allied subjects, (b) Letters of Maharaja of Jaipur to the Rohilla chiefs, and (c) Correspondence between Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī and his Wazir and Aḥmad Khān Bangash and a letter of the latter to Maharaja Madho Singh of Jaipur. These papers also throw some light on the non-interference in the religious matters of both the Hindus and Muslims. Similarly there are other papers which are useful in some other matters.

A Farmān of Aurangzeb :

Mr. S. M. Ja'far has described a farmān of Aurangzeb which is issued in the 16th year of his reign, and relates to the restoration of eight *jaribs* of land attached to the Masjid and Khānqāh founded by Sayyid Abū Naṣr, the Amamdar and Atāliq of Emperor Humāyūn, to the rightful custodian, Sayyid Abdul Latīf son of Sayyid Mubaris, from whom it had been wrested by Rajah Hırde Ram and his son Jag Ram and converted into a Haveli, a garden, a bazar and shops. It reveals the extent of the influence and authority enjoyed by the Hindus in a Muslim majority place (Peshawar) during the reign of Aurangzeb. It also throws light on the Ziarat of Asa Shāh Mardān in Sar Asia (Peshawar) and establishes its antiquity.

The Disappearance of the Postal System in Mysore :

Mr. Sastri of Mysore says in this short paper that Mysore had its own postal system known as Anche and it was undisturbed even under Hyder 'Ali and Tipu Sultan. It lasted till 1884 when it was abolished by the Government of India.

New Discoveries of Rajput Paintings :

Dr. H. Goetz (Baroda) has contributed a brief article in the latest issue of the *Indian Art and Letters* (Vol. XXI, No. 1), which in reality is a brief report of a recent visit of Dr. Goetz himself to Bikaner state. He mentions his own inspection of a dozen Ragni paintings. He considers that they probably formed part of booty of the Bikaner Rajas during their war service in the Deccan under the Mughal Emperors. The collection includes a fine portrait of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, illustrations to the Bhagawata Purana, Mahawhati, Ragmalas, the Rasikpriya of Kesavadas, a famous 16th century poet of Orcha, others are portraits of historical interest. A Bhaghawata Purana reveals the Rajput ancestry of the Akbar school of Mughal Painting. Dr. Goetz says: "Of special interest in this respect is another large Rasikpriya set of one hundred seventy pictures, executed for Maharaja Anup Singh, the great general and *Mæcenas* of art and literature, in a transition style, still Rajput in conception, but embellished with perfect Mughal details. Like most Bikaner miniatures also these miniatures are dated and signed—often by Muslims? These dates and signatures are of revolutionary importance for our knowledge of Rajput and also Mughal painting. During the first two quarters of the 18th century the Mughal taste almost completely swallowed the Rajput art; only towards its end the special characteristics of Rajput painting reappears in an interesting revival of so far apparently forgotten folk traditions. The history of these schools and of the parallel local Mughal *ateliers* continuing to work for the Rajput princes, is much more complicated than usually assumed. However the Rajput variations of the Mughal style generally are more archaic than the contemporary Mughal products, though in varying degrees....."

M. A. C.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA AND EAST PAKISTAN

The Problem of Language :

THE problem of language is now a matter of extraordinary attention of the academicians and the politicians both in the U. P. and Bihar. The U. P. is regarded as the homeland of Urdu, which is believed to be the cultural heritage of the Hindus and the Muslims. But the provincial government has now declared Hindi, with Devnagri script, as its official language, and this is being overstuffing with high-flown and antique

Sanskrit words and terminologies. The Universities of Allahabad, Benares, Lucknow and Agra have consequently decided to hold all their examinations through the medium of Hindi by 1952. The decision of the Muslim University, Aligarh, is not yet known. This sudden change of the linguistic policy of the provincial government is reckoned by the protagonists of Urdu as a bolt from the blue. The *Ma'arif* (Azamgarh), *Na'i Zindagi* (Allahabad), *Nigār* (Lucknow), the *Şidq* (Daryabad) the *Tanvīr* and *Hamdam* (Lucknow) are crying hoarse over the dethronement of Urdu. Their contention is that Urdu is the joint product of the efforts of the Hindus and the Muslims. Both of them evolved it. It retains its original and essential character in grammar, idioms and a large number of Hindi words. They all clearly point to its Indian parentage. It is a legacy of the days when the Muslims forsook their religious language, i.e., Arabic and their state language, i.e., Persian, and got a new language out of the Indian soil to be able to converse and have cordial social relations with their Hindu friends. It is the confluence of several linguistic streams, possesses remarkable elasticity, and power of assimilation. It is understood all over India and is entitled more than any other language to be the lingua franca of the country. But all these arguments have so far failed to convince the present U. P. Government, and it has declared because Urdu is the language of 14 per cent. Muslims only, it cannot be given preference over the language of the majority, i.e., Hindi. This declaration was resented by the supporters of Urdu and *Josh* Malihābādī, commenting on it, observed "I declare that Urdu is the language of the whole U. P. irrespective of communal considerations. If the Government of U. P. is fairminded and just, I challenge them to appoint an independent commission to go into the matter." *Josh* Malihābādī is one of those poets who hitched the fast-as-wind steeds of his creative imagination to the chariot of national politics. He deplores therefore the murder of Urdu and asks: Was it for this that we fought in the battle of freedom? Was it for this that we dedicated our pen and our tongues for national service that today our pen should be smashed? He appealed to the protagonists of Urdu, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, who are neither Hindus, nor Muslims, nor Sikhs, but only poets and writers, who have no religion except literature, who serve no God except humanity, to awaken and save Urdu. A similar advocacy of Urdu from other parts of the Indian Union aroused a stiffer opposition from the supporters of Hindi. And a baffling pronouncement was made by Pandit Ravi Shanker Shukla, Premier of the C. P. He advised the Muslims to be loyal to the Indian Union. They must not keep aloof from the main stream of culture of the soil. The first thing they should do is to give up their Urdu morbidity. Mr. M. K. Gandhi realised that such pronouncements are likely to generate ill-feelings in the country, so in his post-prayer speech in New Delhi on the 18th December, 1947, he said that "he was proud of the fact that Urdu was a language which had been evolved in India and was the Indian

language. It was originally the language spoken in the military camps during Muslim rule and the military largely consisted of Indians, Hindus or Muslims. Muslim rulers had become domiciled in India." Later on he remarked that late Lala Lajpat Rai's mother-tongue was Urdu, in which he could hold audience spell-bound, yet he was a staunch Arya Samajist. Mr. M. K. Gandhi suggested that Hindustani with Nagri or Urdu script should be the national language of India. Urdu was a language replete with Arabic and Persian words including some of their grammar. Hindi tended to exclude Arabic and Persian words. Hindustani was a happy blend and with the grammatical structure unaffected by Arabic or Persian. In the midst of these acute controversies the Hon'ble Maulānā Abul Kālām Āzād, the Education Minister of the Indian Union, tapped a note of tangible reality during the course of his convocation address of the Patna University on the 21st December, 1947, in which he urged the gradual replacement of English by a common Indian language in all spheres of life. He declared that there will be chaos and confusion in all affairs if there is a sudden displacement of English, which is holding its own place for the past one hundred and fifty years. Ample time will be required for an Indian language to develop so as to become a vehicle of thought among all the peoples of India and serve as the official language of the country. The Hon'ble Maulānā Āzād acknowledged without reservation that "the English language has been responsible for creating a bond of mental fellowship among all the educated Indians from Kashmir to Cape Comorin. It is a connecting link between all the provincial governments, universities, legislative assemblies, public platforms and national organisations. Through English, India cultivated direct intellectual relationship with Europe and America. Her voice reached the outer world without any intermediary." It is still too premature to assess at present the reaction of these judicious pieces of advice. Sanskritised Hindi will however be the official language of the U. P., Bihar and the C. P. The West Bengal has already adopted Bengali as a court language and medium of instruction in the Calcutta University. The consensus of opinion among the protagonists of Urdu is to protect it from being relegated to a dishonourable position. The Anjuman-i-Taḥaffuz-i-Urdu of Lucknow is trying to popularise it in all possible ways. In Lucknow an Urdu Press Conference was held in the last week of December, 1947. The Hon'ble Sri Krishna Dutta Paliwal, Finance Minister, U. P., inaugurated this conference and promised to give all possible help in ameliorating the cause of the Urdu Press. This was followed by All-India Progressive Writers Conference, which was well attended by Muslim, Hindu and Sikh delegates. In this conference the Hon'ble Dr. Saiyyed Mahmud, Minister for Development, Bihar, remarked that Urdu, Hindi and Hindustani are not different languages. According to him Urdu is from the Sanskrit word 'Urd' which means mixture. It was this language which unified the people into a common bond. Mr. Rashīd Aḥmad Ṣiddiqī, Chairman of Urdu,

Muslim University, Aligarh, also presided over one of the sessions of the conference. In his presidential address he observed that there is no reason to despair of the future of Urdu. It had an automatic growth, it prospered without much help, and it will doubtlessly have a glorious future. The fourth session of the conference was held under the chairmanship of Prof. Raghupati Sahay Firāq, English Department, Allahabad University. His audience carried back home with them much material for thought and cogitation. He characterised the allegation that Urdu was devoid of the cultural spirit of the Indian soil, as merely a complete ignorance of the truth. He asserted that the quality of versified translation of Bhagwat Gita in Urdu is decidedly superior to all its renderings in Hindi. There are two or three good translations of Valmiki's Ramayan. A large number of verses can be pleasingly read on Ajanta, Uday Shanker, Himalyas, Cow, Sri Krishna. Gokhale, Ganga Prashad Verma, Gautama Budha Savitri, Megh Dutt, etc. It is simply untrue to argue that Urdu poetry is invested with mellifluous songster, the nightingale, the burning love of Majnūn for Leila or of Farhād for Shīrīn, to which India is a stranger. Urdu is sensible, without doubt, to the true beauties of Nature as found in India. True, worthy and glorious descriptions of rivers, mountains, and historical places of India are at present one of the main themes of Urdu poetry. Mr. Firāq claimed that the philosophy of Vedanta is represented more in Urdu poetry than in verses of any other language. One is inclined to feel after reading the mystic verses in Urdu as if Shankaracharya is himself transmitting his inner voice. Prof. Firāq contended that Urdu lexicon contains fifty-five thousand words, in which forty thousand words are purely Hindi, thirteen thousand words are of Arabic and Persian origin, whilst the rest are Sanskrit. Of the thirteen thousand Arabic and Persian words, one has to undergo no labour to learn at least five thousand words. If two thousand more words are digested, one gets an efficient knowledge in Urdu, the grace, sweetness and softness of which leave indelible impressions upon the minds. In the end Mr. Firāq gave some valuable suggestions to popularise it amongst the non-Urdu speaking people. A resolution urging the governments to adopt Urdu as the national language of the country was moved in the conference. Speaking on this resolution Pandit Kishun Prashad Kaul remarked that he, along with every Kashmiri Pundit, was proud of the fact that Urdu was his mother-tongue. Many papers were read in different sittings of the conference. Some of them were "*Tragic elements of Hālī's poetry* by Mas'ūd Hasan Dhauq, *Modern Trends of Progressive poems* by Wāmiq Jaūnpūrī, *Old and New trends of Ghazal* by Akhtar Anṣārī, etc.

Late Dr. Ziauddin :

With the sad demise of Dr. Ziauddin, the ex-Vice Chancellor of the Muslim University, Aligarh, there has ended a remarkable career and a

strenuous life of a great mathematician and a talented educationist. He had the privilege to obtain the highest academic honours. But he scorned them unostentatiously to have only a consuming passion for Aligarh. And he transformed this dreamland of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan into a wonderland of the educational activities of the Indian Muslims. As a Chief of the Muslim University he combined in himself the dignity of a master and humility of a mere servant. As a human being he erred, but his virtues were greater than his errors. His love for the Muslim University, his kindness to its students, his good feelings towards his opponents, his amiability of disposition and his flexibility of temperament will ever be cherished as precious memories by his co-workers, who can quite rightly say of him.

His life was gentle and the elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world "This was a man."

Irān Society, Calcutta:

The quarterly journal *Indo-Iranica*, as referred to in the *Islamic Culture* of April, 1947, is being published regularly since July, 1947 under the auspices of Iran Society, Calcutta. Its volume is a little thinner, but it provides useful reading materials, which are sure to repay perusal. We shall commend some of its articles to our readers. (1) *Qāḍī Dāwarī* by Khan Bahadur M. Abd-ul-Haq, M.A., D.Phil (Oxon) (July 1946). This is a study of the poet Qāḍī Dāwarī, who flourished during the time of Shāh Abbās the Great (996-1038 A.H.). According to the learned writer, his verses were noted for the simple, sweet and natural ease of diction. A manuscript of his dīwān is in the writer's possession (2) *Islamic Mysticism, Iran and India* by Prof. S. K. Chatterji, M. A. (Cal.), D. Litt. (London) (October, 1946). In the course of this article we are presented with a reflex influence of taṣawwuf on certain aspects of modern Bengali literature. We learn that Rabindranath Tagore's father, the Maharashi Devendranath Tagore, was a great admirer of Ḥāfiz and some verses from him were his great favourite, being always on his lips, and with these Rabindranath also became familiar, and from them the Ṣūfī way of looking at God as the Great Wood impressed itself unconsciously in his imagination. Prior to Rabindranath Tagore, two of Chaitanya's most erudite disciples, the brothers Rupa and Santana, were in high posts, (one of the brothers was the Dabīr Khān Private Secretary to the King, and the other had the Persian title Saghīr Malik or the 'Little King,' which was Bengalised into Sakar Malik in the court of the Muslim Sultān of Bengal, Husayn Shāh (1493-1517). They were proficient in Persian. The poet Bharat Chandra Roy Gunakar, the greatest literary genius of the eighteenth century in Bengal, was an accomplished Persian scholar also. Ram Mohan Ray began his literary career with a treatise

on monotheism composed in Persian—the *Tuhfat-ul-Muwāyḥidīn*. Taran Munshi of Santipur in Nadia District was a good Brahman and a Ṣūfī, whose forty-two distiches in Persian are all mystic in character. Krishna Chandra Majumdar, the Bengali poet of the well-known book of verses, the *Sadbhava-Sataka* was also a poet of Persian. (3) 'Omar *Khayyām*, the Mathematician by Principal, P. N. Mitra, D.Sc. (U.S.A.) (January, 1947). This discusses the salient features of *Khayyām*'s Algebra, which, according to Principal P. N. Mitra, was the best contribution to mathematics. *Khayyām* wrote a small tract *Risāla Abul Fataḥ 'Umar bin Ibrāhīm Al-Khayyāmī*—solution of algebraic equation by conic sections. He may also have written a tract on the extension of Indian methods of extractions of square roots and cube roots of extracting roots of higher orders. Then followed his Arabic Algebra *Maqālāt fil Jabr wa'l Muqābila* written during the years 1069-1074 A.D. (4) *Rūmī—His Life and Genius* by Professor H. C. Paul, M.A. of Ripon College, Calcutta. This is a study of Maulānā Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Balkhī commonly known as Maulānā Rūmī, the founder of Maulvi order of Dervishes. (5) *Salām-i Bahār ba Hind* (Bahar's homage to India). This is a poem of Malik-ush-Shu'arā Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī Bahār, who recited it on the occasion of the inauguration of the Indo-Iranian Cultural Association in Teheran on the 16th October, 1944. It will be remembered that when the Iranian Cultural Mission visited Lahore in 1944, Prof. Pur-i-Davud, a member of the Mission, in the course of his speech made certain remarks about the late Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, which wounded the feelings of the Muslims of India. The above poem may be taken as an apology to it. (6) *Rūdākī, the Father of New Persian Poetry* by M. Ishāque, Ph.D. (London), (July 1947). The writer is of opinion that Rūdākī's name deserves the first place in the roll of the famous poets and writers to whom Iran is indebted for the revival of her language and literature. He refined the language, enriched its vocabulary and made it capable of expressing all kinds and shades of thought. He is the inaugurator of the new era of poetic composition in Persian (7) *Persian. Press in India* by M. Aslam Siddiqī, M.A. (October, 1947). Here we get useful account of two Persian Weeklies *Mīrat-ul-Akḥbār* and *Jām-i-Jehān Nūma*. The former came out on April 20, 1822 under the editorship of Raja Ram-mohan Roy, while the latter was started by an English Mercantile House in Calcutta. Its first issue appeared on May 6, 1822.

The various activities of the Iran Society in 1945 have already been reported in *Islamic Culture* of April 1946. In 1946, the first public lecture of the society was delivered by Dr. J. M. Unvala, M.A., Ph. D. (Heidelberg) on *Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Iran*. In this the unique archaeological finds in Susa I, II in Iran were narrated. Another lecture was by Mr. Percy Brown of the Victoria Memorial Hall on *Iran and Indo-Islamic Architecture*. This paper, which has also been published in *Indo-Iranica* of October, 1947, delineates how the Asiatic-Roman influence on architecture gradually became stamped with the Islamic influence. The

third lecture was by Dr. B. K. Ghosh, D. Phil. (Munich) D. Litt. (Paris) of the Calcutta University on *the Aspects of Ancient Iranian Religion and Culture* in which it was emphasised that pre-Aryan culture of Iran and India was as homogeneous as the later Aryan culture of these two countries. The fourth was by Begum F. S. Muayyidzada on *Indo-Iranian Relation—Ancient and Modern*.

The Iran Society proposes to celebrate the ninth century of Al-Bērūnī, which falls on the 13th December, 1948. A committee has already been formed for this purpose, and about twenty-two orientalist and scholars of the different parts of the world have so far promised to write special papers for the Al-Bīrūnī Commemoration Volume.

The language controversy in East Pakistan also forms a subject of interesting study. A meeting of poets, litterateurs, and journalists of East Bengal was held under the auspices of the Majlis-e-Tamaddun on the 13th November, 1947 at Dacca. Inaugurating the meeting, the Hon'ble Mr. Nurul Amin, Minister for Supplies, East Bengal, said that a complaint against Bengali was that it did not reflect Islamic culture and tradition. That was the fault of the writers and not the language. It was now the task of litterateurs of Pakistan to make Bengali literature a true reflection of Islamic culture and tradition. Continuing Mr. Nurul Amin remarked that Bengali was the language of the masses and he did not think there would be much difficulty in making it the state language of East Pakistan. A section of 'Ulema however were in favour of Urdu. They should know that Urdu was neither the language of Islam nor of the holy Qur'ān. If the works of the courts and offices were not carried on in the language of the people, their contact with the people would cease. Mr. Nurul Amin supported the proposal for reformation of Bengali spellings and grammar and observed that to remove the mass illiteracy of the country, it was essential that language should be as simple as possible. The meeting was presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. Habibullah Bahar, Minister for Health and Local Self-Government. In his presidential address Mr. Bahar said that Pakistan had been established on the basis of self-determination, and it was on that basis for the preservation of culture, language and tradition of the people of East Pakistan Bengali should be the state language of East Bengal. If we do not do so, we will betray the masses. As regards the state language of the whole of Pakistan, Mr. Bahar suggested that both Bengali and Urdu must be the lingua franca. He did not see any reason why Bengali, the language of the majority of the population of Pakistan should not be the state language of the whole of Pakistan. As regards Urdu Mr. Bahar remarked that Urdu literature had misrepresented Islam more than what it could claim to represent Islamic unity. He was, however, of opinion that Urdu also might be taught in East Bengal for the purpose of maintenance of contact with the people of Western Pakistan. When this speech appeared in the Press, it was resented by the pro-Urdu section of the East Bengal. So Mr. Bahar had at once to issue a statement which

ran as follows : " I need contradict the distorted portion of speech, which as I guess, has created misunderstanding amongst the people. As one whose mother-tongue is Bengali, I have great respect for that language, but there is no reason why I should have disrespect for Urdu, which is one of the finest languages of the world. Who can deny that Islam was most faithfully and beautifully represented in its varied aspects in the writings of Iqbal, Hali, Ghalib, Sir Syed, Maulana Shibli and such other powerful writers of Urdu literature. So far as the state language of Pakistan is concerned the policy of the Pakistan Government has not yet been decided. As an individual I think Urdu should be the state language of the Centre and Bengali should be the official language and medium of instruction of the East Pakistan. Citizens of East Pakistan must learn Urdu and similarly the citizens of West Pakistan must learn Bengali for the maintenance of mutual contact between them." But this did not improve the tense situation. The *Ittehad*, a Muslim Bengali daily, advocated vociferously the cause of Bengali, while the *Star of India* and the *Morning News* two Muslim English dailies, pleaded for Urdu. A correspondent from Dacca wrote in the columns of the *Morning News* : ' Urdu is the fittest language for adoption as the state language. Urdu is the link between the people of different provinces of Pakistan. It has got all the capacities and capabilities of state language. It cannot stand comparison with any provincial language. Those who want to adopt any provincial language as the state language in any province are the enemies of Pakistan.' Another correspondent wrote from Chittagong : ' None dare dislodge the present status of the Bengali language or any other provincial language. Certainly Urdu, which would be the lingua franca of Pakistan will replace English for neither Punjabi, nor Sindhi nor Bengali can be accepted as the lingua franca of Pakistan. It is to be noted that Urdu is not a recognised language of any province. It is a liaison language of the people in general. English, at least for the present, will and must remain as the official language of the state till Urdu replaces it completely (in about six years) and English will be continued to be taught as the third language, for it is an international language.' These arguments did not, however, appeal to the pro-Bengali section. A memorandum on behalf of the Majlis-e-Tamaddun was submitted to the Premier of East Pakistan urging him to adopt immediately Bengali as the state language of East Pakistan. The *Morning News* commented on this unnecessary, useless and harmful controversy and advised the people of East Pakistan not to indulge in such fruitless discussions which will only tend to divide people and draw their attention from more urgent problems. And while this battle royal was going on between Urdu and Bengali, an All-Pakistan Educational Conference was held in Karachi in the last week of November, 1947. Mr. Abdul Hamid, Minister for Education, and Mr. Habibullah Bahar, Minister for Health, East Bengal, attended the conference, and when they returned to Dacca they told a news agency that the conference had unanimously decided to make Urdu the state language of

East Pakistan. This news was splashed in prominent headlines in some newspapers. The result was a great excitement among the pro-Bengali sections. The students of the Dacca universities organised meetings, passed resolutions in favour of Bengali, and held demonstrations in front of the houses of the Premier of East Pakistan and his colleagues, who assured them to decide the question of the language in accordance with the wishes of the people of the province. The well-known scientist Mr. Qudrat-e-Khuda, who is also the Director of Public Instruction in East Bengal, lent his support to Bengali and said "Something unnatural cannot and should not be introduced upon the life of a people. Bengali is our mother-tongue." Similar tactics were adopted by the protagonists of Urdu. A correspondent of the *Morning News* reported that support for Urdu as the state language for East Pakistan was voiced in a resolution passed at a mammoth meeting of thirty thousand people, held at Hajiganj, Tippera. Another mass meeting of the Muslims at Mymensingh, organised by Nasirabad District Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam supported the cause of Urdu. In Dacca, there was actually a clash between the two rival groups in which several persons were injured and taken to hospitals. Mr. Habibullah Bahar tried to save the grim situation from deteriorating. In a Press interview he deplored that his former statement had been distorted and misunderstood. But the confusion was more confounded when he gave details of the Pakistan Educational Conference and disclosed that one of its sub-committees recommended Urdu as compulsory language in schools and also to adopt it progressively and increasingly as medium of instruction in the educational system of Pakistan. The delegates from Bengal did not agree to this. They protested that Bengal would never accept any other language as medium of instruction except Bengali, nor could Urdu be made compulsory in Primary schools of Bengal. In these vehement oppositions, the recommendation of the sub-committee was turned down, but at the conclusion of the conference a resolution from the chair declared that Urdu was the lingua franca of Pakistan. According to Mr. Habibullah Bahar, by lingua franca it was meant a common language for exchange of views, it has nothing to do with the state language, or medium of instruction. The Pakistan Ministry of Education in a Press Note from Karachi clarified the position by publishing the resolution of the Pakistan Educational Conference which is as follows: "The conference recommends to the Constituent Assembly that Urdu should be recognised as the lingua franca of Pakistan and resolves that Urdu must be taught as a compulsory language in schools, the stage of its introduction in the primary schools being left to the decision of the Provincial and States governments. The Provincial and States governments concerned will determine the medium or media of instruction at the school stage." One day after the issue of this Press note, much importance was given in newspapers to a memorandum which the prominent citizens of East Pakistan submitted to the Premier Khwaja Nazimuddin. The signatories included an ex-Minister of Assam, many

high officials and a large number of the teaching staff of the various colleges. It demanded that Urdu should immediately be made the state language as well as the medium of instruction in East Pakistan. For this they advanced the following reasons: Urdu will be a great inspiring force in rebuilding the Muslim nationhood of Pakistan. Bengali gets its inspiration mainly from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, Upanishads, Vedas and other Sanskrit literature. Urdu has become the richest of all the Indian languages. To sing eulogies in praise of Bengali as the language of Rabindranath and Nazr-ul-Islam may be a convenient task of provincial patriotism, but as the language of a visible martial people, Bengali falls far below the standard. Bengali fits well as the language of a bashful bride when she speaks in her half-articulate tone. Bengali has a feminine ring, a marshal cannot order his forces in Bengali. Urdu, in contrast, is a martial language and possesses a masculine character. "If we disown Urdu as anti-national" said the memorandum "we stand traitors to ourselves and disown ourselves." The *Morning News* of Calcutta once more made comments on the Urdu-Bengali controversy in a long editorial. It was of opinion that the redemption and glorious future of the Muslims of Eastern Pakistan lie in adopting Urdu, for the language has a vast literature on the Islamic lore, and it is spoken all over the subcontinent of India, in every seaport from Port Said to Shanghai, on the south Asiatic littoral and along the whole eastern coast of Africa. Under the caption "Unwarranted bitterness," the *Star of India* wrote, "Bengali, Sindhi, Pushto or any other dialect loses nothing of its importance in its own sphere, if the peoples' own (mutually evolved and universally accepted) common language—a living monument of Hindu-Muslim joint endeavour and good neighbourliness and a happy synthesis of their culture—is officially and formally recognised as such at least in Pakistan if not in the whole subcontinent. That language is no other than Urdu." In the midst of this duel between Urdu and Bengali, a lone voice of one Mr. Muḥammad 'Abdus Ṣamad was heard in favour of Arabic. He suggested that Arabic should be the lingua franca of Pakistan, for it will destroy the spirit of provincialism. But this was a cry in the wilderness. And one lady contributor to the *Morning News*, Begum Firdaus Rizvi was of opinion that the language may be provincial, but the script cannot be provincial. If Bengali is to be the state language, its script must be Quranic. But this was also a feeble voice.

S. S.

The Cultural Activities of the Eastern Pakistan :

THE thesis of Mr. 'Abdus Ṣubḥān, M.A. (Alig.), B.Litt. (Oxon), a Lecturer in the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Dacca on "An enquiry into the causes of the failure of the Mu'tazilites" which was approved by the Board of the Faculty of Oriental

Studies, University of Oxford in 1945 for the degree of Bachelor of Letters has since been undertaken for publication by Messrs Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf and Company Limited, Booksellers and Publishers, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore and that on the approval and the recommendation of the Book Taster of their firm. Professor H. A. R. Gibb, the Laudian Professor of Arabic, University of Oxford under whose guidance inter alia the work was mainly done has very kindly consented to write the foreword. The thesis, when published, is expected to be a valuable contribution to both the Ash'arite and the Mu'tazilite philosophy that deserves to be termed Islamic philosophy *par excellence*—a subject on which we do not as yet possess any scientific, coherent and well-documented treatise worth the name.

A meeting of the Eastern Pakistan Academy of Science and Arts was held on Sunday, the 7th December, 1947, at 3 p.m. in the Assembly Hall of the Salimullah Muslim Hall, University of Dacca, to discuss on the educational problems of the Eastern Pakistan, particularly of its state language, our veteran scientist Dr. M. O. Ghani, M.Sc. (Dacca) Ph.D. (London), presiding. The house whose normal capacity is 2000 strong was packed to suffocation. Among the speakers who, figured prominently were Dr. Abdul Majid, the Deputy Surgeon-General with the Government of the Eastern Pakistan, Principal Zuhurul Islam and the last but not the least was our Philosopher-guide Moulana Akram Khan, the President of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, who deserves to be called the father of the present-day Muslim Bengal inasmuch as nobody has contributed more than what he has towards her rearing and upbuilding. To sum up the speech of the learned Moulana, he declared as follows "Bengali must be the state language of the Eastern Pakistan but not until it is enriched with the Islamic lores and cultures. To do so, we have to draw on Urdu literature for many years to come. We have to read it and re-read it for doing the same. Unfortunately for us, Urdu has been made foreign to us by its own protagonists inasmuch as they have not cared to simplify the language for us and to do away with the difficulty as to why an Urdu verb should agree with the object and not with its subject as میں نے روٹی کھائی and not as میں نے روٹی کھاا and so on." "At any rate" asserted the learned Moulana "Urdu shall remain our lingua franca and our language of culture and as such it shall have to be made the compulsory second language of our Eastern Pakistan curricula."

An interesting debate was held on Monday, the 8th December, 1947, at 7 p. m. in the Assembly Hall of the Salimullah Muslim Hall Union, Professor S. M. Hossain, M.A. (Dac.), D.Phil. (Oxon), the Provost of the Hall presiding, in which Professor Miss A. G. Stock, B.A. (Oxon), Professor of English, University of Dacca, proposed in the opinion of the house that Reading was an unfortunate invention. Dr. S. N. Roy, M.A., Ph.D. (London), a Lecturer in the Department of English,

University of Dacca, led the opposition. After the subject was discussed both for and against, the motion that the Reading was an unfortunate invention was put to vote and was lost by an overwhelming majority.

From Chittagong (Islamabad), the seaport town of the Eastern Pakistan is being published a Bengali weekly written in Urdu script called *Hurūfu'l Qur'ān* devoted mainly to the propagation and dissemination of Islamic culture amongst all and sundry as also to the popularisation of Bengali in Urdu script. The paper under reference came into existence as far back as 1934 or thereabout. In the words of no less an authority than our dearly beloved Shahittya Bisharad (adept in literature) Moulavi Abdul Karim Islamabadi, whom the United Government of Bengal as well as the present Government of the Eastern Pakistan have granted a literary pension and whose private library today possesses the richest collection of the Puthi (old Bengali) literature both in print as well as manuscript in the province, Muslims of old were not acquainted with the Bengali script and had as such to write Bengali in Urdu or Arabic character as you like to call it. As a matter of fact, according to the veteran litterateur an extensive and valuable Bengali literature in Urdu script is extant today all over the Eastern Pakistan. It will be news to our readers to learn that even today a considerable section of the Muslim population of Chittagong do write Bengali in Urdu character. Moulavi Nawidullah, B.L. and Hakim Moulana Muhammad Salamattullah, F.T.J. (Delhi) of Chittagong are respectively the editor and the sub-editor of the Weekly under reference. We wish its proprietor Moulana Zulfiqar Ali who has virtually staked his all in the venture, a great success and his paper a career of uninterrupted prosperity.

With the growing consciousness of the absence of Islamic element in Bengali, the mother-tongue of the overwhelming majority of the Mussalmans of the Eastern Pakistan particularly on the progressive section of our 'Ulema, a feverish activity is now in evidence for the translation of Urdu, Persian and Arabic original books into Bengali. The following list of the books written as well as translated into Bengali as published by the Imdadia Library, Chawkbazar, Dacca, will amply bear out my contention.

1. *Tabligh-i-Dīn* in 3 parts by Maulana Shamsul Haq, Šadrul Muhtamim of the Ashraful 'Ulūm Madrasa, Bara Katra, Dacca.

This book is a Bengali translation of its Urdu counterpart *Tabligh-i-dīn* rendered into Urdu by late Maulana 'Ashiq Ilāhi of Meerut from the Arabic original *Arba'in* by Imām Ghazzālī.

2. *Furū'u'l Imam* by Maulana Shamsul Haq rendered into Bengali from its Urdu original *Furū'u'l Imam* by late Ḥakīmūl Umma Maulāna Ashraf 'Alī Thānawī. The book has already gone through its second edition.

3. *Miftāhu'l Janna* or *Bihishti Kunji* by al-Ḥajj Maulawī A.F.M. Muslehuddin rendered into Bengali from the Urdu original *Miftāhu'l*

Janna by late Maulana Shāh Karamat 'Alī of Jaunpur.

4. *Ta'limuddin* in 2 parts by Maulana Shamsul Haq rendered into Bengali from the Urdu original *Ta'limuddin* by late Hakimul Umma Maulana Ashraf 'Alī Thānawī. The book has already gone through its fourth edition.

5. *Safā'il Mu'āmalāt* by Maulāna Shamsul Haq rendered into Bengali from its Urdu original *Safā'il Mu'āmalāt* by late Hakimul-Umma Maulāna 'Ashraf Alī Thānawī.

6. *A'māl-i-Qur'ānī*, a book on Amulets published by Maulawī Abdul Karīm of the Imdadia Library, Dacca from its Urdu original *A'māl-i-Qur'ānī* by late Hakimul Umma Maulana Ashraf 'Alī Thānawī.

7. *Qaṣḍus Sabīl* by Maulāna Shamsul Haq rendered into Bengali from its Urdu original *Qaṣḍus Sabīl* by late Hakimul Umma Maulana Ashraf 'Alī Thānawī. The book has gone through its fourth edition.

8. *Hayātu'l Muslimīn* by Maulana Shamsul Haq rendered into Bengali from its Urdu original *Hayātu'l Muslimīn* by late Hakimul Umma Maulana Ashraf Alī Thānawī.

9. *Iṣlāḥ-i-Nafs* by Maulana Shamsul Haq rendered into Bengali from its Urdu original *Iṣlāḥ-i-Nafs* by late Hakimul Umma Maulana Ashraf 'Alī Thānawī.

10. *Qir'atul Qur'ān* by Maulawī Hāfiz Qāri Khalīlur Raḥmān Fārūqī, the teacher of Hifzul Qur'ān and 'Ilmut Tajwīd, Ashraful 'Ulūm Madrasa, Bara Katra, Dacca. The book has been written in lucid and easy Bengali. A perusal of it will amply pay those interested in the study and knowledge of *Tajwīd*.

A. S.

KARACHI

Contact with the Muslim World :

WITH the establishment of Pakistan, Karachi, its capital, has come into prominence as the meeting-place of Muslims from all over the world. Muslim countries are fast establishing their embassies in and contacts with Pakistan and the rest of the Muslim world. A contact of a less formal nature was the visit of the Egyptian Press representatives who expressed very warm feelings for Pakistan and advocated the close unity amongst the Muslims of the world. As the result of their visit an organisation called Pakistan Islamic Council was set up to cultivate better relations with Muslim countries.

Pakistan Institute of International Affairs :

The Indian Institute of International Affairs has been shifted from New Delhi to Karachi and has now been converted into Pakistan Institute of International Affairs. It has received recognition both from Chatham House and the Institute of the Pacific Relations. It has been holding successful meetings, three of the more outstanding being those which were addressed by the Egyptian Press Delegation, Sir Muhammad Zafrullah and Mr. Firoz Khan Noon. The former spoke on the U. N. O. decision to partition Palestine and the latter on Turkey which he had recently visited as the Quaid-i-Azam's representative.

Arabic Society :

An Arabic Society has been organised for promoting the knowledge of Arabic which has been doing good work by organising quick courses for beginners. It has the distinguished patronage of the Education Ministers of Pakistan and Sind, and the work is organised by its enthusiastic and energetic Secretary Mr. A'zamī, formerly a Professor at Al-Azhar.

Education Conference :

On the invitation of the Minister of Education for Pakistan, prominent official and non-official educationists in Pakistan met in a conference at Karachi from the 27th November to the 1st December. The Quaid-i-Azam sent a message emphasising the need of reorganising education in Pakistan. The Education Minister Hon'ble Mr. Fazl-ur-Rahman, presided.

In his address he drew the attention of the Conference to the various needs of the country and discussed the ideals which should govern the educational effort of a Muslim country like Pakistan. He emphasised the importance of the spiritual element in education which alone can save the world from disaster.

The conference then broke into various committees which presented their reports to the plenary session. Some important recommendations are given below :—

- (i) the creation of an Inter-University Board for Pakistan ;
- (ii) the establishment of a Pakistan Academy of Arts and Sciences ;
- (iii) the establishment of cultural relations with other countries by exchange of teachers and students as well as literature ;
- (iv) Pakistan should apply for the membership of the UNESCO ;
- (v) the establishment of a Council for Technical Education ;
- (vi) the establishment of a Council of Scientific and Industrial Research ;
- (vii) the establishment of a National Library and Museum ;

- (viii) the establishment of a Historical Records and Archives Commission ;
- (ix) the establishment of a Central Institute of Islamic Research ;
- (x) compulsory Primary Education ;
- (xi) special facilities for the education of scheduled castes ;

Importance of Urdu :

The following resolution of a fundamental character is quoted verbatim :—

" This Conference recommends to the Constituent Assembly that Urdu should be recognised as the *lingua franca* of Pakistan and resolves that Urdu be taught as a compulsory language in schools, the stage of its introduction in the Primary schools being left to the decision of the Provincial and States Governments. The Provincial and States Governments concerned will determine the medium or media of instruction at the school stage."

The original recommendation of the committees concerned was much stronger, but it had to be watered down because of the difficulties of Bengal.

Islamic Ideal in Education :

The conference emphasised the fact that the educational activity of Pakistan must bear the impress of its distinctive national character. This could be done, in the opinion of the conference, by accepting the conception of Islam as a humanitarian philosophy of life, divorced from any racial or geographical bias, giving due regard to the claims of minorities living within Pakistan. The conference therefore unanimously resolved that the educational system in Pakistan should be inspired by Islamic ideology emphasising among many of its characteristics those of universal brotherhood, tolerance and justice.

A pleasing feature of the discussion was that the resolution received the warm support of the Bishop of Lahore at the Committee stage and of the Hon'ble Mr. Mandal and Mr. Gibbon in the plenary session.

I. H. Q.

FOREIGN

EGYPT

Arabic and Its colloquial Dialect :

A RECENT comment in the " Manchester Guardian " counselling the adoption of the colloquial dialect in place of Arabic *par excellence* as a

means of popularising education in Egypt received much prominence in the Cairo press and the literary journals giving rise to a full discussion as to the merits and demerits of the two languages or more precisely the two forms of the Arabic language. The argument advanced by the British paper took the line that the wide gap between the literary Arabic and the spoken dialect, which makes the former quite unintelligible to millions of Arab masses, stands as a barrier against the spread of knowledge and social advancement. Incidentally the need for 'a reform or simplification of the Arabic grammar was also stressed.

Rejoinders from the pen of prominent writers recalled the origins of the controversy which roused strong suspicions about the political motives behind it. The cause of the local dialect had always found sponsors in foreign quarters which were interested in outlining petty differences and regional particularisms ultimately bound to destroy the cultural and linguistic unity of the Arab world and the bonds of close affinity fostered by the common study of the Qur'ān between the Arabs and the rest of the Islamic peoples. The suggestion put forward by the "Manchester Guardian" was in no way a new one and had at all times been rejected outright by foremost scholars as evidenced by a strong and well-reasoned article from the pen of Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī published as far back as 1902. The fact is that a foreigner claiming a sufficiently high standard of Arabic would find himself disappointed and embarrassed at his inability to communicate with the Egyptian man-in-the-street. Even an Iraqi or a Syrian is no exception to it inasmuch as the dialects spoken in the various Arab countries differ very widely from each other. Sometimes a word freely used in Egypt would cause a blush in the cheeks of an Iraqi because of its different and somewhat obscene connotation in his own country. Nevertheless the foreigner must always be on his guard in generalising from this fact. It would be quite wrong to assume, for instance, that the common masses of the Arabs have any serious difficulty in following the verses of the Qur'ān or the weekly *Khuṭba* necessarily in chaste Arabic. Similarly recitations from popular story books like the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* and the *Siratu 'Antar*, dramas and plays such as those composed by the famous poet *Shawqī*, and platform speeches, political and otherwise, all in more or less standard Arabic, are well followed and fully enjoyed by the general public. Finally it is no rare experience to observe the ordinary working-class people with practically no education at all, evincing keen interest in the contents of the daily press all in simple but pure Arabic. Thus, it was argued the spoken dialect deviates from the standard Arabic to a large extent in the manner of delivery, disregard of vowel-points, etc., but not in root-forms or the style of expression; the difference is in no way essential and substantial but only outward and superficial.

Curiously enough the echo of the remarks made by the "Manchester Guardian" had hardly died when the Secretariat of the Fuad I Al-Majma' al-Lughawī came forward with a memorandum on the same subject

tabled for consideration at the current session. This memorandum, described by one of its critics as a charge-sheet against the standard Arabic, set out in plain language that the standard form is too rigid to keep pace with the growing needs of the time, that the influence of the Qur'an, more than any other factor, tends to make it stereotyped, and that it is too hard upon the tongue for everyday use 'as evidenced by the mistakes in *الاعراب* generally committed by the Arabic-speaking people.' As against it, the memorandum proceeds, the spoken dialect springs direct from the life and needs of the people, is continuously developing with the time and has attained a degree of maturity when it can be regarded as a language by itself. It comes easily to the tongue, is much more suitable for expressing the thoughts and feelings of the common people and can be used for communicating high ideas by a little approximation to the standard Arabic. The memorandum is still a subject for discussion and its adoption in its present form can, with certainty, be ruled out. But there is a body of young scholars in Egypt who are quite enamoured of the innovation suggested by the "Manchester Guardian." To them as they declared from the same quarter, *Al-Majma' al-Lughawī*, some years ago, it is a fight against nature to try to maintain the standard which it has held so far. Every moment the compelling necessity to get rid of the difficult *اعراب* and the antiquated modes of the ancients are forced upon the mind. In short the partisans of such a view assert that the common dialect in its present state of development can be said to stand in relation to the standard Arabic just as the modern European languages stood vis-a-vis the Ancient Classics at a certain stage of their evolution in the past. Why, they ask, should the Arab mind be overburdened with the elaborate and cumbersome old form when the simple current dialect can suffice for all needs besides being in consonance with the forces of natural evolution? But the problem is not such a simple one. For, in Egypt alone the spoken dialect differs very greatly from district to district and the force of religion by itself precludes the possibility of ever dispensing with the standard form altogether. Anyhow it is high time that a frank and clear decision is taken in the matter. Already there are complaints that the standard of education in Arabic is fast deteriorating owing to the teachers' lapse into the common dialect even in the higher stages. Similarly in the University circles the common dialect is not tabooed; on the other hand it is freely used so much so that standard Arabic is looked upon as pedantic. If the common people are to be brought nearer to the standard form of Arabic instead of all the standards being lowered to the present level, it is necessary to check some of the present tendencies and give a definite turn towards the desired end. Such a reform has of late been carried out in the Egyptian Broadcasting Service taken over by the government from a foreign company only a few months ago. Special care is now taken to eschew the use of common dialect in news broadcasts as well as many other features.

It is nevertheless agreed on all hands that in ordinary speech the strict use of *اعراب* should be done away with and that efforts be made to evolve a simpler system of grammar. A committee appointed by the Ministry of Education to consider ways and means of improving the teaching of Arabic has also suggested in its report published some time ago that among other things the present syllabus of grammar is too heavy and that only the absolute necessary minimum be taught with a good deal of practical exercises.

New Primary and Secondary Education Scheme :

The new Primary and Secondary Education Scheme promulgated by the Egyptian Government lays down that the former course shall extend from the age of six to twelve and the latter further on up to the 17th year. The Primary course is designed to provide for the minimum needs of a good citizen fit for practical life. It shall comprise the subjects of Religion ; Mother-tongue ; History and Geography of the country and Rights and Duties of Citizenship ; Mathematics ; and Painting, Handicraft and Agriculture. The course shall be taught in three different categories with a view to preparing distinguished students to proceed to the Secondary and the University stages, enabling the less distinguished students to complete a further course of training in Commercial, Technical or Agricultural schools, and equipping an ordinary student to enter life immediately afterwards.

The Secondary Education shall be divided into two stages. The first stage of two years shall have a general course for all students consisting of a Foreign Language and General Sciences as additional subjects over and above those included in the Primary course. The second stage shall have three different sections : General, Academic and Scientific. The General Section is meant to give a non-specialised knowledge of Social, Mathematical, Scientific and some of the Technical subjects. The two other sections, on the other hand, provide for an intensive study of Social and Philosophical subjects and Mathematical and Scientific studies respectively. A Second Foreign Language has also to be taken in all the three sections. Girl students shall have the choice to take up Domestic Sciences instead of Agriculture and the Additional Foreign Language. Owing to the limitations of finance education is not planned to be entirely free, but there is provision for exemption on a large scale for the poor so that those who can pay should not escape the burden.

Arab Cultural Conference :

The Arab Cultural Conference, which met in Lebanon in September last year, has approved certain recommendations concerning the teaching of Arabic and Social Studies on a uniform scale throughout the Arab world. The recommendations stress the need for teaching

the subjects so as to bring out the complete geographical unity between the Arab countries and its importance in the development of civilisation and the march of mankind. Further the aim should be to outline the part played by the Arab Empire in history with due emphasis on the fact that Arabism, which is a sacred trust common to all the Arabs, has never been peculiar to any particular religion and that intolerance has never been known in the Arab countries except during certain periods of "alien rule." Every effort is to be made to promote the common brotherhood of the Arabs and unity of action among them, to remind the young generation of the ravages of foreign imperialism and to foster a love for democracy in it. As a means of implementing these recommendations the conference suggests the setting up of training colleges for teachers of a similar type throughout the Arab countries. The conference did not take into consideration the question of religious education; it does not even make a reference to the part played by Islam in the rise of the Arabs in the past or its influence upon the life of the vast majority of them at present.

Recent Publications :

With the restrictions necessitated by war conditions now being removed to a large extent, new publications are fast appearing in Egypt. Noteworthy among the recent ones are the *Mu'jamu Maqāyeesi'l Lughā* of 'Ibn Fāris, Part I, Edited by Prof. 'Abdus Salām Hāroon; *Al-Musnad of 'Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, Parts I and II with commentary by 'Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir; the *Rasā'il of Al-Šāḥib b. 'Abbād* edited by Dr. 'Abdul Wahhāb 'Azzām and Dr. Shawqī Ḍaif; a book on *'Usmān b. 'Affān* by 'Ibrāhīm Šādiq 'Arajūn; another critical study of the life and times of the Third Caliph from the pen of Dr. Ṭāha Ḥusain; *Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf* by 'Abd al-Majīd al-Šīmī; Arabic translation of *Arnold's Preaching of Islam* by Dr. Ḥasan 'Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, Head of the Department of History, Fuad I University; and another important translation into Arabic of Aristotle's *Politics*.

The 'Lajnatu 'Thyā' 'Athāri 'Abi al-'Alā,' a committee set up by the Ministry of Education some three years ago for resuscitation of Al-Ma'arri's works with 'Ibrāhīm al-'Abyārī, 'Abdus Salām Hāroon, Muṣṭafa Al-Saqqā, 'Abdur Raḥīm Maḥmūd and Ḥāmid 'Abdul Majīd as members, has so far brought out three volumes of *Shurūḥ Saqt al-Zand*. The 4th volume in this series shall contain indices whereafter the committee shall take up the publication of *Luzūm Mā Lā Yalzam* with commentaries on it by ancient writers.

Much interest has of late been aroused in Egypt in the completion of *Al-Mu'jam Al-Mufahras*. It has been urged upon the Egyptian Government to make a contribution towards the cost of publication so that financial difficulties, responsible for holding up the work so long, might be removed.

A new monthly journal, '*Liwa' al-'Islām* (Editor : Ahmad Ḥamza) devoted to the cause of propagation of Islamic teachings has recently made its appearance.

* * *

The attainment of freedom by India has been watched with keen interest in Egypt. Particularly the emergence of the youngest Muslim state of Pakistan has been hailed with special enthusiasm. It is earnestly hoped that the growing family of Islamic countries would pull their weight together in the international sphere and ever maintain closer relations among themselves both culturally and economically. Among the many writers who attempted to give the historical background to the momentous developments in India was Dr. 'Abdul Wahhāb 'Azzām who, by the way, attended as an observer the Asiatic Relations Conference held in Delhi last year. Presenting a purely academic and highly detached view of the problems based on facts and figures, the Doctor concluded with the remarks : "The Muslims of India have fought for their independence in the same way as any other people without Pan-Islamism being an effective factor in it. Yet it is but natural that Pakistan's contiguity with the long chain of Islamic countries extending right up to the shores of the Atlantic should arouse a consciousness of community of interests based on strong multifarious ties. Just in the same way it is also natural for the Hindus to look to the countries of South-East Asia for some sort of Pan-Hindu or Pan-Hindu-cum-Buddhist bloc. Congress's special efforts to curry favour with Indonesia may also be traced to a desire to divest the new Republic of any religious leanings. Anyhow the Asiatic Relations Conference has itself shown that most of the Asiatic peoples are Muslims and they are bound to have a decisive influence in giving shape to the various tendencies swaying Asia at the present moment."

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Hyderabad has long been known to the Arab world as a centre of oriental publications. Of late the Egyptian public had occasion to learn about some of the political problems confronting the premier Muslim state. There is a wide-spread feeling that H.E.H. the Nizam and his Government should maintain quite independently their noble traditions of peace, harmony, justice and patronage of learning.

S. M. Y.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

ECONOMICS OF ISLAM by *Shaykh Muhammad Ahmad, M.A., LL.B.,* published by *Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore (Pakistan),* R. 8vo. pp. 191 xxii, price Rs. 4.

WITH the establishment of Pakistan the Muslim mind in this new Muslim country has been confronted with a number of basic problems regarding the nature of its polity and economy. There is a strong desire among the Muslims to base these on Islam, but beyond this very little has been done. There is a blind faith in the Constituent Assembly which has yet not been able to begin its work; very few realise the truth that constituent assemblies and legislatures are not the repositories of all wisdom and they give shape only to the ideas clarified by public discussion. Little has been done on the political side by our thinkers: the book under review is a contribution to the clarification of our economic notions. It was written before Pakistan came into existence, but it takes cognizance of the probability of the establishment of this great Muslim State.

The book is valuable in so far as it exposes the evils of the various economic systems which are in vogue today. It takes up capitalism, socialism and fascism one by one and examines their merits and demerits in an academic and balanced manner. The criticism is convincing because the author is nowhere tempted to deny the virtues of any system. The criticism of the institution of *interest* is

of special significance for the believer and the economist alike. The author has the growing feeling amongst the foremost economic thinkers on his side.

The constructive portion of the book is not quite so strong. The author rightly argues that no Islamic economy can possibly recognise the institution of *interest* under any pretext. However, the alternative that he proposes is not likely to solve the difficulties of the Muslim states. Co-operative effort is his panacea, because when the element of *interest* is eliminated, the sharing of profits can be the only incentive for enlisting the co-operation of capital. It is a little difficult to understand the author's argument when applied to the requirements of great projects of public utility. To take his own example, if a hydro-electric scheme is brought into existence on the basis of co-operative effort wherein the profits are shared equally by the investor, the State and a Sinking Fund to repay the capital, either the profit to the investor will be so insignificant that capital will not be attracted or the burden on the consumer will be so great that industry dependent on the scheme will suffer. The other flaw in the argument is that the author presumes that sufficient capital will be available in the country to finance all the urgent schemes of reconstruction and development, whereas there is nothing to support this presumption. The fact is that there is real shortage of capital in most Muslim countries; it will therefore flow into more profit-earning

channels and such schemes as are more essential to national well-being but which earn less profit, will be starved. If a system of state subsidies is adopted to meet such demands, the direct strain on the Exchequer will be severe, which, in certain cases, may not be counter-balanced by the indirect gain in taxation. Besides, and this is more likely, the State may have no money to spare even for urgent needs.

There are two basic facts of economic life which cannot be ignored. Either there should be capital available for the purposes of development or it has to be created. Available capital takes two forms—either it is in the possession of the State when it can be invested in public utility concerns, or it belongs to someone else who requires an adequate return for investing it. If it belongs to the citizens of the State, they are to be induced by hopes of secure returns to hand it over to the State. If it is foreign capital, then a weak State, in asking its help, is summoning a demon to its aid. In Pakistan neither the State possesses the necessary capital nor the people. Even if the risk inherent in inviting foreign capital be incurred, it would be shy because Pakistan is a new State.

What, then, is the way out? Capital must be created. This would have been unorthodox economics quarter of a century ago, but now, it is orthodox. Planning and 'tightening of belts' are the only methods. Rigorous economy in administration and all branches of life is the only remedy. It is true that this will interfere with the comfort and even the liberty of the individual but for Pakistan there is no alternative. 'Plan or Perish' can be the only motto. Our author is, however, averse to this solution, because he rightly thinks that planning and liberty cannot go hand in hand. Here we are on the horns of a dilemma. We cannot borrow without bringing in interest. This we must discard, being a Muslim state. We cannot produce the necessary capital for co-operative effort, because we are poor. We cannot develop therefore, without planning. For planning, we have to put fetters on our liberty until

we become strong and are able to take our rightful place in this world. The choice is obvious. It is unfortunate that our author rejects this in his anxiety to reject Socialism. He does not recognise that planning is an integral part of Socialism but it is not identical with it. Islam can have no use for materialistic dialectics, nor for atheism, nor indeed for the total abolition of private property, but there is nothing contradictory between Islam and planning. In times of need, the Islamic state can impose restrictions which are conducive to public welfare, but this is what planning implies. A regimentation of our sources, our energies and our spirit of self-sacrifice is necessary. There is no other alternative because placed as Pakistan is, she cannot postpone her development for a day without peril.

There is one great flaw in this argument, but then it can be levelled against the book as well because it also envisages a revolutionary reorganisation of the economy. Who will do this planning? Have we the men? Have we the leadership? Even after making all the allowances, it would not be true to say that the human resources are adequate, either in capacity or in honesty. The people of Pakistan have sufficient idealism to bear the hardships inherent in planning, but they lack the assurance that their suffering will not be wasted because of the inefficiency and dishonesty of the administration. Planning, more than anywhere else, will require revolutionary changes in the personnel of the bureaucracy, even purges, of which our author is so afraid. Constant vigilance on the part of the people can prevent abuse of authority, but our masses are too uneducated and disorganised for that purpose. This, however, does not affect the theoretical aspect of the discussion. Our author fails to realise that restrictions and purges are not peculiar to Socialism or Fascism: all revolutionary changes in polity or economy imply coercion and if the resistance is too great, even ruthlessness. A truly Islamic economy which eliminates interest but which does

not obliterate private property and enterprise, can be established only through an overhauling of the present system and that implies a revolution.

The author has not given full thought to this aspect of the problem. His constructive suggestions really amount to patchwork and lack depth and even consistency. In an economy where there is no interest and which cannot afford to ignore modern methods of production and distribution, there are only two possibilities. Either the state becomes the sole capitalist or it controls the larger portion of the economic pattern of life. Private capital in such an economy can play only a secondary role. This will be so limited in character that the state can well perform the functions of banking, charging remuneration for services rendered and giving or getting no interest. This is much simpler than the method of co-operative banking advocated by the author, though there is nothing to prevent the formation of banks on co-operative lines on the same principle but with a much restricted sphere of activity. So far as one can see the main differences between the Russian (not Communist) and the Islamic forms of economy should be that the right to own property and to earn profit in legitimate ways will be recognised in the latter and when the state is developed there will be less restrictions on liberty. In the initial stages the restrictions will have to be severe, not because they are inherent in the system but because an economically backward country cannot increase its income and develop its resources without imposing on itself all the hardships of a controlled economy. The abolition of interest in itself is a control over economy, which, to be successful, must be imposed on Muslim and non-Muslim alike.

These words of criticism by no means detract from the value of the book, which is thought-provoking and opportune: It is well written and well produced, though unfortunately its beauty is marred by a long errata. All those who are interested in the subject will do well to read the book.

I. H. Q.

MEDIEVAL ISLAM by Gustave E. Von Grunebaum; published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois; pp. 347.

THIS book, which bears a positive proof of the author's vast knowledge and wide range of scholarship is a series of public lectures delivered in 1945 in the Division of the Humanities of the University of Chicago. In this the learned author has tried to study 'the temper and flavour of the Muslim Middle Ages.' It is divided into ten chapters, viz., (1) Islam in the Medieval World: The Mood of the times, (2) Islam in the Medieval World: Christendom and Islam, (3) The Religious Foundation: Revelation, (4) The Religious Foundation: Piety, (5) The Body Politic: Law and the State, (6) The Body Politic: The Social Order, (7) The Human Ideal, (8) Self-Expression: Literature and History, (9) Creative Borrowing: Greece in the Arabian Nights, (10) The Conclusion. All these chapters are full of sound discussions, the arguments of which have been marshalled with much skill and vigour. While studying this book, we find that the learned author has not failed to realise that throughout the mediæval period Islam had irresistibly grown to be a 'power bloc' (p. 7) which could not be baffled by all the antagonistic forces of Christendom. And unlike many of the western writers, he acknowledges candidly that 'Muslim civilization attracted the non-Muslims far beyond the spell usually cast by ideas and habits of a dominating group on groups of lesser standing and influence. This is followed by outspoken observations that 'the contemporaries were conscious of the higher standard of living of the Muslim world' (p. 56), and so—'those that did come in contact with Arab manner often responded with reluctant admiration and not unfrequently found themselves imitating Muslim ways,' (p. 57). He admires the splendour of Cordova, which 'dazzled the eyes and stirred the imagination of the Latin World' (p. 57). He appreciates also the richness and elegance of Arabic, in favour of which

'the Spanish Christians of the ninth century neglected their classical tradition,' and 'read and studied with avidity Arabian books' (p. 57). He has 'paid also a glowing tribute to Arabic scholarship, which, 'has been a powerful inspiration for the Medieval West.' According to him the West not only accepted avidly the material offered by the Muslims, but also adopted the interpretation given by the Arab thinkers (p. 340). In a place he writes, rather exultingly, that on any sphere of thought, be it philosophy, science or literature, 'Islamic civilization passed through that glorious era of the ninth and tenth centuries whose colourful intensity and diversity will always astound and enchant the spectator' (p. 323).

But at times the learned author has assumed the role of a firebrand critic. He strikes at the very glory of Islam by observing that 'to make Islam secure, assassination and compulsion, trickery and bribery were legitimate means' (p. 79). We shall like to call this a *spiteful and provocative observation*, which has been included in the book perhaps to pander the ruffled vanity of Christendom. The author's criticism on the so-called stylistic inadequacies of the holy Qur'ān (p. 80) and some of its verses have been 'tailored to fit in' the same ill-conceived notions, which have pervaded the Christian literature on Islam. A reflection upon the holy Qur'ān is cast by calling a miracle mentioned by the holy Book, as merely a legend (p. 66). Will not a non-Christian be castigated for his unscrupulousness if he, with a mere flight of imagination tries to characterise miracles, canonized by the holy Bible, as fictions? Some Quranic verses have been ingeniously interpreted in order to give an altogether different meanings. For instance, a casual reader is beguiled to think that Manāt, al-Lāt and al-'Uzza have been referred to by the holy Qur'ān as 'Allah's daughters' (p. 68). For this reference has been made to the Qur'ān, 37: 149, in which it is also mentioned "Now surely it is of their own lie that they say Allah has begotten and most surely they are liars" (37: 151, 152).

According to the author Manāt means Fate, al-Lāt is the Goddess probably originally a Sun-Goddess and al-'Uzza is the Venus or Morning Star. We would differ from him. 'Men' (من) was a word used by the people of North Arabia for the moon, which they worshipped. Manat is a feminine form of 'Men.' In al-Lāt, al is an article and Lāt signifies 'absolutely not.' It is wrongly called to be the feminine form of Allāh. Al-Lāt, in the epic of Gilgamesh, is the goddess of death and shadow of world. The holy Qur'ān refers to it as a mere name of a deity.

Al-'Uzza is a feminine form of ^{أَلَا}عَزَى. We read the following verse in the holy Bible: "And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats; one lot for the Lord and the other lot for the scapegoat" (Leviticus 16: 8). In this verse, which had been inserted by the worshippers of Baal, the Hebrew word 'Azazel has been wrongly translated into scapegoat. 'Azazel, which according to a Muslim is Iblis, is from the Babylonian word ^{عزاز} (quarrelsome), and ^{إل} (deity). In the Babylonian ^{عزاز} is masculine and in Arabic ^{عزى} is feminine. After giving an idea of these deities, the author induces his readers to hold the opinion that Prophet Muḥammed (peace be on him) swerved from his uncompromising monotheism by acknowledging the divine rank and power of these goddesses, though he repented later on of his weakness (p. 68). For this we are asked to refer to the holy Qur'ān, 53: 23, the translation of which, according to George Sale is as follows: "What think ye of Allat and al-Uzza and Manah that other third goddess? Have ye male children and God female? This, therefore, is an unjust partition. They are no other than empty names, which ye and your fathers have named goddesses." Here is nothing to show that the Prophet (peace be on him) lapsed from monotheism. The author's misrepresentation of the so-called compromise is probably based on the story in which it is alleged that the Prophet (peace be on him), whilst reading the

above 53 : 23 verse, pronounced

تِلْكَ الْقَرَأَتُ الْمَلِ
 اِنْ شَفَا عَنْهُنْ تَرْجِي

(these are exalted females whose intercession is to be sought after). But this has long been proved to be a mere fabrication of the infidels. We need not go into details, but its reference in a scholarly discussion betrays a clever manipulation of a perverted truth.

It is not correct to say that Musailama (not Maslama) preceded (p. 71) Prophet Muhammed (peace be on him). He tried to play his farce in the latter part of the Prophet's life, and was killed during the Caliphate of Hadrat Abu Bakr. And again, the learned author has not been able perhaps, to dispel from his memory the initial influence of some pastoral sermon, so he robs the grace of his studious researches, and gives vent to his prejudices and prepossessions by saying that 'The Book (i.e., the holy Qur'an) as we have it is not the Book as Mohammed revealed it. In fact, he never revealed a book; he revealed short visions, injunctions, parables, fables or doctrinal discourses' (p. 80). This assertion is made still more extravagant and highly misleading by the argument that 'No wonder Mohammed was fond of using sonorous foreign words. He must have been in desperate need of vocabulary. Mostly he employed his new terms without explanation..... In some instances Mohammed borrowed a word, while misunderstanding its meaning' (p. 82). In this connection, it is not valid to argue that *Millah*, and *ma'un*, etc., are foreign to Arabic. If they are so, then عين (eye), راس (head), اذن (ear), يد (hand), اب (father), ماء (water), ام (mother), سمع (to hear), قول (to speak), سماء (sky), اكل (to eat) and similar other words must also be treated foreign to Arabic. The objection, 'Mohammed was fond of using sonorous foreign words,' displays a complete ignorance of the knowledge of Arabic and its correlation with its sister languages. Hebrew consists of eighty per cent. of Arabic words. Similarly Arabic has also a number of Hebrew words. Not only

this. If Aramaic, Hebrew, Chaldean Assyrian and Ethiopian words are taken out of Arabic, the lexicon of the latter will be devoid of all its dimensions.

Like some zealous Christian missionary the author has divested himself of the sublime sense of the responsibility of an unbiassed critic by indulging in irksome rather indecorous remark: "There is touch of the irresponsible in Mohammed's use of half-understood terms." This is supported by the specious reasoning that "Mohammed declares: The Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, is only the Messenger of Allah and His Word (Kalima) which He cast upon Mary and a Spirit from Him." "What exactly this passage with its juxtaposition of 'Word' and 'Spirit' meant to his audience it is impossible to ascertain" (page 84). These are God's own words. If a man fails to understand them his own sense of intelligence is subject to reproaches. For a man, who is neither rigorously confined to some prepossessed concepts nor is skilled in making everything a matter of scholastic disputation, the above verse bears the following simple and clear ideas: Jesus, son of Mary, is the Messenger of God, Word of God, and Spirit of God, and not God, nor the son of God.

Proceeding further, the author invites his readers to minimise the importance of the revelation of the holy Qur'an by casting impression upon them that 'at times he (i.e., the holy Prophet) expresses himself after the fashion of the poets' (p. 87). Again, he grows perhaps tortuous in his expression: 'Like many an innovator he (i.e., the holy Prophet) was frequently loved and hated for wrong reasons. His closest adherent realised his double role as the authoritative transmitter of the divine will and as a human leader who commanded respect in his own right but remained fallible and could therefore be contradicted' (p. 89). Italicised word is ours.

An exhibition of similar unjust rather sectarian view-point has been sometimes, made, whilst the author tries to make an analytical study of different aspects of Islamic history. For example, he asks his readers to believe that the appointment of any Muslim to executive

posts under Muslim rule was strictly speaking illegal (p. 180), and the *dhimmi* were subjected to disabilities and humiliation, so they were regarded as second class citizens (p. 182). These are stale and worn-out allegations, but they have been expressed by the author in a vigorous style, and up-to-date manner in order to cater to the taste of modern readers. We do not feel inclined to expect that the author has in him a sense of the same love for Islam, the same respect for Prophet Muḥammad (peace be on him) and the same admiration for Muslim history and culture as a Muslim has. But we will not stoop to reconcile ourselves to self-evidently malicious and vituperative remarks on Islam and its precious heritage. There is a certain class of scholars who try to impress themselves as impartial writers by appreciating some bright side of Islamic history and culture and then under the garb of this appreciation, they revel by indulging in adverse and venomous criticisms on its various other glorious aspects. We are not uncharitable to impute such a motive to Mr. Von Grunebaum's recondite researches. But we wish that the animus and intentions with which he has prepared his lectures, could really be an object of uncritical laudation. No one will, however, deny that he has an intimate knowledge of Islam, its culture and history, and the merit with which he has made the tenor of his discussions weightier in the latter portions of his book, are enviable.

S. S.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF INDIA TO ARABIC LITERATURE; by Dr. M. G. Zubaid Ahmad, University of Allahabad; pp. 500; Rs. 12-8-0.

DR. ZUBAID AHMAD has taken in hand a long-felt need, and produced a work surveying the Arabic literature produced in India, including the works of the Indians in other countries of the world. It is natural that a first attempt, like the

present one, cannot be complete. There are hundreds and even thousands of private libraries in India whose catalogues have not been published and not even prepared. Similarly new additions in public libraries take a long time to come to public notice. There are, for instance, at least ten thousand manuscripts, recently acquired by the State Library of Hyderabad, which have not yet been listed.

Among the earliest works, to add to the list given by our learned author, I can mention the *Majmu'ah* by Abu-Ja'far ad-Daibuliy. According to the Geography of Yāqūt, he was an Indian author of the 3rd century Hijrah, originating from Daibul (modern Thatta, near Karachi), who had migrated to Arabia. The work in question is a collection of the letters of the Prophet, about 25 in number, together with the instructions of the Prophet to 'Amr-ibn-Hazm appointing him as the governor of Yaman. The work is found as an appendix of *I'lām as-Sā'ilīn 'an kutub Saiyid al-Mursalīn* by Muḥammad-ibn-'Alī-ibn-Ṭūlūn ad-Dimashqīy (d. 935 H.). The latter work, in the handwriting of the author himself, is preserved in the Zāhirīyah Library, Damascus, and was printed in the same city, rather badly, in 1348 H.

Again, the library of the Majlis Iḥyā' al-Ma'ārif an-Nu'māniyah, Hyderabad, possesses the MS. of *Faṭāwī Kāfūriyah*, dedicated to Malik Kāfūr, who later became so famous under 'Alā'uddin Khilji. This is among the earliest legal compendia compiled in this country.

The *Jughrafiyah*, by 'Abdulwahhāb Madārul-Umarā', Dīwān of the Principality of Arcot, though a small booklet is yet interesting in so far as it shows the early influence of European lore on Muslim India. The MS. is in my library also.

The book of Shānāq on *Tiryāq* has been mentioned as MS. It was edited and translated by Dr. Miss Bettina Strauss (later Mrs. Kraus). The *Tuḥfatul Mujāhidīn* of Zainuddin has again been translated into English by Dr. Syed Muḥammad Husain Nainār of the University of Madras, and was

reviewed in the *Islamic Culture* some time ago. It was rendered into Urdu by late 'Abdussalām of Hyderabad, though still in MS. form. The Urdu translation of selected chapters by Shamsullāh Qādri of Hyderabad is, however, published.

On p. 413, penultimate line of the footnote, read 'great grandson' instead of 'grandson,' which is a misapprehension.

Our author has not taken notice of bilingual works such as dictionaries. Apart from numerous Arabic-Persian lexicons, I have in my library a Sanskrit-Arabic dictionary in which even the Sanskrit words have been transcribed in Arabic characters. It is an anonymous MS.

We congratulate the author for the great service he has rendered and trust that he will continue to add marginal notes to his private copy so that in time a completer second edition may emerge.

It is said that the work could be had from its publisher "Maktaba-i-Din-o-Dānish, Jullundur City." We are afraid that the wanton sack of Muslim libraries and bookstalls in Delhi and the East Punjab has left scarcely any trace of such institutions now. One may write directly to the author, and let us hope he is safe in Allahabad.

REVUE DES ISLAMIQUES, Paris.

THIS periodical organ of the Institute des Etudes Islamiques of the University of Paris, which had suspended publication during the German occupation, has just begun to appear again. Its learned editor Prof. Louis Massignon has thought it advisable to fill up the long gap by a combined issue for 1941-1946. As usual, it is published by Geuthner, who has now moved to 12, Rue Vavin, Paris.

The issue contains several interesting articles, namely:—

1. The Genesis of al-Ma'arrī's رسالة الغفران by Blachere.
2. Epigraphical Gleanings, by Sauvaget.
3. Is Fārābī author of الفصوص الحکم?
4. An Arab Prisoner in Byzantium, Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā by 'Izzuddin.

5. Correspondence of the Armenian Grigor Magistros with two Muslim Emirs, by Thorossian.

6. The legend of Mansūr Hallaj in Turkey, by Massignon.

7. The Hallajian Work of 'Aṭṭār, by the same.

Apart from notes and chronicles.

We understand that special surveys of scholarly activities of different countries during the war years will appear gradually. This will not only renew the contact but will also keep the rest of the world abreast of what was achieved during the time when all sources of information were cut off.

M. H.

HAFIZ—FIFTY POEMS, TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS COLLECTED, INTRODUCED AND ANNOTATED; by Arthur J. Arberry, (Cambridge University Press); price 12s. 6f., 1947.

THIS beautiful little book is a collection of fifty poems of Hafiz with their translations into English by different writers. The translation of a work of art, even if it be in prose, demands an exceptional power of imagination. But when it is the artistic creation of a supreme lyrical genius whose ideas and feelings have found an expression in words that cannot be replaced, the translator is forced to grapple with a task beyond all human power. Under these conditions the translation either grows into a new creation of art with a greatness of its own, as is FitzGerald's version of Khayyām, or it sadly fails to convey the beauty and vitality of the original. But the world has not been lacking in great spirits who with an astonishing sympathy have felt through the mask of translations the glamour of the original. Goethe was one of them. But European criticism in general has singularly failed in the appreciation of Oriental literature and art. Political motives might have played their part. Now those days are happily past. Professor Arberry's illuminating

introduction shows the awakening in Europe of a new appreciation and a new sympathy for the beauties of Iranian poetry. Equally laudable is the attempt of Prof. Arberry to take into account the labours of modern Persian scholarship for a deeper appraisal of national poetry. But unfortunately even the Persian criticism of today, however remarkable it might be for opening fresh historical perspectives, has not gone beyond dilating on the 'sweetness and delicacy' of the poet's verses. We only wish Prof. Arberry himself had given us a more elaborate evaluation of Ḥāfiz's poetry and a more exhaustive analysis of his art. The translations though of unequal merit certainly reveal a rare exuberance of poetic imaginations. We heartily recommend this book to all the lovers of the great bard of *Shirāz*.

S. V.

THE TEACHINGS OF ISLAM IN THE LIGHT OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF RABBANIYYAT; by Subhani Rabbāni (New York) 1947, Academy of Islam International, Inc. 1861, Madison Avenue, New York, 35, N.Y. Price 50 cents.

MOULANA AZAD SUBHANI'S is a revered personality. Though he has been schooled in the traditions of mediæval Islamic thought he is no slave of the past. As the Moulana pertinently observes, the originality of thought is a traditional characteristic of Islam and to stigmatise any new approach as un-Islamic is to frustrate the growth of intellectual life. Moulana Subhani aims at providing in this booklet a theoretical basis for his movement. Like Socrates he is convinced that right action can be based on insight alone. So far, we have nothing against to offer. We highly appreciate the inexhaustible energy with which a man of his age struggles to preach the gospel of a universal religion from the New World.

Islam is the universal religion, he contends, which through its partial manifestations in history found its fullest realisation thirteen hundred years ago. But when we try to follow the new philosophy of Rabbaniyyat, the message it has to convey, its outlook on life we must confess ourselves not perceptibly enlightened. First, the author has not completely overcome the mediæval way of exposition and presentation. He need not argue at length about the perfection of God and the imperfection of the sun and the moon, a problem which has ceased to trouble the modern mind. The author has accorded the central place in his system to the law of Rabbaniyyat but he has to show more explicitly how this law works and how it counters the 'unnatural' process of degeneration and destruction. As it is, it is hardly possible for us to get a clear idea of this philosophy and its significance for the life and thought of Islam. We must wait for further elucidation before doing justice to it.

S. V.

AZ-ZARNŪJĪ, T'ALIM AL-MUT-'ALLIM-TARIQ AT-TA'ALLUM, *Instruction of the Student: The Method of Learning*; Translated with an Introduction by G. E. Von Grunebaum and Theodora M. Abel, (King's Crown Press, New York) 1947; price 12.00.

THE interest in the leading ideas of Oriental culture is slowly but persistently growing in the United States and the good-will and sympathy with which alien cultures are dealt with is highly commendable. Islamic culture is in fact not alien to the West with which it has strong cultural and religious affiliations. Hence any new approach to problems of Islamic culture deserves our fullest recognition.

The translators, one an orientalist and another a specialist in mental science, have jointly undertaken to understand and appreciate the educational ideas of

the Muslim scholar Az-Zarnūjī who flourished toward the end of the 12th century. They have given an excellent translation of his 'Instruction' with an exhaustive introduction of their own. The authors are aware that there is nothing startling and revolutionary in the ideas of the Arab scholar. No doubt there must have been in Islam thinkers who thought deeper. But Az-Zarnūjī's educational philosophy is marked by a thorough empirical approach and by a striking psychological orientation. Naturally he could not free himself from popular superstitions and pseudo-scientific beliefs. But, as the writers are careful to explain, he has not confused the rational and the irrational in outlook. Indeed what distinguished the whole educational system of mediæval Islam was its humanity. The personal contact of the teacher and the pupil, the reverence for the teacher, the affection for the pupil, all this was the hall-mark of that system which persists even today in the Islamic countries of the East. These very sentiments are forcefully echoed in the writing of Az-Zarnūjī. That knowledge and education should be in keeping with the station in life is the idea with which he starts and on which he bases his pedagogy. We know that it is the idea which runs through the famous romance of Flaubert and makes for the tragedy of Madame Bovary. No wonder that the ceremonial and external aspect of religion has been unduly stressed. But the truly spiritual and moral fervour is not lacking. The educational ideas of the Muslim thinker conclude with a feeling of piety and renunciation and we are exhorted to repeat the Quranic verses for our life and sustenance: O God make me content with those things which are allowed by You rather than those things which are prohibited by You. And make me satisfied with Your favour to the exclusion of anybody else's.

The author's endeavour to bring about sympathetic appreciation of Islamic

thought is most welcome from the standpoint of science, culture and humanity.

S. V.

IBN MASKAWAIH; by Khawja Abdul Hamid; pp. 128. Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1946. Rs. 2-8-0.

IBN MASKAWAIH, physician, philosopher and historian died in 1030 A.D. (431 A.H.). Chronologically he stands between Fārābī and Ibn Sina. His only philosophical work extant is 'Al-Fauz-al-Asghar.' Modern historians of Islamic philosophy have either entirely passed over Ibn Miskawaih's great contribution to philosophy or have given only a brief account of it. In his *Development of Muslim Theology, etc.*, Macdonald has not even mentioned his name. De Boer allows him only four pages in the *Philosophy of Islam*, while the *Encyclopædia of Islam* ignores his philosophy. In 1945 Mr. Sweetman translated his *Al-Fauz-al-Asghar* and here we have a lucid and painstaking study of that work. The book is divided into three chapters and each chapter is devoted to one major problem. Each chapter itself is divided into ten sections, each section amplifying the various aspects of the major problem. The major problems are: God, the Soul and Prophethood. These are discussed in Part I of the present work. In Part II a general résumé of Ibn Miskawaih's philosophical standpoint is given briefly and truly.

The author has done his work well. His exposition is lucid. His analysis is clear and well-arranged. His criticism is fair and impartial. It is much to be hoped that this work will result in the direction of increasing attention to the philosophy of Ibn Miskawaih and further attempts will be made to criticise it in the light of modern philosophy and psychology.

M. V. D.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SHAHĀDA RECALLED

THOUGH Islam has for about a century now been throbbing and pulsating with a new and vigorous life all the world over—cast a look if you will on Indonesia, on the Middle East countries, on India and even on distant China, wherever you may and you come across everywhere the spirit of resurgence and renaissance among the Muslim populace—yet the pace of her progress towards revival and recovery has not been as satisfactory and appreciable as was expected. At any rate, it is not such as can fill the mind of an optimist with an early prospect of her reaching the desired goal. As it is, it appears to me that the more we are struggling for its attainment, the further “the promised land” is receding from us like the noonday mirage of an Arabian desert. How to account for this sad and disappointing state of affairs which Islam confronts today is the question which this short article proposes to answer here. Surely, there must have been some rift in the lute and somewhere something must have gone wrong in the state of Denmark. All sorts of views have, from time to time, been advanced by our thinkers with a view to arriving at a correct diagnosis of the malady that has been eating into the very vitals of the body-politic of Islam, particularly since the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is not the time nor is it the occasion to dilate on every one of those views here. Suffice it here to say that the most popular, or for the matter of that, most widely prevalent explanation is that the Muslims have fallen because they have gone astray from the path of their religion, because they do no longer care for the observance of the Islamic rites and rituals and because they have become, to say the least, irreligious. To meet this predicament, religious institutions such as makhtabs, madrasahs, mosques, khanqas and so on and so forth have been multiplied throughout the length and breadth of this subcontinent of ours, to talk of India, our homeland only. This is not all. Take any single mosque in India and you will find that a greater congregation is attending it today than it had been the case in the past. But alas ! in spite of all this, our morale has not a whit-improved nor has our material condition become any the better. The reason is not very far to seek. Unlike our illustrious forebears of the days of yore, we have

cared too much for the form and too little for the spirit which ought to underlie and as a matter of fact does underlie that form, totally oblivious of the fact that the craze of form or shadow worshipping is not enough to lead us to that great destiny and leadership which is ours by the right divine in the life here as well as in the life hereafter. As the matter now stands, all of us say our prayers either alone or in congregation but very few of us realise what those prayers stand for. Almost hundred per cent. of us recite the holy Qur'ān every morning but very few, I am afraid, care to know what is between the lines. As a matter of fact, our prayers and our recitation have become more or less matters of convention with us rather than as levers for the attainment of our moral and material good. Once I put this question to my students. Will you, my dear young friends, tell me in so many words, if the Qur'ān exists for us or we for the Qur'ān? Some said "Sir, we exist for the Qur'ān." While others said "Sir, the Qur'ān exists for us and not we for the Qur'ān." Now it was my turn to say which was which. Well, evidently my answer was, "the Qur'ān exists for us and we also for the Qur'ān." By this, what I meant was that the Qur'ān is there to guide us how we should live and prosper both here and hereafter and that it is also incumbent on us to follow and act up to the Qur'ān implicitly. It is only then that we can have a place under the sun and can be worthy members of the comity of the great nations of the world. While I say all this, I do not, even for a moment, detract from the value of a verbal recitation of the holy Qur'ān and of the formal performance of our daily prayers. They have their values to be sure. But what I do maintain is this that recitation and prayer as such, devoid of understanding, cannot exert any healthy influence on us nor can they prepare us to fight successfully the battle of life for which they have been originally and primarily designed by their Author. Be that as it may, there can be no gainsaying the fact that the Muslims owed their past greatness to Islam and her Shari'a. But as for their present miserable plight, they owe it not merely to their neglect of the spirit of the Shari'a as a whole but also to their negligence in understanding and carrying out the full implication of the Shahāda, the very life nay the very breath of the Shari'a namely, اشهدان لا اله الا الله واشهدان محمدا عبده ورسوله. "I witness that there is no God but Allah and that Muḥammad is His servant and Apostle." For, while we most glibly talk and assert that there is no God but Allah, i.e., when we acknowledge the overlordship of Allah, we most conveniently forget that we are His vicegerents on this earth and as such are the masters of all the things that are in the heavens and on the earth, i.e., all the other things that are in the heavens and on the earth have been made to be subservient to our will—and to cater for our day-to-day needs and requirements—a proposition that has been assumed in the very text of the Shahāda itself. But can the Muslims with their hands on their breasts say this that when they do go to assert the overlordship of God or when they bow down before Him, they even for a moment think that they are to be the masters of all that is in the heavens

and on the earth and that they are to control the forces of nature and harness the resources thereof for the benefit of themselves and of those that are around them? If they do not, then their mere acknowledgment of the overlordship of Allah remains at best a one-sided activity and as such be calculated to achieve all round good for them either here or in the hereafter. And contrariwise, if they like many non-Muslim nations of the present-day world believe merely in the domination of the natural forces and not in the overlordship of the Divinity that is to say if they care only for conquering the forces of nature and harnessing them for their own advantage at the cost of their acknowledgment of the Supremacy of Allah, they will only add at best to the pleasure of their flesh and that, to say the least, is animality pure and simple and is for the matter of that the very negation of Islam and what it stands for. And the true Islam, therefore, lies in the harmonious and simultaneous development of both the mind and the body; the former by our acknowledgment of the overlordship of Allah and the latter by our mastery over the material resources of the world. As a matter of fact, a body can thrive to the exclusion of the mind but not vice versa. Those, who do think of developing the mind to the exclusion of the body, are sadly mistaken. Man's moral advancement must therefore, go hand in hand with his physical advancement.

Kalimatush Shahāda is not merely an open sesame for a Muslim Paradise but is also the most fundamental of Islam's five pillars. As a matter of fact, the Shahāda is the whole of which the other four pillars, namely (1) Ṣalāt, prayer, (2) Zakāt, giving of legal alms, (3) Ṣaum, fasting in the month of Ramāḍan and (4) Ḥajj, pilgrimage to the holy K'aba for those who can afford, are but its parts. The hidden and implied aspect of the Shahāda that enjoins on us the conquest of nature shall always remain the only motive power for all our human activities. But for it, our life would not have been worth living and would, consequently, come to a dead stop.

According to the law of the Islamic Shari'a, if a Muslim commits a theft his or her hand is amputated, if he drinks, he is striped and if he fornicates, he is stoned to death. This is so far as the punishment of an individual sinner is concerned. But when we look to the question of the wider fields of the Muslim nation as a whole, we find that, to all intents and purposes, it has died a political death throughout the whole world with the so-called exceptions of the Turks, the Afghans and perhaps also the Persians who are, however, living not by their own might so much as by the sufferance of the great powers of the world—a fate which the Muslims have fully deserved on account of their not having realised the full significance of the Shahāda—a sin than which nothing could have been graver in the estimation of our Lord. This is the long and short and sum and substance to which I have come after I have taken stock of the ailments that have been like a slow poison corroding the body-politic of Islam. The Muslim nation can never rise again unless and until it realises the full implication of the Shahāda so as to be able to master the resources of

nature and utilise them for their own benefit. To this implicit nevertheless dynamic aspect of the Shahāda the holy Qur'ān refers us when it says *الم تر و ان الله سخر لكم ما في السموات وما في الارض* "See ye not how Allah hath made serviceable unto you whatsoever is in the skies and whatsoever is in the earth" (20 : XXXI). If the Muslims cannot master land, sea and air, they cannot justifiably claim for themselves the epithet of 'the best of the nations' in the world as laid down in their holy scripture *كنتم خيرا ما اخرجت للناس تايمرون بالمعروف وتنهون عن المنكر* "Ye are the best community that hath been raised up for mankind. Ye enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency" (110 : III). If the Muslim nation does desire to assume in the world the role of the dominant nation which the Qur'ān has rightly allocated for it, it must realise the full import of the Shahāda which is Islam's basic and fundamental doctrine.

ABDUS SUBHAN.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ALLAH¹

NONE can command except God.²

ان الحكم الله

God, in the above verse, says that 'none can command except God.' Therefore Allah alone is the real supreme master in Islam. But the commands of Allah are of two kinds :

(1) *Tashri'i*, i.e., those commands which have been revealed as *Shari'at* through holy prophets.

(2) *Takwini*, i.e., those commands which have been vested inherently in the creations of the Universe, the so-called natural or physical laws. Taking both into consideration, Allah alone is the master or order-giver. His command alone prevails in the Universe.

Kings like Nimrod and Pharaoh have lived in the world, who claimed sovereign powers, but they, too, had to lose their life in obedience to the *Takwini* command of Allah. Why rulers fall a prey to such misconceptions ? The reason is not far to seek. When they find the people bowing in obedience to their commands, they, out of pride, begin to look upon themselves as above the *Takwini* Commands as well.

Islam has struck at the very root of this evil. The ruler in Islam possesses neither the *Tashri'i* power nor the *Takwini*. Allah alone is the supreme master whose rule extends from Heaven to the earth. Let the matter be *Takwini* or *Tashri'i*, it is His decree, which is binding and enforceable. There are many verses of the Qur'an which support this idea.

None can command except God.
(Sūra Yūsuf.)

ان الحكم الله

Is not His the command ?
And He is the Swiftest
In taking account.

آلا له الحكم وهو
اسرع الحاسبين
(انعام)

(Sūra An'am VI, section 8, verse 62).

1. Reproduced in English from Urdu by Syed Abu Asim, M.A., LL.B. (Alig.).

2. The translation of the Quranic verses has been taken from Yusuf Ali's translation of the holy Qur'an.

3. For him is the Command
And to him shall ye
(All) be brought back.
(Sūra Qaṣaṣ, verse 70).

وله الحكم واليه ترجعون

In physical or natural laws, the helplessness of man is obvious. He cannot make the least alteration in earth, sky, dust, air, water, fire, body, life. He can neither change the characteristics of the objects nor alter their properties. He cannot even improve, amend, mend or end the laws and regulations that govern the creations. Even the slightest modification or improvement is impossible. All heads lie low and fallen before such commands. Ḥaḍrat Ibrāhīm, by this very argument, silenced the then king who had claimed to be a god,

Said Ibrahim, but It is God
That causeth the Sun
To rise from the East
Do thou then cause him
To rise from the West
Thus was he confounded
Who (in arrogance) rejected
Faith.

فان الله ياتى بالشمس
من المشرق فات بها
من المغرب فبهت الذى كفر -
(بقره - ٣٥)

(Sūra Baqara, section 35, verse 258).

Government and rulership belong to Allah alone. Men, who call themselves rulers in the world, are in reality invested with such powers by Allah.

O God
Lord of power (and rule)
Thou givest Power
To whom Thou pleaseth.

اللهم مالك الملك توقى الملك
من تشاء -
(ال عمران - ٣)

(Sūra Āl-i-ʿImrān II, section 3, verse 26).

Thus only those persons follow the right path, who consider themselves under the control of Allah's command, *Tashrīʿī* as well as *Takwīnī*. And they realise that God has vested them with this power, only to propagate His commands and to enforce them according to His *Shariʿat*.

The natural sequence of the belief leads to the conclusion that Allah alone has the right to issue and legislate the laws. There is no doubt that God has laid down the fundamental rules of law in His *Shariʿat*. The scholars and the *Mujtahids* can deduce new and *collateral* ordinances from the fundamental rules keeping in view the spirit of the law.

Men of common-sense can, without doubt, decide issues by applying these ordinances of Allah which according to them are based on rational considerations. But in the *Shariʿat*, commands do not depend on this consideration alone. But the greater consideration with them is what pleases or displeases Allah, in other words their eyes are on which actions are rewarded and which are punished. This can be known only by the words of Allah and the tradition of the Prophet. What men of reason

may say according to their own imperfect intellect, which is opposed to God's command may have some sense. But in order to follow it, a correct knowledge of the hidden and future matters is essential, and it is beyond the reach of human mind. It therefore, follows that there is prudence in the commands which have been revealed by God, the Knower of the Hidden.

In keeping with the above facts, it is the belief of Islam that Allah alone is the Law-giver and Legislator as to what must be done, and what must not be done. This has been expressed in the Qur'ān and the tradition in various ways. The jurists generally base their arguments on these two verses.

1. None can command except Allah. (انعام - يوسف)
(Sūras Yūsūf and An'ām).
2. Is it not His to create and to govern—(اعراف - ٤)
(Sūra A'rāf VII, section 7, verse 54).

The occasion where these two verses occur reveals that this command is in respect of the natural and the physical laws. The first is in two places, i.e., Sūra An'ām and Sūra Yūsuf. The occasion in Sūra An'ām is when the Infidels desire to witness the wrath of Allah in support of the truth of the Prophet :

What ye
Would see hastened, is not
In my power. The Command
Rests with none but God.
He declares the truth
And He is the best of Judges.

ما عندى ما تستعجلون به ان الحكم
الاله - يقص الحق وهو خير الفاصلين -
(انعام - ٤)

(Sūra An'ām VI, section 7, verse 57.)

The second is in Sūra Yūsuf, when Ḥaḍrat Ya'qūb was instructing his sons to enter Egypt through different gates, so that they might not get involved in some calamity. He further says that this would be a human effort, while the result would be

What is the will of God.
I can profit you aught
Against God (with my advice)
None can command except God
On Him do I put my trust
And let all that trust
Put their trust on Him.

وما آغنى عنكم من الله
من شئ ان الحكم الله
عليه توكلت وعليه
فليتوكل المتوكلون -
(يوسف)

(Sūra Yūsuf XII, section 8, verse 67).

The occasion for another verse is

Your Guardian Lord
Is God, Who created
The heavens and the Earth
In six days, and is firmly
Established on the throne

ان ربكم الله
الذى خلق السموات والارض

Of authority: He draweth
The night as a veil
O'er the day, each seeking the
other in rapid succession
He created the Sun
The Moon, and the Stars
All governed by laws
Under His Command
Is it not His to create
And to govern? Blessed
Be God, the Cherisher
And Sustainer of the world.

(Sūra A'rāf VII, section 7, verse 54).

It is quite obvious that this command relates to creation. It is also possible that the words *Amr* (order) and *Hukm* (command) may include matters relating to the *Shari'at*, if we take their literal meaning. In the presence of clear arguments in support of this claim in the Qur'ān and the tradition there is no reason why one should content himself with the general arguments.

'*Ibādāt* (worship) does not mean only calling any being an object of worship (عبود) but it would also amount to worship (عبادت) if the command of one beside Allah, is obeyed permanently as His command, although no formal worship is offered to that object. The Qur'ān reproduces the words of Ibrāhīm....

..... Serve not

Satan

(Sūra Maryam XIX, section 3, verse 44).

Elsewhere it is mentioned

That ye

Should not worship Satan.

(Sūra Yāsīn XXXVI, section 4, verse 60).

It is obvious that nobody worships Satan. Whoever acts on the advice of Satan and obeys his command, he really worships him. It is for this reason that God commands

Thy Lord hath decreed

That ye worship none but Him,

(Sūra Isrā' XVII, section 3, verse 23).

Then in Sūra Kahaf,

..... Nor does

He share His command

With any person whatsoever.

(Sūra Kahaf XVIII, section 4, verse 26).

Then again towards the end of the Sūra we have

في ستة ايام ثم استوى على العرش

يغشى الليل النهار يطلب حثيثا

والشمس والقمر والنجوم

مسخرات بامره الا له الخلق

والامر تبارك الله رب العالمين -

(اعراف - ٥)

لا تعبد الشيطان (مريم - ٣)

ان لا تعبدوا الشيطان

(يسين - ٣)

وقضى ربك ان لا تعبدوا - الاياه -

(اسرا - ٣)

ولا يشرك في حكمه احدا

(كهف - ٣)

In the worship of His Lord
Admit no one as partner.
(Sūra Kahaf, section 2, verse 110).

ولا يشرك بعبادة ربه أحدا -
(كهف - ٢)

This worship includes all forms of obedience. In another place the Qur'an has elucidated that the sin of considering anybody His sharer is not only calling one God as two, but is also considering him as sharer in the direct obedience to God. In Sūra An'ām, after explaining what is allowed and what is forbidden as food, God says :

But the Evil ones
Ever inspire their friends
To contend with you and
If ye were to obey them
Ye would indeed be Pagan,
(Sūra An'ām, section 14, verse 121).

وإن الشياطين ليوحون إلى أوليائهم ليجادلوكم
وإن اطعتموهم أنكم لشركون - (انعام - ١٢١)

The above verse makes it clear that obedience is due only to God. But the question would be raised, how then is the obedience to prophets, imams, and caliphs justified ? The answer is though it is true that God alone is to be obeyed, yet this obedience to others is for the sake of the propagation of the commands of Allah. The command of Allah is :

Obey God, and obey the Apostle
And those charged
With authority among you,
(Sūra Nisā', section 8, verse 59)

اطيعوا الله واطيعوا الرسول وأولي
الامر منكم - (نساء - ٨)

"Obey those charged with authority among you" may mean either the 'ulemā or the rulers. But this obedience is subject to introducing and promulgating the commands of Allah. The obedience to prophets too is for accepting and promulgating the commands of Allah. As God says :

He who obeys
The Apostle, obeys God.
(Sūra Nisā', section 11, verse 80).

من يطع الرسول فقد اطاع الله -
(نساء - ١١)

Then it occurs somewhere before in the same Sūra.
We sent not an Apostle
But to be obeyed, in accordance
With the will of God.
(Sūra Nisā', section 9, verse 64).

وما ارسلنا من رسول الا ليطاع
بأذن الله - (نساء - ٩)

The Jews and the Christians forsook the commands of Allah. They made the obedience to their clergymen, monks and popes their religion. Their command was directly obeyed as an end in itself. Those commands were not deduced from the commands of Allah. It is for this reason that Allah in the Qur'an has charged them with the offence of ascribing partner to Him. God has ordered collecting *jizya* from them and fighting with them. He says :

Fight those, who believe not قَاتِلُوا الَّذِينَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَلَا بِالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ
 In God, nor the last day وَلَا يُحَرِّمُونَ مَا حَرَّمَ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَلَا يَدِينُونَ
 Nor hold that forbidden دِينَ الْحَقِّ مِنَ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ -
 By God and His Apostle, (توبه - ٣٠)
 Nor acknowledge the religion
 Of truth, (even if they are) of the People of the Book.
 (Sūra Tauba, section 4, verse 29).

The People of the Book have been charged with the offence of being unbelievers in God in the sense that they do not live according to the commands of Allah alone but they follow the commands of His creatures also. Therefore this has been clarified later :

They take their priests اتَّخَذُوا أَحْبَارَهُمْ وَرُهَبَاءَهُمْ أَرْبَابًا مِنْ
 And their anchorites to be دُونِ اللَّهِ وَالْمَسِيحِ ابْنِ مَرْيَمَ وَمَا أُمِرُوا
 Their Lords in derogation of God إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُوا إِلَهًا وَاحِدًا -
 And (they take as their Lord)
 Christ the son of Mary (توبه - ٥)
 Yet they were commanded
 To worship, but one God.
 (Sūra Tauba IX, section 5, verse 31).

They were charged with the offence of taking the priests and their anchorites to be their Lords, because they accepted their commands independently as the command of God. It was their claim that Allah definitely informed them about His commands and His decisions. Islam invited them to refrain from this sin of associating a partner with Allah in another Sūra,

Say : O People يَا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ تَعَالَوْا إِلَى كَلِمَةٍ سَوَاءٍ
 Of the Book ! Come بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَكُمْ أَلَّا نَعْبُدَ إِلَّا اللَّهَ وَلَا
 To common terms نَشْرَكَ بِهِ شَيْئًا وَلَا يَتَّخِذَ بَعْضُنَا
 As between us and you بَعْضًا أَرْبَابًا مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ -
 That we worship (ال عمران - ٤٠)
 None but God
 That we associate
 No partners with Him
 That we erect not
 From among ourselves
 Lords and Patrons
 Other than God.
 (Sūra Āl-i-'Imrān III, section 7, verse 64).

This act of associating partners with God is due to their obedience to patrons other than God. It is mentioned in the *Tirmidhi* and *Musnad-i-Ahmad* that 'Adi bin Hātim, a Christian Arab Chief, came to Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). The Prophet recited the above verse from the Sūra of Tauba, 'Adi said that they do not worship them as their Lord. The Prophet replied, 'why not, when they have

accepted their commands.' This amounts to worshipping them as Lord. The words were *فذلك عبادتهم إياهم*.¹ Tirmidhi's version is that the Prophet said, "yes, they do not worship them, but they accept a thing as allowed, when they (worldly patrons) declare it as such and accept a thing as forbidden, when they forbid it."²

This *Hadīth* reveals that no man can declare anything as allowed or forbidden. It is for Allah to issue commands. Associating anybody as partner in the power of allowing or forbidding any thing is pure polytheism. In the same way, obeying the command of anybody other than God, continuously or along with God without the command of God, is also polytheism. It is for this reason God chastised the hypocrite Jews and the Arabs, who sought adjudication of their disputes in the customary courts of the Jews or the Arab monks, in order to avoid the severity of the laws of Allah. This act was declared as open hypocrisy and polytheism. Therefore God says after mentioning some principal commands relating to adjudication, justice and ways of obeying commands :

Hast thou not turned
Thy vision to those
Who declare that they believe
In the revelation
That have come to thee
And to those before thee
Their (real) wish is
To resort together for judgment
In their disputes
To the evil ones
Though they were ordered
To reject him.
(Sūra Nisā', section 9, verse 60).

الم تر الى الذين يزعمون انهم
امنوا بما انزل اليك وما انزل
من قبلك يريدون ان يتحاكوا
الى الطاغوت وقد امروا ان
يكفروا به - (نساء - ٩)

Tāghūt literally means all who are worshipped in place of God *كل معبود من دون الله*. The commentators, in view of the occasion of its revelation, have taken it sometimes to mean the monks, and sometimes the sorcerers, and sometimes the Jewish officers. Therefore, generally speaking, anybody other than God whose command would be obeyed as law and whose judgment sought accordingly, is Tāghūt. This word occurs in seven places in the Qur'ān and in every place a false ruler or false god is meant by it.

He would be a wrong-doer if he seeks or delivers judgment in accordance with some other law in preference to the law of Allah. This would be a wrong act.

1. *Tafsir Ibn Kathīr*.

2. Tirmidhi's commentary of the verse Tauba.

And if any do fail to judge
By (the light of) what God
Hath revealed, they are
(No better than) wrong-doers.
(Sūra Mā'ida V, section 9, verse 47).

ومن لم يحكم
بما أنزل الله فاولئك
هم الفاسقون
(مائده - ٩)

God has called these commands as *hudūd* (bound) also. *Hudūd* is that limit, up to where a man is allowed to advance and daring to advance beyond that even to the point of a pin is a sin and an offence. These bounds have been revealed and fixed by God. In Sūras Baqara, Nisā', and Ṭalāq God says after mentioning His commands,

These are limits
Set by God and any
Who transgresses the limits of God, does verily-
Wrong his (own) soul.
(Sūra Ṭalāq LXV, section 1, verse 5).

وتلك حدود الله ومن يتعد
حدود الله فقد ظلم نفسه -
(طلاق - ١)

In Sūra Nisā', after explaining the detailed rules of will, God in the end says :

These are limits
Set by God : those who
Obey God and His Apostle
Will be admitted to gardens
With rivers flowing beneath
To abide therein (for ever)
And that will be
The supreme achievement.
14. But those who disobey
God and His Apostle
And transgress His limits
Will be admitted
To a Fire, to abide therein
And they shall have
A humiliating punishment.

تلك حدود الله ومن يطع الله
ورسوله يدخله جنة تجري
من تحتها الانهار حالدين فيها
وذلك الفوز العظيم ومن
يعص الله ورسوله ويتعد
حدوده يدخله ناراً خالد فيها
وله عذاب مهين -

(نساء - ٢)

(Sūra Nisā' IV, section 2, verses 13, 14).

These verses reveal that acting on these limits is obedience to God and His Apostle, which will be rewarded by the gift of heaven. And transgression of these limits is disobedience to God and His Apostle which would be punished by hell—an humiliating punishment. And also the obedience to the Apostle is in reality obedience to God.

What is Law and *Shari'at* ? It is in reality a code of what is forbidden and what is allowed. And Allah alone has this right. If man legislates any law on his own account, and declares things as forbidden or allowed without any sanction from God, then it would be ascribing false things to God. God says :

116. But say not—for any false things ولا تقولوا ما تصف الاستكم الكذب
That your tongues may put forth هذا حلال وهذا حرام
"This is lawful and this لتفتروا على الله الكذب -
Is forbidden" so as to ascribe ان الذين يفترون على الله
False things to God. For those الكذب لا يفلحون متاع
Who ascribe false things to قليل ولهم عذاب اليم -
God, will never prosper. (نحل - ١٥)
117. (In such falsehood)
Is but a paltry profit
But they will have
A most grievous penalty.
(Sūra Nahl XVI, section 17, verses 116, 117).

In these verses the Shari'at of "lawful and forbidden acts" has not only been particularised, but it has also been prophesied that those who would carve out their own Shari'at leaving the Shari'at of Allah, might get a 'paltry profit' for sometime, but that also would prove a most grievous penalty for them in this world and also in the next.

The holy Prophet, who was a replica of the Shari'at of Allah, used to inform the people about the commands of Allah. Every command of the Prophet is a command of Allah as such. But once, when he deprives himself of a certain thing without the command of Allah, God disapproves of it.

O Prophet, why
Holdest thou to be forbidden
That which God has
Made lawful to thee.
(Sūra Tahrim LXVI, section 1, verse 1).

يا ايها النبي لم تحرم
ما احل الله لك -
(تحریم - ١)

This reveals that even the Prophet does not have this right independently and permanently. Although everybody has a right to forsake any lawful thing on account of his personal reasons the Prophet was asked not to exercise this right, when he did so. The reason is that there are two dangers, in the event of its happening. The first is that every act of Shari'at by the Prophet, which might not be particularly for him, would be classed under the head of commands of Allah. In view of this rule, the Ummat also would have taken a thing to be forbidden which was lawful in the event of the Prophet forsaking it. Secondly it would have proved that the Prophet also has a right of issuing laws, without the permission of Allah, which would not have been right. Thus the status of the Prophet with regard to Shari'at is that of a preacher of the Shari'at of Allah and a commentator or replica of the divine law. The Qur'an in this verse says that the Jews and the Christians

Nor hold that forbidden
Which hath been forbidden
By God and His Apostle.
(Sūra Tauba IX, section 4, verse 29).

ولا يحرمون
ما حرم الله ورسوله -
(توبه - ٢٩)

The reference to the Prophet forbidding things in this verse is in the sense that he was the preacher of the commands of Allah obedience to whom is just like the obedience to Allah. In the same way the obedience of "those charged with authority" is just like the obedience to the Prophet, because they only present the commands brought by the Prophet.

"The ruler of the *Shara'* is Allah," has become the fundamental principle of Islamic jurisprudence since the time of the codification of the Islamic Law. Therefore we find full discussion on the topics in books on the science of faith (علم عقائد) and the principles of Islamic jurisprudence (اصول فقه).

This subject has been discussed in the science of the principles of Islamic jurisprudence (علم اصول فقه) in this way that the legislator of the law is Allah alone. And the people have known the lawful (حلال), forbidden (حرام), compulsory (فرض), essential (واجب) things by the very positive and negative commands of Allah.

In his book *Al-Ihkām fi Uṣūl-il-Ahkām* 'Allāma 'Āmedī (d. 633 A.H.) writes :

It must be known that there is no other Order-giver but Allah, and there is no Command, but what is given by God. From this principle it follows that reason neither approves nor disapproves of anything. And that the gratitude to a benefactor is not based on reason. And that there is no command before the coming of the *Shara'*. (p. 113, Egypt.)

This means that the legislator of the laws and commands of *Shari'at* is Allah alone. It is His command which is "command, and it is His law, which is law." No command could be compulsory (فرض), essential (واجب), traditional (سنت), conventional (مستحب), forbidden (حرام), disallowed (ناجائز), distasteful (مكروه) from the point of view of reason, for which the doer could be rewarded or punished before the revelation of the *Shara'*. And reason cannot declare anything as good or bad with regard to the reward or punishment relying entirely on itself.

'Allāma Ibn Homām Hanafī (d. 861 A.H.) writes :

On this there is no difference of opinion that the legislator is the sustainer of the Universe (p. 89/2).

'Allāma Isnawī in his commentary on *Minhāj-al-Uṣūl* by Qaḍī Baidawī (d. 615) writes,

"The beauty or ugliness, goodness or badness of a thing consists in its being either commendable by (human) nature or condemnable by it. For

example, it is commendable (act) to save a drowning man and condemnable (act) to usurp the wealth of a person, in other words, one is a quality of perfection and the other a sign of imperfection. Again, knowledge is good and ignorance is bad. Bearing the two meanings in mind we find that it is reason which determines whether a thing is good or bad and there is agreement on this point. The difference lies in the contention that it is the Shari'at alone which decrees whether an act is to be rewarded or punished. For the Ashā'ira (and the general body of Ahl-e-Sunnat) the goodness or badness of a thing depends on the decision of the Shari'at. But the Mu'tazilites say that reason should decide this question and one need not wait for Allah's command as Allah is bound to look to the public weal and woe. The verdict of reason becomes strong by the revelation of the Shari'at, (p. 90/1 footnote on the writings of Ibn Homām).

In reality the pronouncement of the Mu'tazilites is opposed to truth. The fact is that commands are known by the Shari'at and reason, to the wise, just lends its support to these commands. And this right course was adopted by the later Māturīdīa (Hanafīa), among the Ahl-e-Sunnat. Mawlāna Mohibullah Bihāri (d. 1119 A.H.) in his *Musallam-ath-thubūt* says:

"Commands are issued from God alone. There is no difference on the point that it is the reason which decides what is perfect or imperfect and what is in accordance with or opposed to worldly purpose or prudence. But the difference lies in the fact whether it is reason, or the Shari'at only, which should determine as to who, for any of his acts, would be liable to praise or condemnation by God. With the Ashā'ira, it is known through Shari'at alone. What God has ordained as good is good, and what He has ordained as bad is bad. And if God had willed otherwise, then it would have been good or bad. With us (*i.e.*, Māturīdīa) and the Mu'tazilites, it can be known through reason. But the difference between the Māturīdīa and Mu'tazilites is that the Mu'tazilites, Imāmias and Kāzamias and others say that God is bound to order according to what is preferred by reason. We, on the other hand, say that what is preferred by reason deserves to be the order of the All-Prudent Allah, but, so long as Allah has not ordered, there can be no dictate from reason."

(*Almaqālat-ath-thaniya-fil-ihkām*)—Mawlāna Baḥr-al-'Ulūm in his commentary on *Musallam-ath-thubūt* refutes those Ahl-e-Uṣul (Doctors of Jurisprudence,) who have attributed this contention to the Mu'tazilites that they consider reason to be the law-giver. He says:

"There is a consensus of opinion of the entire Ummat that commands are issued by Allah alone. And it is wrongly said in some books of our divines that we and the Mu'tazilites believe reason to be the law-giver and order-giver. No one who claims to be a Musalman can say so. The Mu'tazilites rather say that reason can know some of the commands of Allah, whether it is in the Shari'at or not. And this is also admitted by some of our divines."

Qāḍi Shaukānī's (d. 1225) researches show the following points of

difference and agreement between the Ashā'ira and the Mu'tazilites.

"There is no difference on the point that after the advent of the Prophet and his message the Shari'at alone is the order-giver of law (law-giver). The difference applies to the period and circumstances, when the Apostle was not sent and his message had not reached the people. In such circumstances the Ashā'ira believe that those people are not called to account for their actions. Neither atheism is prohibited nor faith is binding. But the Mu'tazilites held that in the absence of the commands of Allah the dictates of reason would take their place" *Irshād-al-Fohūl*, Egypt, p. 6.

In the end I shall quote the considered judgment of Ḥaḍrat Shāh Isma'il Shahīd (may God bless him) which is the quintessence of all these discussions.

"There is no order-giver but Allah. It is He Who creates and commands. It does not befit reason or any other of His creation to justify His command. Whatever Allah has commanded as binding (واجب) or conventional (مستحب) is in reality good irrespective of the fact whether it is good by its very nature or due to any of its qualities or by its relation to any other thing. In the same way whatever has been prohibited is bad. Before the enforcement of the imperative or prohibitive commands (of Allah) the actions were already qualified as good or bad in the world of reality. Allah has issued His mandatory or prohibitory commands having regard for this fact. Reason sometimes comes to know about its being goodness or badness. On such occasions, good and bad are according to reason. But there was no command before the Shara'. The above-mentioned good and bad are based entirely on the prudence of Allah in the interest of His people. Thus the commands are based on Shara' "alone in the interest of His people" (p. 12).

This booklet of Ḥaḍrat Maulāna Shahīd on Uṣūl-i-Fiqh is in reality a clarification of the Uṣūl-i-Fiqh. He has solved big problems on the subject in one or two sentences. The above remarks of the author may be elucidated in the following words. The law-giver in reality is Allah. This right is not proved in favour of any one of his creations. Whatever God has ordered as imperative or prohibitive commands are all based on prudence and expedience, which are for the good of His people. Sometimes reason comes to know about this prudence and expedience. In that case it may be called rational. Otherwise, by rational it does not mean that the order-giver or law-giver is reason.

It was necessary to discuss it in detail in order to make it perfectly clear that our experts of law, from the very beginning to the end, have accepted the principle that in Islam, the right of making law (right of legislation) belongs to Allah alone. He is the only sovereign law-giver, order-giver, and maker of the Shari'at.

Some people, at this stage, might entertain a doubt in their mind, that how can this law of Shara', which was revealed at a particular period

in the past, satisfy every need, and suit the changing circumstances till doomsday. The answer is this. There is one thing, which is called the principles or general rules of Law, and the other is its corollary and its details. The principles and general rules of law though based on reason or experience, in the world remain constant. They do not change from time to time. New problems crop up in different situations and circumstances. But they are implied in these very general principles. For example, the science of medicine, whenever it might have come into existence, its principles and general rules are old and unalterable. Now whatever new disease might appear, its description must be found in the books of medicine under its old principles. It may be illustrated thus. In Shari'at punishment for wanton murder is *qisās, diyat, kaffāra*. Formerly people were killed by weapons like arrows and swords. Now it is done by weapons like guns, revolvers, pistols, machine guns, bombs and other new weapons. But this change does not alter the nature of the problem. Shari'at has laid down a principle to deal with cases in which an injury is caused to a person by a vehicle. Formerly the word vehicle was applied to animals. But now the injuries so caused would include those by cycles, motors, trams, etc. Thus the change in the word would not alter the principle in general.

There is another doubt, which may be entertained. Accepting this principle as correct, what about the rulings or interpretations given by the Mujtahids in every age under the changed circumstances. Are they not new commands? The doubt will at once be removed, when the meaning of Mujtahid is made clear. A Mujtahid is one who has got an insight into the Uṣūl and Furū' of the commands of Allah, and who finds out the basic and fundamental principles of the commands after a survey of the Quranic verses and the traditions of the Prophet, and who traces out the causes (which necessitated), the effects (which followed) and the advantages and the disadvantages, which accrue from these commands. He decides new problems, which are, after all, matters of details, according to these recognised principles. In this way their Ijtihād and presumption does not amount to legislating new commands, rather it is the exposition of the basic principles. In other words, they do not make new commands rather they point out how to solve the new problem in the light of the established commands of Allah. This is the answer of the proposition advanced by the Ahl-i-Uṣūl that presumption (قياس) is the exposition (مظهر) of the command. It means that they only point out that the new problem would come under that fundamental principle. Relying on these very principles, our jurists have compiled huge volumes of Fatwās, which help in deciding cases which might come up from time to time and on these Islamic principles of law mighty empires were founded in different parts of the world and grand courts of justice established remnants of which are still in existence.

MUGHAL IMPERIALISM IN TRANSOXIANA

THE accession of Shāh Jahān to the throne of Delhi (1627) opens a new chapter in the history of the Indo-Turanian relations. To him was given the opportunity and also the resources to attempt realisation of that great dream—the conquest of Transoxiana—which his predecessors had only cherished. A man of strong will, enduring patience, bold initiative and inexhaustible energy, he was graced with all the qualities which befit a sovereign for such a hazardous enterprise. Having inherited a strong and well-consolidated empire from his father, he was burning with zeal to emulate the glories of the great conquerors of the world. Natural it was that he was drawn towards the ancestral land over which the great Timur had once swayed his sceptre where the bubbling imperialist energy could find freedom to act and his own thirst for glory to be satisfied.

But on the eve of Jahāngīr's death conditions prevailing in the Mughal empire forebode quite a different future. The two court factions headed by Nūr Jahān and Āsaf Khān advocated the cause of Shahryār and Shāh Jahān respectively for the crown and a civil war seemed imminent. No sooner the news of the passing away of the old monarch was circulated than the rival groups harnessed themselves for the eventual conflict. Nūr Jahān, who had the better of Shāh Jahān still far off in the Deccan, proclaimed Shāhryār as the emperor and marched towards Delhi. To counteract her move, Āsaf Khān placed a child, Dāwar Bakhsh on the throne of Delhi, and entered headlong into preparations to defend the capital from falling into the hands of his distinguished sister.

In Transoxiana, the death of 'Abdullā Khān 'Uzbeg had been followed by a long protracted civil war resulting in the emergence of two brothers Imām Qulī and Nadhr Muḥammad as the rulers of Bokhāra and Balkh respectively. The former who was also the elder, had enough of vision and foresight to realise that surrounded as he was by powerful and ambitious emperors in the south as well as the east, his security lay in firmly holding to what he possessed. But the rash Nadhr Muḥammad chafed at the smallness of his kingdom and had made the one successful attempt for extension in 1622. Here lay another opportunity for him and he decided

to invade Kabul.¹ With this object the 'Uzbek troops were stationed at Gabr and the prince 'Abdul 'Azīz with his Atāliq 'Abdur Raḥmān, was sent with an advance army to attack Zohak—a fort on the outskirts of Kabul.

The young prince arrived at his destination and started the siege. But the able Mughal commandant Khanjar Khan was not the man to lose heart, Entrenching himself inside the forts, he sent out regular raiding parties which inflicted heavy loss on the enemy. At long last Nadhr Muḥammad realised the futility of continuing the siege. He directly proceeded to invade Kabul and sent instructions to his son to join him in the enterprise, his calculation being that the fall of Kabul would automatically bring about the fall of Zohak.

The 'Uzbek ruler besieged Kabul and addressed a letter to the garrison and nobles of the town, with threats of severe punishment if they persisted in their resistance and promise of amnesty and reward otherwise. But they turned a deaf ear to his warnings and in their turn wrote in reply advising him to raise the siege before it was too late, as reinforcement from India could arrive any moment.

In the meantime Shāh Jahān had emerged victorious from the civil war. He had succeeded in putting Nūr Jahān under surveillance and in arresting and executing Shāhryār. No sooner was the new emperor seated on the throne than he sent instructions to Mahābat Khān to proceed to Kabul in conjunction with Lashkar Khān who was already on the move from Peshawar. This frightened Nadhr Muḥammad whose army had been already weakened by the desertion of the Armenian soldiers. Faced with the alternative of defeat and possibly annihilation he chose the wiser course and one morning secretly ordered raising of his camps and left for Balkh.

Having defeated his rival in the battlefield Shāh Jahān set himself to the task of meting him same fate in the field of diplomacy as well. He had already seen Imām Qulī's envoy, 'Abdur Raḥīm Khwāja who died before he could return to his motherland. Next in 1628 the emperor sent Hakīm Hādhiq and Sayyad Ṣadr Jahān as envoys to Imām Qulī.² In his letter to the ruler of Bokhāra the emperor referred to the long standing friendship between the two houses and attributed the delay in sending the reply to Imām Qulī's letter to the death of Khwāja and unwarranted invasion of Kabul by Nadhr Muḥammad.

The contents of this letter reveal the astute mind of the Mughal emperor. Ever burning with the desire to incorporate Tūrān in his empire, he did not consider it an appropriate moment for the great enterprise. It was, in the circumstances, the call of the moment that Imām Qulī should be befriended. The Mughal emperor was to gain doubly by the despatch of the envoy: Imam Qulī would be made an ally and Nadhr Muḥammad isolated.

1. *Pādshāhnāma* I, 206 to 214.

2. *Ibid.*, 231.

The emperor had in hand two more measures to punish Nadhr Muḥammad for his unprovoked invasion of Kabul. Acting according to his instructions Lashkar Khān, the Šubedār of Kabul sent a contingent of troops under Balchu Qulī and Khānjar Khān which conquered Bannan. In May, 1629, the Emperor himself went to Kabul and made a hostile demonstration of his grand army against the ruler of Balkh.¹

This produced the desired effect upon Nadhr Muḥammad. The parade of the Mughal troops on his border terrified him beyond limits and he found himself left with no other alternative than to appease the emperor. With this object he sent his envoy Waqqas Haji² to the Mughal court with the message expressing repentance for his conduct and offering his support in the emperor's project against Persia.

Shāh Jahān's success had been extraordinary. He had paid back Nadhr Muḥammad for his rashness with compound interest. In a gloating letter sent to the latter through the Mughal envoy Tarbiat Khān,³ the emperor proudly referred to his victories in the Deccan and suppression of the Portuguese of Hughli. He also expressed his joy at the expression of repentance by Nadhr Muḥammad and informed him that Tarbiat Khān was carrying verbal messages concerning Qandhār.

This was followed by brisk exchange of envoys between the two rulers. Nadhr Bī and Mulla 'Abdul Ghafūr came from Balkh in 1636 and 1637 respectively. They were received with all honour due to envoys and given permission to return. The emperor in response dispatched Mīr Ḥusain Khān. It was to the advantage of both the monarchs to maintain correspondence and make friendly overtures. Failure in the east turned Nadhr Muḥammad's attention towards the south, and he looked to the Mughal emperor for assistance in his aggressive designs against Persia. The emperor in his turn craved for Qandhār and wanted to nip in the bud any possibility of alliance between Persia and Balkh against this design of his.

But in Qandhār, the emperor's diplomacy, rather than the sword, brought about the desired result. Without shedding a single drop of blood, he so contrived that the Persian commandant of the fort, 'Alī Mardān Khān, surrendered it in 1638. Nadhr Muḥammad gained nothing. He had been discomfited in his attempt for extension in the east; the same fate met him in the south.

Shortly after, the Mughal emperor went to Kabul at the head of a huge army. The Indian historians attributed this move on the part of the emperor to the threatened invasion of Qandhār by Shāh Šafī.⁴ The historians of Central Asia give quite a different version. They suggest that Shāh Jahān received an exaggerated account of the difference between

1. *Pādshāhnāma*, I, 260.

2. *Ibid.*, I, 431.

3. *Ibid.*, I, 465.

4. *Islamic Culture*, 1935, p. 189.

Nadhr Muḥammad and Imām Qulī and considering this favourable to his project of an attack on Balkh arrived near the border. When rumours of his threatened aggression filtered to Samargand Imām Qulī arrived at the capital of his younger brother to join hands with him to avert this calamity. He sent a letter to Shāh Jahān through Hāji Maṣṣūr pointing out that "if the emperor has decided on an attack we and our brother are ready to welcome him." This display of unity and defiant attitude by the two brothers brought home to the emperor the risk that he was running. He repented his rashness and wrote in reply. "I had come to Kabul only on a hunting trip, but if my brothers do not like it I will go back."

It is difficult to agree with the view-point of the Central Asian historians. There is little to prove that Shāh Jahān's move was directed against Transoxiana. If the emperor had really chosen this time for the attack, he had committed a political blunder. The invasion would have combined the infuriated Shāh and the grumbling 'Uzbeg—a combination which would have threatened the security of Qandhār,—a combination which, all along, it had been the policy of the Mughal emperor to thwart. Besides, there is absence of the grand and special preparations which the task called for and which the emperor later on undertook when the actual invasion took place.

The exchange of embassies with Balkh and Bokhāra was resumed as vigorously as before.* Shāh Jahān sent Abdul Ghaffār and again Shāh Khān as envoys to Balkh. Nadhr Muḥammad returned the call by despatching Ibrāhīm Khān. From Bokhāra came Khwāja Sanji and then Momin Bēg.

This was followed by kaliedoscopic changes in the political set-up of the Central Asia. Imām Qulī who had latterly turned blind found his own kith and kin nurturing rebellious ideas against him. Nadhr Muḥammad, to whom he had always extended his brotherly affection and love was the leader of the plotters. A civil war seemed imminent, but it was averted by the wisdom and sacrifice of Imām Qulī who abdicated in favour of the rash Nadhr Muḥammad and wended his way to Mecca (November, 1641).

Nadhr Muḥammad succeeded to his brother's sceptre but not to the respect and regard which the latter commanded from his subjects. He alienated the nobility and the 'ulema by his harshness. On the demise of the Khwārizm ruler when he dispatched a contingent of troops to incorporate that kingdom in his empire, one of his nobles Baqi Yuz raised the standard of revolt in the northern part of his dominion. His son Abdul Azīz in whose hand Nadhr Muḥammad placed the task of his reduction went over to the insurgents and proclaimed himself king of Bokhara. Not content with his possessions he sent troops to reduce Hisar and Charju. To counteract his designs Nadhr Muḥammad fled to

* *Pādshāhnāma*, II 210.

Balkh and divided his kingdom among his sons—Khusru Sultān, Qāsim Sultān, Bahrām Sultān, Subhān Qulī and Qutluq Sultān, Subhān Qulī was entrusted with the task of relieving the garrison at Hisar¹.

Shāh Jahān now decided to launch the attack. With the Deccan states made subservient to the empire and peace and tranquillity reigning all over India, the break up of the civil war in Transoxiana fulfilled the necessary conditions which the successful carrying out of an operation demanded.

Says Prof. Jadunath Sarkar²—"True Nazr Muhammad Khan had not been a good neighbour. . . . But his raids had been forgiven and since then there had been an exchange of friendly messages and embassies between him and the emperor of Delhi. Even recently when the Mughal forces were collected in Afghanistan for Qandhar and Imam Quli had feared lest his country should be invaded by them, Shahjahan had assured him, that he would be left in peace. That rebels from Afghanistan were harboured in Balkh could not have been a cause of war, because, it has always been recognised among the eastern kings as a sacred duty to give asylum to the suppliants. The Afghan frontier was exposed to the private raids by Nazr Muhammad's subjects, but these could not have extended far, and must have been looked upon as common incidents in that debatable land from time immemorial. . . . But if Shahjahan really hoped to conquer and rule Central Asia with a force from India we must conclude that the prosperity of his reign and the flattery of his courtiers had turned his head and that he was dreaming vain dreams. The Indian troops detested service in that far off land of hill and desert, which could supply no rich booty, no fertile fields and no decent house to live in. The occupation of that poor, inhospitable and savage country meant only banishment from home and comfort and ceaseless fights and watching against a tireless and slippery enemy. The finest troops must be worn out and the richest treasury exhausted in the attempt to keep hold of such a country and no gain either in glory or wealth was to be expected. Poor as the revenue of the new conquest was at the best of times, the Mughals during their two years of occupation could collect only half and one-fourth respectively of this small sum while their war expenses were sixteen times as high."

It is difficult to understand what prompted Prof. Sarkar to attempt attributing the invasion of Balkh to certain acts of hostility on the part of Nadhr Muhammad. Neither the emperor nor the court-historian seeks justification on the basis of any of these. The reasons will become obvious even to the casual observer, Imperialism served as the guiding motive with most of the rulers of the medieval period, Shāh Jahān being no exception to the general rule. With nearly the whole of the vast sub-continent of India incorporated either in the Mughal empire or made

1. *History of Bokhara* ; by Vambrey, 359 and 30.

2. Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb*, page 91.

subservient to it, Shāh Jahān could seek satisfaction for his imperialistic ambition only in Transoxiana. To add to this the Mughals could never forget that Tūrān had once formed the centre of the empire of their great ancestor Timur. The 'Uzbegs were only usurpers and it was the bounden duty of every Mughal sovereign, with any sense of dignity and honour, to bring under his suzerainty what should have legally belonged to him. Finally, the Mughal rulers, with a very noble and elevated theory of sovereignty, considered themselves as defenders of religions and needy. With Transoxiana in the throes of a civil war, the poor and the religious groaning under the tyranny of fighting nobility Shāh Jahān could not rest at peace so long as this state of affairs retained.

No person with any historical sense can condemn Shāh Jahān for his imperialistic ambition. The prevailing theory of the age was that the sovereign must, as his bounden duty and sign of his greatness, extend his kingdom. Even the pettiest among the rulers burnt with this desire. Nadhr Muḥammad's invasion of Kabul was the outcome of the same motive and this very ideal contributed to the war between Persia and Turkey. Shāh Jahān was doing nothing uncommon or exceptional.

In addition to this, his claims on Transoxiana were sanctified by conditions of heredity. Today, with the advent and growth of the power of people, it may appear shocking to many, but in the middle ages it enjoyed the sanction of the prevailing political morality. The Astrakhānās, themselves sought the assistance of this principle to justify their possession of Central Asia. There is no reason why Shāh Jahān should be blamed if he acted according to the convention of the age.

As regards the cultural mission of the Mughal rulers, it may be suggested that it lacked sincerity and served simply as a screen to hide most unjust imperialist intentions. This suggestion cannot be dismissed summarily in view of the fact that even in our own times Hitler and other imperialist powers have attempted justification of their lust for extension behind the very common plea of defence of democracy and freedom of people. A perusal of the Mughal histories, at the same time, reveals that there is some honesty in the Mughal assertion. Akbar of all the rulers was most actuated by this ideal of a cultural mission and Shāh Jahān also shared it to a certain extent.

Thus it is that Prof. Sarkar's condemnation of the invasion on moral grounds does not stand the test of criticism. Nor does his suggestion that it was a mad enterprise appear plausible. Close examination of Shāh Jahān's letters to Murad, Nadhr Muḥammad and Shāh 'Abbās and the account of the *Pādshāhnāma* opens a window to the emperor's real intentions regarding the ancestral territory. His plan was to annex Badakhshān to the Mughal empire and to reduce Nadhr Muḥammad to the status of a tributary ruling Balkh and Bokhāra. This is further confirmed by the statement in the *Pādshāhnāma* that the Mughal soldiers were under the impression that theirs would be only a sojourn in Transoxiana. They appear to have received this impression direct from the

emperor who wanted to uphold Nadhr Muḥammad as a dependent ally like the rulers of the Deccan. Surely an attempt to annex Balkh and Bokhāra would have been a piece of folly, but the projects of Shāh Jahān as revealed above were neither foolish nor impracticable.

Finally there is nothing which may force conclusion that Shāh Jahān's head was turned. Ample preparations which he made and the precautions which he undertook prove that he was fully aware of the difficulties of his task and dangers which beset it. The plan was not defective, only it could not be carried out in the right spirit.

In 1645, when the report of the civil war reached Agra, the emperor sent Aṣālat Khān to the Amīrulumarā with the information that the following year he himself would proceed to Kabul and send one of the princes to invade Badakhshān and Balkh. In the meantime—such were the instructions to the Amīrulumarā—the latter should get the road between Kabul and Badakhshān repaired and conquer as wide an area of territory as possible. On a request from the Amīrulumarā for reinforcements, a contingent of troops was sent to him under Raja Jagat Singh and Qulij Khān.¹

The Amīrulumarā proceeded towards the west and at Kabul received Khālil Bēg, the Thānedār of Ghōrband. The latter brought the information that Tardi 'Alī, the commandant of Kahmard had gone to assist Subhān Qūlī who was defending Hisar against 'Abdul 'Aziz and the fort would fall easily if attacked. The Amīrulumarā supplied Khālil Bēg with a small body of troops and instructed him to capture the fort, in case the information was correct. If it came out to be wrong he was to plunder the neighbouring regions. Khālil Bēg marched secretly and took the enemy unawares. The latter deserted the fort without attempting to face the Mughals. Once master of the situation Khālil Bēg, due to inexperience, made no suitable arrangement for the defence of the fort. On receiving this news Nadhr Muḥammad despatched 'Abdur Raḥmān who drove out the Mughal garrison and reconquered the fort.²

With no information of the loss of Kahmard, in August, Aṣālat Khān who commanded a section of the Mughal troops commenced operations in Badakhshān. The report of his forward movement set the Amīrulumarā who had been waiting for the arrival of further reinforcement, athinking. There being little prospect of the speedy arrival of the auxiliary forces and at the same time realising the urgent necessity of assisting Aṣālat he joined him a few days later. On the way, they were informed of the loss of Kahmard. At Ghōrband, Khālil Bēg and the Thānedār of Panjshīr joined them with their forces. The two generals who were conversant with the local geography warned the Amīrulumarā against further advance. They pointed out that as winter was approaching the passes would be covered with snow and because of the paucity of provisions and inadequacy

1. *Pādshāhnāma* II, 415 and 426.

2. *Ibid.* 456-63.

of troops it would not be possible to defend the army while passing through them. The Amīrulumarā recognised the reasonableness of their advice and ordered retreat.

In October Raja Jagat Singh made a gallant inroad into the 'Uzbek territory in order to harass the enemy. Entering Khost by the Tul Pass, he marched to Sarab and ordered erection of a fort in between Sarab and Indarab. He also succeeded in driving away Kafsh Qalmak whom Nadhr Muhammad had sent and finally returned to Panjshīr.

By the beginning of 1646 Nadhr Muhammad's position had become very precarious. In a last and desperate attempt to relieve Hīsār, he sent there his entire forces. 'Abdul 'Azīz followed suit. The two armies encamped within a few miles of Hīsār, and though an indecisive action took place, both the parties were reluctant to fight. Peace parleys started and it was decided that the father and the son should be called to justify their claims. While the overcautious Nadhr Muhammad was lagging behind, 'Abdul 'Azīz marched post haste to Hīsār and the majority of the soldiers swore fealty to him. Nadhr Muhammad grew apprehensive of his own security and in January sent Nadhr Bēg to the Mughal emperor for succour.

Shāh Jahān's response was immediate. In the reply which he addressed to Nadhr Muhammad he complained of the latter's attempt to hide from him the actual conditions prevailing in Transoxiana. Nevertheless—so ran the letter—taking into consideration the long-standing friendship between the two houses the emperor was prepared to help him and with this object he left for Lahore and sent his son Murād with a large army to afford relief to him. The emperor advised Nadhr Muhammad to rely upon him and acquaint him fully with the actual condition.

To implement his promise, Shāh Jahān made extensive preparations.¹ Murād assisted by Jai Singh, 'Alī Mardān, and Qulī Khān was to lead the army according to the plans drawn by the emperor himself. The army was to march via Attack and Hasan 'Abdal; at the latter place splitting into two sections, one to march by the Peshawar route and the other by the lower Bangash, the two reuniting again at Kabul. Qulī Khān, Khalīlullah Khān and Mīrza Naudhar were to capture Kahmard and Ghōrī after which the whole army was to proceed further to conquer Badakhshān and Balkh.

On February, 1646, the imperial troops left Lahore. Prince Murād reached Kabul in May. He stayed in the city and sent a small body of troops for the work of clearance of the Tul Pass. This being completed, he left the city and reached Charikaran whence Qulī was despatched to capture Ghōrī and Kahmard.² Qulij Khān took the garrison of the fort unawares. Being left with no other alternative the besieged surrendered,

1. *Pādshāhnāma*, II, 482 to 88.

2. *Ibid.*, 512.

the Mughals having promised them safe conduct. This was followed by the occupation of Ghōrī.¹

Marching through the Tul Pass the prince entered Sarab. To this city came Khusrau one of the sons of Nadhr Muḥammad to seek the protection of the imperialists. The prince sent him to the emperor and proceeding further arrived at Narid whence Aṣḥat was dispatched to reduce Qunduz.

When the 'Uzbek commandant of Qunduz, Shāh Muḥammad Qatghān heard of the despatch of the royal troops he ordered the massacre of women and children residing in the city. This being completed he retired and the fort was occupied by the Mughals. Raja Rajrup who was entrusted with its command received instructions to distribute money among the inhabitants. Thus it was that the whole of Badakhshān came under the Mughal control.

When the prince arrived on the eastern frontier of Balkh he received two letters² from his father, one for himself and the other for Nadhr Muḥammad. In the letter to the prince the emperor referred to the fact that when Manṣūr Hājī of Balkh came to the court to seek service under the Mughals, Nadhr Muḥammad was asked to send his children. What to say of complying with the wishes of the emperor, the 'Uzbek ruler tortured Manṣūr Hājī's son Waqqaṣ Hājī with the result that he and his mother committed suicide. Even so, if Nadhr behaved well, the emperor advised his son to hand over Balkh to him and afford him every assistance to reduce Bokhāra.

The other letter was dispatched to Nadhr Muḥammad from Khulm through Ishāq Beg. The emperor acquainted the 'Uzbek king with the dispatch of Prince Murād and advised him to rely upon the Mughal army which would protect him from the rebels. Nadhr Muḥammad pretended to be highly pleased with the contents of the letter and was reported to have remarked that the time for his deliverance from 'Uzbek tyranny had arrived and that he would hand over his kingdom to the emperor and leave for Mecca.

But the fact of the matter is that Nadhr Muḥammad was highly disturbed. The speedy success of the Mughals and the dashing spirit of their army had unnerved him. He appears to have been repenting for the succour which he had solicited from Shāh Jahān. Knowing that Transoxiana was the ancestral dominion of the Mughals, that from the days of Babar the Mughal sovereigns had dreamt of the conquest of this land, he realised that he had been made a tool by the emperor to realise his most cherished ambition. To thwart the designs of the emperor the only course left open to him was to fly.

In spite of all his attempts, Nadhr Muḥammad failed to hide his real intentions from the Mughal envoy. The remark of the 'Uzbek ruler that

1. *Pādshāhnāma*, II, 520 to 25.

2. *Ibid.*, 528 to 33.

he would leave for Mecca together with the panic prevailing in his camp let the cat out of the bag. The envoy could guess that Nadhr Muḥammad wanted to fly and informed Murād accordingly requesting him to march immediately to Balkh.

Meanwhile Nadhr Muḥammad sent Chuchak Bēg to see Prince Murād and deliver him a letter from his master begging for three days' time to complete his preparations for his journey to Mecca. Murād and 'Alī Mardān who saw through the trick marched to Balkh and encamped within 4 miles of the town. To this place came Ishāq Bēg and then the two sons of Nadhr Muḥammad Bahrām and Subḥān Qulī to see the prince.¹

To the Mughal envoy Ishāq Bēg whom Murād again sent to persuade the 'Uzbeg ruler to meet him, Nadhr Muḥammad agreed observing that he was making grand preparations to meet the prince in Bāgh Murād. Ishāq Bēg had hardly returned to his camp when the 'Uzbeg ruler together with his two sons—Subḥān Qulī and Quṭub Muḥammad—left the city through one of the gates which was guarded by his own men.²

The news of his flight, spreading in the city like fire, offered the hooligans the opportunity to loot and plunder. Next day order was restored in the city by the Mughal troops and the treasury consisting of jewellery worth 12 millions of rupees, 2500 horses and 300 male and female camels fell in the hand of the imperialists. Two sons of Nadhr Muḥammad, Bahrām and 'Abdur Raḥīm, were arrested and an Arab was appointed kotwal of the city. On the 7th of July the prince entered the city. This was followed by the conquest of the fort of Tirmiz, thus completing the occupation of the whole of Balkh.

Bahādur Khān and Aṣālat Khān who were sent in pursuit of Nadhr Muḥammad overtook him at Shabārghan. Nadhr was defeated, but escaped arrest. Subḥān Qulī deserted him and proceeded towards Bokhāra. Nadhr Muḥammad and his son Qutluk Muḥammad entered Khorasān and arrived at Meshed. In the beginning the governor of the city, Murtaḍhā 'Alī welcomed him but when he got scent of the intentions of the ex-ruler of Balkh to escape to Maimana, he stationed a guard round his place of abode. Nadhr Muḥammad left for Isphahān.³

Thus it was that Shāh Jahān failed to carry out his original plan. It is attributed to Murād's hasty entry into Balkh which he did to carry out—according to a sentence in Shāh Jahān's letter to Murād—the injunctions of Shāh Jahān. On this basis, responsibility for his entry, has been laid on the shoulders of the emperor. It is wrong to attach too much importance to a particular incident. Circumstances in which the transaction was carried out were unfavourable to the Mughals. Transoxiana had once belonged to the ancestors of the Mughal sovereigns of Delhi and they were always consumed with the desire to reconquer it. This made Nadhr

1. *Pādshāhnāma*, 533 to 35.

2. *Ibid.*, 537.

3. *Ibid.*, 545 to 55.

Muhammad doubt the emperor's intentions. One very marked feature of the whole transaction was his lack of faith in the Mughal emperor. He reluctantly applied for succour; he did not deliberately give to the emperor a very clear picture of the prevailing conditions in Transoxiana; and later on, too, he avoided visiting Aurangzeb. It so appears that he was a victim to a lurking suspicion that Shāh Jahān intended to employ him as an instrument to achieve his own objective. It required the genius of a statesman to divest him of this fear. Murād was the most unfit person to accomplish this task. His rashness, his vehemence, and his dash spoilt everything.

In the circumstances Shāh Jahān devised plans for the permanent occupation of Balkh. Any measure in the contrary direction would have been interpreted by other sovereigns as demonstrating the Mughal emperor's weakness and his incapacity to hold Balkh. In order to retain the proud position which his country occupied in the comity of nations, he was left with no other alternative.

But Murād was not the man to stay permanently in the ancestral land. To a man of his nature, given to ease and luxury, the inclemencies of weather conditions in Tūrān and hardships of military life were too much to bear. His companions also supported him in his desire to quit Balkh. They were under the impression that the campaign was of a temporary nature and they would be soon allowed to return. The proposal for permanent occupation had unnerved them.

The prince sent a request to the emperor that he should be allowed to return. This enraged the latter who reprimanded him and sent injunctions that he should not vacate his place. In order to allure him, he was informed that following the conquest of Bokhāra he would be appointed its viceroy. The prince was adamant and repeated his request without waiting for orders from the imperial capital, he recalled the Mughal officers—Bahādur Khān, Aṣālat Khān and Khalīlullah—from Shabarghān in order to hand over to them the charge of the government of Balkh and return home. In a last attempt to persuade his luxury-loving son to give up the idea of desertion, the emperor sent Sa'dullah Khān, but he fared no better.

At last Murād was removed from the command and Balkh was placed under the joint charge of Bahādur Khān and Aṣālat Khān. Badakhshān was offered to Najābat Khān, the son of Shahrukh to keep a show of legality. On the latter declining to accept the charge, it was placed under Qulī Khān and Rustam Khān was ordered to hold Andkhud. Advance payments were made to soldiers and officers and new coins bearing the stamp of the emperor were circulated in Balkh. In short all the necessary measures were taken to demonstrate that Balkh had been incorporated in the Mughal empire.*

* *Pādshāhnāma*, II, 556 to 59.

This having been completed the emperor despatched a letter to Nadhr Muḥammad through 'Abdul 'Aziz.¹ He recalled the events leading to the flight of the ex-Uzbek ruler pointing out that the prince's rashness in sending Rustam Khān to Balkh while Nadhr was there, was due to his inexperience. In that eventuality, so ran the contents of the letter, proper course for Nadhr Muḥammad would have been to come to the emperor rather than go to Persia. Finally the emperor expressed his intention to send Nadhr Muḥammad's family wherever he wanted. But 'Abdul 'Aziz could not meet Nadhr Muḥammad who had left Ispahān.

A relevant question may be asked in this connection: Why did Shāh Jahān fail to make a straight offer to Nadhr Muḥammad to return his kingdom if he had really intended to do so in the initial stage of the operation? A survey of the situation affords a satisfactory answer. With revolutionary changes in the situation in Balkh the 'Uzbeks could not tolerate Nadhr Muḥammad, whom they regarded a tool of the Mughals, as their ruler. Nadhr could not remain subservient to the Mughals and at the same time win the loyalty of his subjects. It was no use forcing him on Balkh.

The Mughal generals took every precaution to defend the new conquest. Even so, adequate arrangements could not be made for the protection of vulnerable points on the Oxus. This resulted in numerous attacks by the 'Uzbeks from that side. Qunduz, and then Andkhud, and several other places were invaded, but the Mughal army succeeded in warding off the attack. The 'Uzbeks, who were swift horsemen, came in small numbers and after making lightning attacks disappeared from the scene of battle. The mobility of the Mughal army was hampered by its heavy armament and it could not inflict any substantial loss on the enemy.

At this time it was reported that 'Abdul 'Aziz was preparing to attack Balkh. In order to ensure unity of command and to infuse a new spirit in the home-sick Mughal soldiery, Shāh Jahān decided to send Aurangzēb. Vast preparations were made and troops were collected at strategic points between Peshawar and Kabul. On April 7, 1647, the prince left Kabul. At Darrah-i-Gaz, the 'Uzbeks under Qutluk Muḥammad barred the passage. Though defeated and put to flight, they again returned and contrived to hover round the flanks of the imperial army. Nevertheless Aurangzeb succeeded in reaching Balkh.²

'Abdul 'Aziz also made extensive preparations and encamped on the banks of the river Oxus. He sent Bēg Ughlī across the river with instructions to march to Aqcha and to encamp between Balkh and Andkhud. Qutluk Muḥammad also joined him there. The Mughal general Bahādur Khān marched towards Aqcha to join issues with him, but he was called back by Aurangzeb. In May the prince started with

1. *Pādshāhnāma*, II, 572.

2. *Ibid.*, 668 to 678.

his entire army to dislodge Bēg Ughlī. The imperialists were constantly harassed by the 'Uzbeg light troops and it was only the wise leadership of Aurangzeb which saved them from major defeat. The Mughals plundered the camp of Qutluk Muḥammad, but the left wing of their army gave way under the pressure of the 'Uzbegs. The timely arrival of the prince, however, saved the division from total rout. The army marched on. At this stage a report came that Subhān Qulī was advancing on Balkh. Accordingly Aurangzeb came back to give him battle. The Astrakhanides had arrived with their full force. 'Abdul 'Azīz, Subhān Qulī and Bēg Ughlī were guiding the battle. But the musketry and superior discipline of the Mughals gave the prince victory.

The 'Uzbegs were highly impressed by the cool courage of Aurangzeb. Once while the battle was at its highest he spread his carpet on the ground, knelt down and said his prayers. The 'Uzbegs gazed in wonder. It was not possible to fight with such a foe. Besides, 'Abdul 'Azīz's own army which consisted mostly of nomads melted away after the defeat. 'Abdul 'Azīz decided to approach for peace. He sent proposals to Aurangzeb and suggested that Balkh should be restored to his younger brother, Subhān Qulī. The prince promised to refer the matter to the emperor and 'Abdul 'Azīz returned to his own country.

Reverting to Nadhr Muḥammad, on reaching Persia he was accorded a right royal reception. He repeatedly importuned the Shāh to assist him to fight his faithless sons and the 'Uzbegs. At last 'Abbās consented and deputed Saru Khān Talish with a contingent of Iranian troops to assist him. Meanwhile Nadhr Muḥammad had received friendly letters from the 'Uzbegs. Leaving the Persian commander behind he marched to Merv. Here he was joined by Kafsha Qalmaq who warned him against the treachery of his allies. He went to Maruchaq. Here the Qalmaq tribesmen flocked to his standard. With their assistance he tried to dislodge Shāh Khān, the Mughal governor, from Maimana, but failed in his attempt. The report of the coming of Aurangzeb frightened him and he retired to Belchirāgh. When he heard that 'Abdul 'Azīz was marching to meet the invaders, he sent some troops under Qutluk Muḥammad to surprise Balkh. But this force also joined 'Abdul 'Azīz. After the defeat of 'Abdul 'Azīz, Nadhr Muḥammad also sent representation to the emperor for restoration of his kingdom. Shāh Jahān decided in his favour on condition that he should tender apology for his past conduct.

Aurangzeb called Nadhr Muḥammad to meet him. But the 'Uzbeg king was still suspicious of the Mughal designs and offered one or the other excuse for not going. He, however, sent his grandsons to see the prince. Aurangzeb had no other alternative but to be satisfied with this. There was no food and winter was fast approaching. Balkh was handed over to Qāsim Sultān and Kafsha Qalmaq who took charge on behalf of Nadhr Muḥammad. The Mughal army left Balkh on October 3, 1647.

Thus the Mughals were unable to hold Balkh partly because of the hilly and sandy nature of the country and inclemencies of weather,

and partly because of the upsurge of the wide-spread feeling of resistance which their advent had aroused in the hearts of the 'Uzbegs. The losses which they sustained in this adventure have been graphically described by Prof. Sarkar in the following words¹ "The total loss of the imperial army in crossing the passes was 10,000 lives, about one-half of the number being men and the rest elephants, horses, camels and other beasts. Much property too was left buried under the snow or flung into ravines for want of transport. . . . Thus ended Shahjahan's fatuous war in Balkh, a war in which the Indian treasury spent crores of rupees in two years and realised from the conquered country a revenue of 22½ lacs only. Not an inch of territory was annexed, no dynasty changed, and no enemy replaced by an ally on the throne of Balkh. The grain stored in Balkh fort worth 5 lakhs and provisions in other forts as well were all abandoned to the Bokharians besides Rs. 50,000 in cash presented to Nazr Muhammad's grandsons and Rs. 22,500 to envoys. . . . Such is the terrible price that aggressive imperialism makes India pay for wars against the north-west frontier." Mr. 'Abdur Raḥīm adds² to the list quoted above. This defeat led to the loss of prestige by the Mughals. The result was defeat in Qandhār and unrest in Afghanistan "which could never be stamped out and was one of the causes of disruption of the empire. . . . This perpetual warfare encouraged the inherently lawless tendencies of the population and broke up the thin web of administration so ably cast by Akbar over that delectable country. Afghanistan gradually slipped into anarchy and confusion which even the strong hand of Aurangzeb could not control. The unrest also dried up the healthy stream of young Afghan recruits to the Mughal army. Truly speaking the decline of the Mughal empire began from this time. . . . It left behind in Central Asia terrible famine and plague which devastated the country and weakened the power of Astrakhani dynasty. It also ruined the trade and commerce which had for generations flowed into India from Bokhara and Samarcanddiverted the trade and commerce from the Bolan Pass to the forts of Southern India, considerably to the advantage of the English and with great loss to the Mughal treasury which could not be stopped owing to the absence of a navy."

The observations of Mr. 'Abdur Raḥīm call for some comment. It is difficult to accept his suggestion that unrest in Afghanistan was due to the failure of the Mughal army in Central Asia. In fact Afghanistan had been seldom free from unrest. The Afghans had been terrified by the passage of armies to Balkh. Once the armies had left they again raised the standard of rebellion. The wise policy of Amīr Khān reconciled them and the last 20 years of Aurangzeb's reign were singularly free from any tribal rising. It is also wrong to suggest that the war diverted the trade-route from Bolan Pass to the sea. The reasons for this change were the

1. Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 112.

2. *Islamic Culture*, 1937, p. 193.

opening of sea-route to India, rise of the European nations, and the growing importance of navy.

The remaining few years of Shāh Jahān's reign are marked by no important developments in the Turanian policy of the Mughal sovereign. The abdication of Nadhr Muḥammad followed by fratricidal war among his sons and Shāh Jahān's illness which brought about the war of succession in India ruled out any prospect of fresh approach between the two kingdoms. Thus closed a very important chapter in the history of the Indo-Turanian relations.

R. C. VARMA.

ARAB EXPLORATION DURING THE 9th & 10th CENTURIES A.D.

IT WAS hardly a mere chance that the appearance of a specifically geographical literature coincided with Arab conquests. For, the victory was not merely material, it also led to an exaltation of the Arabic spirit and intellect which expressed itself in many ways. The translation of works on foreign sciences such as astronomy, mathematics and natural philosophy was increasingly utilised for geographical purposes, and which ultimately succeeded in putting the subject on a scientific footing. Just as geography was not incompatible with mathematics and astronomy, it was also part and parcel of the man of action—the sailor, the ambassador, the soldier, the traveller and the merchant. Hence the names of Sulaymān, Abū-Zaid, al-Rāmhurmuzī; and the names of Ibn-Faḍlān and Sallām; and the names of a vast host of the learned and the gifted such as al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Hauqal, al-Mas'ūdi and al-Maqdisī, flit across these pages. Quotations from the writings of the representatives of each group will be found in the following pages, the passages being selected either to bring out the geographical notions of the day or to display the viewpoint of a particular writer.

Exploration by Sea :

The credit of first advances in the oceanic field of action is shared in varying degrees by Persian and Arab navigators. The first stage of the mastery of the sea is purely Persian (a remnant of Sasanian tradition). According to Martin Hartmann, "The advance of Islam by sea was, one might say, an automatic process. As soon as the Muslims had conquered south Babylonia and the principal towns of the Persian Gulf they found themselves forced to carry on the seafaring traditions of these lands, unless they wished to leave their newly won positions unprotected. There was naturally no immediate change in the management and manning of the ships and as a rule they seem to have continued as before."* This view is corroborated by the Arab writers such as al-Maqdisī and

* Martin Hartmann, article on 'China,' *Encyclopædia of Islam*, p. 844 a.

al-Rāmhurmuzī who say that the crew, the ship-builders and seafaring men were Persians.¹ The second stage of the exploration by sea begins from the middle of the ninth century and was marked by gradual domination of the Arabs, especially from the coast of Yemen; it is with this phase that we are mainly concerned here.

Sulaymān's contribution :

The account of Sulaymān written about 851 A.D. shows the Arab conquest of the eastern markets, exploration in far-off lands, extension of geographical knowledge and the maintenance of a geographic outlook. One of the remarkable features of this account is the description of the course, the Arabs and Persians steered from al-Basra and Sirāf to the Indies and China, and conversely the course steered by the Chinese to Arabia and Persia. The seas and islands en route to China, as mentioned by him, are as follows :—

The sea of Persia; the sea of Lār² (that which washes Gujrat and Malabar); sea of Harkind³ (Indian Ocean from Sarandip to Ramni and Sumatra); Lanjablus (Nicobar); the two islands in the sea of Andaman (Andaman group); Kālābār⁴ (in Malaca); Zabaj⁵ (representing some great monarchy then existing in Java); Šanf⁶ (Champa and Combodia); and Sanderfaulāt.⁷

Was compass used by the sailors of those days ?

In this connection it will be interesting to point out that some European scholars believe that the Arabs, in their long voyages, used compass and other nautical instruments. "It is also of Arabs" says Trait, "that we learned the use of astrolabes for which they have so many names . . . which they so well applied in the Mediterranean and the great Indian Ocean, to take height of the sun, and other stars, in the midst of great conquests, navigation and discoveries. And indeed, how could their empire, their religion and their tongue, so long have prevailed among the remotest islands and the farthest eastern shores without the help of navigation and some use of compass in such vast and perilous seas."⁸ Unfortunately

1. See al-Maqdisī : *Ahsan-at-Taqāsim* . . . p. 79; Buzurg ibn Shahrīr al Rāmhurmuzī : *Ajaib-al-Hind* pp. 16, 19, 64.

2. Renaud, Vol. II., p. 17; the first two seas missing in the opening pages of Sulaymān's work are derived by Renaud from parallel pages in al-Mas'ūdī.

3. Loc. cit.

4. Article on 'Kālā' in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, p. 841.

5. Vide M. Ferraud, *Text. Geog.*, Vol. I, p. 11.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

7. i.e., Paolo Condore; Paolo means island, Condore represents a native form of Cunder; Faula is probably an Arabian plural from the Malay Pulau. Vide Yyle, *Cathay and the way thither*, p. 129.

8. Renaudot; *Ancient account of India and China by two Mohammadan travellers*, (London 1733), p. 142.

the contemporary Arabic literature is silent as regards the use of compass. As for nautical instruments we have sufficient evidence that the Arab navigators used sea charts, directories, mathematical and astronomical instruments, a reference to which has been made elsewhere in this paper.

Description of Islands :

Let us return to the exploratory activities of the Arabs. Of an island of the Harkind sea Sulaymān says : " These islands, governed by a woman, are full of that kind of palm trees which bear the coco-nut and are three or four leagues distant from each other, all inhabited and planted with coco-nut trees. The wealth of the inhabitants consists in shells and even the queen's treasury is full of them. They say there are no artificers more expert than these islanders ; and that of the fibres of the coco-nut they make whole shirts, all of one piece, sleeves, gussets and all, as also half vests (or jackets); with the same industry and the same tree they build ships and houses and they are skilful in all other sorts of workmanship."¹ In his description of Sarandīp (Ceylon) he mentions mines of ruby, opal, amethyst, gold, precious stones and mentions pearls² also.

Description of China :

On China Sulaymān supplies much valuable information. His observations are corroborated by European travellers of the Middle Ages such as Martini and Marco Polo. As regards the products of China, says he : " It produces wheat, rice, and many other sorts of grains ; it produces apples, pears, quinces, lemons, citrons, banana, sugar-cane, figs, cucumber, walnut, plums, apricots, services, coco-nuts and even almonds."³ Sulaymān is perhaps the oldest and almost the only Arab to mention a Chinese drink which he calls *Sah*. He says that it is a herb or shrub more bushy than the pomegranate tree and of a more pleasing scent but it has a kind of bitterness in it. They prepare it by pouring water upon this leaf, and they think that this drink cures all sorts of diseases. It is plain enough that nothing can, here, be meant but the tea plant. As regards animals, he says, " There are all sorts of cattle and particularly beasts of burden, but there are neither elephants nor lions in China."⁴ Abū Zaid gives an interesting description of the animal which yields *musk*.⁵ He says: " This animal is like a roe-buck ; his skin and colour is the same, his legs slender, his horn split and a little bending ; that he has two small white teeth on each side, of the length of half a finger,

1. Translation by Renaudot ; *Ancient account of India and China*. p. 2.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

3. Sulaymān : *Silsil-at-Tawārikh*, ed. Langles p. 9. Translation by Renaudot.

4. Renaudot ; *Ancient account of India and China*. Notes, pp. 60-6.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 60 (notes).

or a little less ; that they are straight and rise above the muzzle of the creature, almost like the elephant's teeth ; in short, this thing distinguishes him (i.e., the animal which yields *musk*) from other roe-bucks."¹ This description does not vary much from what we read elsewhere.²

Sulaymān further observes that the coast of China is subject to violent storms (*Toofan*).³ The Portuguese and Spaniards derive from Arabic their word *Tufaon*, which according to them, visits the coast of China from the eastern board and begins in the month of August.⁴ These typhoons according to Sulaymān are much dreaded, especially in the passage from Indies to China. This is undoubtedly the most accurate description of the tropical cyclones which bring havoc to these areas.

Sulaymān's account of the number of cities in China is in consonance with the report of other travellers.⁵ He says that in China there are above two hundred cities, which have many others subordinate to them. Trigant reckons two hundred and forty-seven ; while Martini speaks of only one hundred and fifty cities. But this discrepancy may be attributed to different alterations which had taken place there during the long course of time. Sulaymān mentions Kānfū as the city best known to the Arabs because it was the emporium of their commerce with Indies, Persia and Arabia. He speaks of *Khumdān* (خمندان) as the seat of the emperor of China ; this is confirmed by the Chinese and Syriac inscriptions found in the province of Xensi and Chensi.⁶

Abū Zaid's contribution :

Abū Zaid shows vastly increased knowledge of the sea and presents a new theory that all the seas are one great community of water. "In our times" says he, "discovery has been made of a thing quite new and unknown to those who lived before us. Nobody imagined that the sea which extends from the Indies to China had any communication with the sea of Syria nor could any one take it into his head. Now behold what has come to pass in our days, according to what we have heard. In the sea of Rūm or the Mediterranean, they found the wreck of an Arabian ship which had been shattered by tempest, for all her men perishing, and she being dashed to pieces by the waves, the remains of her were driven by wind and weather into the sea of *Khazār* and from thence to the canal of the Mediterranean sea, and at last they were thrown on the shores of Syria. This evinces that the sea surrounds all the country of China and of Sila (Japan), the uttermost part of Turkistan and the country of *Khazārs*,

1. Renaudot ; *Ancient account of India and China*. Notes pp. 60-6.

2. Loc. cit.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.* p. 42.

6. *Ibid.*

and that then it enters at the strait till it washes the shore of Syria. The proof of this is deduced from the build of the ship we are speaking of, for none but the ships of Sirāf are so put together, that the planks are not nailed but joined together in an extraordinary manner as if they were sewn, whereas the planking of all the ships of the Mediterranean sea, and of the coasts of Syria is nailed and not joined together, the other way. We have also heard say, that ambergeris has been found in the sea of Syria, which seems hard to believe and was unknown in former times. If this be as it is said, it is impossible that amber should have been thrown up in the sea of Syria, but by the sea of Aden and of Qulzum, which has communication with the seas where amber is found. And because God hath put a separation between these seas, if this story be true it must necessarily have been that this amber was driven first from the Indian sea into others and that from one to another it at last came into the sea of Syria."¹

The reliability of this narrative is attested by al-Ma'sūdi and al-Rāmhurmuzī. "In the sea of al-Rūm" says al-Mas'ūdī, "they found the wreck of a Syrian ship shattered by waves, joined together by the leaves of coco-nut, dashed to pieces by the waves of the sea; this type of ship is only found in the Abyssinian sea; the ships of the Mediterranean and the Arabs are joined by nails while in the ships of the Abyssinian sea the nails are not found. . . . This shows that the seas are joined together and connected by China, Sila and the country of Turkistan, and reach the western countries through some gulf in the Atlantic Ocean. Moreover there is also found on the Syrian coast ambergeris which seems hard to believe and was unknown in former times. It is possible that ambergeris might have reached here by the above-mentioned route of the Chinese ship. . . . this points at the inter-connectedness of all seas."²

The reasoning of the two writers about the communication of the Abyssinian sea with the Mediterranean is mainly *a priori* but a better evidence is supplied by Buzurg ibn Shahryār al-Rāmhurmuzī, a contemporary of al-Mas'ūdī, who refers particularly to Moḥammad ibn Bābshād, as navigating from 'Omān, traversing Harkind, entering the Indian Ocean and finally reaching the countries of the west.³ On this authority we can contradict the view of European writers particularly Renaudot who says: "The sea beyond cape currents, on the east coast of Africa was perfectly unknown to the Arabs who did not dare to venture upon so unfavourable a navigation."⁴ On the other hand the authority of Arab writers leads us to the view that the first discovery of the passage

1. Abū Zaid : *Silsila-at-Tawārikh*, Part II, ed. Langles, p. 87. Translation by Renaudot: *Ancient account of India and China*, p. 59.

2. al-Mas'ūdī : *Muruj al-Dhahāb*, edited by Maynard, p. 365, Vol. I.

3. Buzurg ibn Shahryār al-Rāmhurmuzī : *'Ajāib al Hind* ed., Lit., p. 90.

4. Renaudot ; *Ancient account of India and China* . . . p. 30.

into the Atlantic Ocean by way of the Cape of Goodhope was made by Arab navigators in the tenth century A.D.

In this connection it will be interesting to point out that the Arab view concerning the Caspian Sea, the Black Sea and the sea of Azov, according to al-Mas'ūdī, is "the Caspian was land-locked and that it did not connect with the Black Sea or with the Northern Ocean."¹

The superiority of the Arab genius is enhanced by the fact that they corrected the views of the ancient Greeks and Romans. According to Pomponius Mela the Caspian was directly connected with the Arctic Ocean and Lake Maotis (sea of Azov), by means of Tanais or Don,² and according to Strabo the Caspian was a bay extending from the Ocean to the south.³

Buzurg ibn Shahrīār al-Rāmhurmuzī's explorations :

Buzurg ibn Shahrīār gives us a sailor's recollection of long voyages, discoveries and bold attempts like those of the Portuguese, the English and the Dutch. His description of the wonderful deeds of the sailor Abraha of Kirman who was shipwrecked in a far-off island in the south China seas⁴ and his description of new islands and archipelagoes lead us to suppose that he might have landed on Australia or Newzealand. His description of a volcanic island in the Chinese sea⁵ supports the view that the Arabs were the first to discover the Philippine islands. Lastly we hear about Waq-Waq⁶ which is identified as Japan and was described by him as regards its cities and the people. The people of Japan, he says, are similar to the Turks and are the cleverest people as regards artisanship and also most cunning and conspiring."⁷

Sindbad Saga :

It was from the journeys of real explorers such as Sulaymān, the merchant, Abū Zaid and Ibni Wahb that the Sindbad saga began to shape. These narratives have something in common with a "Book of Marvels" attributed to al-Mas'ūdī; and still more something is borrowed from Greek poetry and myth; and also from Persian traditions of later Sasanids.⁸ But when all this is admitted, we must still recognise in the story of Sindbad a true history, in a romantic setting, of Muslim travels in the

1. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahāb* ed. Maynard (Paris), p. 30, 272, Vol. I.

2. Schoff: *Perplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 277

3. *Ibid*, p. 277.

4. Buzurg ibn Shahrīār al-Rāmhurmuzī; *'Ajaib al Hind*, Lith, p. 88.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid*, p. 174.

8. Beazley: *Dawn of Modern Geography*, Vol II, pp. 438-440

ninth and tenth centuries A.D. The tales of Sindbad are of course handicapped by the fact that definite indications of places are few and far between. But the modern enquirer recognises everywhere an account of places known to and visited by men of present day ; and he strives to restore the names and the positions which are hinted at but not expressed.

Al-Maqdisi's contribution :

The Arab exploration of the seas culminates in the nautical information supplied by al-Maqdisi. "I myself" says he, "have travelled a course of about 2000 leagues over it and have made a circuit of the whole peninsula (of Arabia) from Qulzum to 'Abbādān, not taking into account casual visits on shipboard to the islands and the farthest point of these seas. I was thrown into the company of men, shipmasters, pilots, agents, and merchants who, born and bred upon it, possessed the clearest and fullest knowledge of these seas, its anchorages, its wind and its islands... I have also seen in their possession charts and sailing directories which they constantly follow with implicit confidence."¹ What then was the information supplied by the geographer of repute from the material collected *in situ*?

"In the whole extent of Islam" says al-Maqdisi, "I have seen no more than two seas, one of them issues from the direction of the south-east and extends between China and the country of Ethiopians. On entering the territory of Islam, it passes round the peninsula of Arabs as shown in the map of the country. It has many gulfs and several arms² The other sea issues from the farthest west between Sus-al-Aqsā and Andalus. It is broad when it emerges from the Ocean, then it narrows gradually towards a point; then again it expands into a large sea as far as the confines of Syria. According to the statement of Ibn Faqīh, the length of the western sea of Rūm from Antakia to the Fortunate Islands is 2500 leagues ; and its breadth, in one place is 500 and in another 200 leagues.³ Al-Maqdisi is not certain whether these two seas fall into the surrounding ocean or proceed from it, but for certain reasons he adopts the former view. On the tidal phenomena in the Chinese sea, al-Maqdisi's conclusions are based on practical observations. He says that the sea of China rises periodically, towards the middle and end of each month and twice every day and night.⁴ The tidal flowing and ebbing of the water at al-Basra is attributed to the rivers connected therewith, for when the tide rises, it forces back the waters of the Tigris which flow into many channels and when it falls the water recedes in consequence.⁵ Al-Maqdisi's position

1. Al-Maqdisi : *Ahsan-at-Taqāsim* . . . ed. de Goeje, p. 10. (Translation by Ranking).

2. *Ibid* ,

3. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

becomes rather awkward when he gives space, in his book, for some fantastic and unscientific theories, for instance : " the waters of the ocean flow into the nostrils of the whale as it breathes in, this is ebb tide ; in breathing out the whale ejects the water from its nostrils and the flood tide is the result." ¹ In striking contrast to such fantastic theories we get some practical and valuable information concerning dangerous places ; anchorages and islands. " The sea " says he, " is widest and roughest between 'Aden and 'Omān ; its width in this part reaching as much as 600 leagues. Thence it narrows into a gulf penetrating to 'Abbādān. The places of danger in the territory of Islam are : Jubailān, the place of Pharaoh's drowning, it is the abysmal part of the sea of al-Qulzum ; next is Fārān, the place where the winds blowing from the direction of Egypt and Syria encounter each other and make of it a centre of destruction to ships. . . . Next is the port of al-Ḥaurā, full of rocks at its entrance where ships are taken unawares. Indeed from al-Qulzum as far as al-Jār the ground is overspread with huge rocks that render navigation most difficult. . . . Another strait, that of al-Mandam is equally difficult in its navigation and impossible except in a strong refreshing wind. Thence the sea merges into a vast deep till it reaches 'Omān ; and here one sees what the Most High has mentioned, 'waves like unto firmly rooted mountains.' It is however entirely safe in the outgoing but dangerous in incoming ; and wrecks by the force of wind and the wave are not infrequent. The part of 'Omān itself has a bad destructive harbour, farther lies Famm-al-Ṣāb, a frightful strait ; and still farther, al-Khashabāt, on the skirts of al-Baṣra. This is by far the greatest evil, a strait and a shallow combined." ²

From what has been said we may rightly conclude that during the period under review the Arab navigation was at the highest pitch of development. Any doubt about their achievement in the field of maritime enterprise betrays prejudice or ignorance of Arabic literature. It is needless to point out that Renaudot stands on no solid ground when he says : " That the Arabs did not venture far out to the sea ; that they sailed by inaccurate reckoning and observation of stars ; that the little knowledge they had of winds and monsoons made them often mistake in their run and distance of maritime places. . . . And that they coasted it along or at least that they seldom left the shore out of sight behind them ; and that consequently they are not to be supposed the original discoverers of the true course to be steered for the Great Indies and China." ³

The reader will at once realise the hollowness of these words. It does not matter whether they sailed by inaccurate reckoning and observation of stars or whether they were not the original discoverers of the true

1. al-Maqrīṣī. *Ahsan-at-Taqāṣīm*. . . ed. de Goeje, p. 10. (Translation by Ranking).

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12. (Translation by Ranking)

3. Renaudot ; *Ancient Account of India and China*, p. 149.

course to the Indies and China ; but it cannot be denied that the Arabs were the masters of the seas and were the intermediary between the east and the west. They deserve our admiration for the courage and the pluck with which they accomplished the hopeless task in the face of difficulties of which the people of modern comfortable world can have no conception. The Arabs were true pioneers ; they gambled with luck ; life to them was a glorious adventure.

Exploration by land :

Let us now turn from sea to land. It was in the eighth century A.D. that the Arabs began to know the Central Asian lands through the conquests of Qutaiba who, in the time of Caliph Walid, conquered Bokhāra Samargand, Ferghana and Khwārizm. When this region came into the ken of Muslim travellers and traders it was fully explored. As regards the provinces beyond the above-mentioned countries, they knew but little ; and under the general names of Turkistan and Yājūj Mājūj they comprehend all the lands lying towards the north and north-east. Now, if we examine the causes of this imperfection there are two which principally occur to us. Firstly, the Arabs could not venture across these provinces as they were inhabited mostly by the enemies of Islam driven out by the arms of the Caliph. Secondly, there was no possibility of a lucrative commerce with China and the bulk of the trade was upon the sea of India.

Mus'ar ibn Muhalhal's explorations :

Mus'ar ibn Muhalhal, who accompanied the Chinese ambassadors from Bokhārā back to their native land, describes all the Turk and Tartar nations from the shores of the Black Sea to the banks of the Amur. Of Taghazghaz¹ he says that they eat flesh both raw and cooked and wear wool and cotton ; they have no temples ; they hold horses in high esteem. Next, he describes the Khirghiz,² a people who have temples for worship and a written character ; they are intelligent people ; they never put a light out. They have little musk. They observe three feasts in a year. Their standards are green and in prayer they turn to the south. They adore the planets, Saturn and Venus and predict future by Mars. They have a stone which shines at night and is used for a lamp. Next, he describes other countries and people such as Khatlakh and Khatyan, Bahi and then China.

1. See Yule : *Cathay and the way thither*, Vol. I, p. 250. Al-Mas'ūdi says that in his days the Taghazghaz were the most valiant and best governed among the Turks, their empire extended from Khorāsān to China, Vide : Renaud. Preface, Abulfeda, p. 36 seq.

2. Yule ; *Cathay and the way thither*, Vol. I, p. 250.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 251-53.

Ibn Faḍlān's explorations :

As regards explorations in European Russia, first-hand information is supplied by Ibn Faḍlān's. Speaking about the shortness of night at Bulghār¹ he says : " One hour before the setting of the sun the horizon of the sky became intensely red . . . we talked for about half an hour and were waiting for 'Isha. We then rose after hearing the 'ʿadhān and lo ! it was dawn."²

Ibn Faḍlān stayed in Khwārizm until the onset of the severe continental winter which he describes in the following words. "The Oxus was frozen from source to mouth and the thickness of ice was nineteen spans. The horses, mules, asses and carts moved over it as over the roads. The ice was so solid that it did neither break nor melt." He further adds : "I saw there a city where severe winds blow and it seemed as if the gates of the cold sphere (zamharir) had opened."³ Yāqūt quoting 'Abdullah al-Faqīr contradicts Ibn Faḍlān's account. He says that the utmost thickness of the ice is five spans which too is rare, that it is only the head-water which freezes while the rest of the river does not, neither does he admit the possibility of severe winds.⁴ Although the later account contradicts Ibn Faḍlān's personal experiences yet it may be said that the year of Ibn Faḍlān's stay there might have been exceptionally cold. As a matter of fact the evidence of Ibn Faḍlān is corroborated by modern accounts of the Central Asian lands, in which this region is described as intensely cold and frozen for a large part of the year and also being visited by excessively cold winds coming from northern latitudes.

For this traveller of repute the thing which interested a great deal was an account of the manners and customs, belief and ethnology of the people. The Russians, he says, are tall as palm trees and their complexion ruddy and flesh coloured. They wear linen (qarātif) and put on blanket round about one arm ; they carry axes, knives and swords ; the last named were Frankish work, broad in blade and wavy in moulding. Some of them tattoo their body from nail to the neck by pattern of trees and other figures. Their women wear caskets made of iron, copper silver or gold. In every casket there is a ring in which there is kept a knife. On their necks they wear necklaces of silver or gold. The best ornament in their esteem is beads of greenish glass. They worship, he tells us, wooden idols which are nothing more than beams planted in the earth, rudely shaped, (in their upper part), in the figure of man. Ibn Faḍlān was

1. Balghāria-Volgaria—a country lying north of the Volga. It has no affinity to modern Bulgaria.

2. Yāqūt : *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. Amin Khānī (1900) ; Egypt ; Vol. II. p. 274. Also see parallel pages in al Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-Dhahāb*. Maynard Part I.

"The night is exceedingly short in the country of Bulgaria all the year round, this is due to the spherica form of the earth."

3. Yāqūt : *Mu'jam al-Buldān* ed. Amin Khānī (1900), Egypt, Vol. III, p. 478.

4. Loc. cit.

above all interested in their manner of worship which he describes in the following words : " 'O God I have come from a great distance and with me there are so many slave girls, so many hides . . . I have brought this present for thee ' (putting the present before the idol) he further adds : " I beseech thee to send upon me some trader who has dinars and dirhams. If he comes across hard days and the duration of his stay is prolonged he returns with the second present and the third. If even then there is delay he gives presents to the smaller idols and solicits their mediation, making sacrifices to appease them. Their faith was strictly fatalist, they regarded as impious any attempt to prolong the life of the sick. When any Russian fell ill, he was left alone with some bread and water to take his chance. If he recovered, his friends were glad to welcome him and if he died they burned his dead body ; on the other hand if he were a slave they would leave him to be eaten by dogs and birds of prey."¹ This account gives us the first reliable picture of the state of civilization of the Russian people in those days, which proves beyond doubt that they were in the earliest phase of development. Some of their customs remind us of primitive patriarchal days.

"The people of Bāshghard" says Ibn Faḍlān, "retained their pagan faith and manners, which were as rude and bloodthirsty as those of any people ; robbery and murder were normal incidents of their life." As regards their manners he says : "They shave their beards and eat the tick, searching it in the linings of the shirt, they catch it by the teeth. They believe in twelve gods, one for winter, one for summer, one for rain, one for winds, one for trees, one for men, one for animals, one for water, one for night, one for day, one for death, one for life, one for earth and one for sky, the greatest of them all."²

Of the inhabitants of Khazār he says that they are not similar to the Turks, their hair is black. They are of two kinds, one of them brown and the other white.³

Ibn Faḍlān's account of Central Asia and Russia reflects his enthusiasm over the wonders of the country and the people, yet in addition to it, he also took care to give agricultural and commercial information also. "In the country of Khazār" says Ibn Faḍlān "there are no villages, but their fields are spread over vast distances, they come out in summer towards the fields and when the harvest is ready, they gather it and load it on the carts and river (boat). Their staple food is rice and fish. The eastern half of the city of Khazār is the market and the emporium of trade. From Khazār nothing is exported to other countries. Everything that is found there is brought from outside ; such as flour, honey, wax,

1. Yāqūt : *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. IV, p. 302.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 38. Vol. II.

According to Professor Nimeth the Bāshghits were originally a Hungarian tribe who migrated from Northern Caucasus. Vide Barthold : *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (commentary, p. 318).

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 434.

silk and wool.”¹ Here we find an unsound and dogmatic method of treatment in which no attention is being paid to the dependence of agriculture on climate and its relation to local topography; there is not even the barest mention of so important an element as the character and incidence of rainfall.

Iṣṭakhri's explorations :

As regards Arab exploration of the Islamic world the first traveller who attracts our attention is al-Iṣṭakhri. He studies the different provinces of the Islamic empire, in respect of its situation, its people, buildings, commerce and trade. Iṣṭakhri takes climate as the basis of division in his description of Fāras. He divided the country into two parts, the southern hot region and the northern cold region. In the cold region, he says, there are places which are intensely cold, so that nothing in the form of fruits grows there, except some agricultural products. In the hot region there are places which are so hot that not even the birds can stay there. The climate of the cold region is good for health, while that of the hot region is injurious to it.²

Briefly it may be said that to this Arab scholar a region was merely of interest as the seat of human population. He recognised, in a general way, the topography and climate of a country in relation to mankind which was characterised by a few bald statements.

While speaking of the inhabitants of Fāras he says : “ The inhabitants of the hot belt are of poor condition of health, and have fewer hair and darker complexion. The inhabitants of the cold belt are very strong and fat.³ They have three languages—Persian for speaking, Arabic for offices and the non-Arab language for use in their books. As regards the dress of the people of Fāras he says, “ the dress of the kings are shirts which are wider and bigger than those of the clerks. They wear turbans beneath which there are square caps, they hang swords round their waists, . . . the dress of the clerks are shirts and turbans, they also wear caps, but they hide their caps underneath their turbans.”⁴

In addition to the above-mentioned remarks on the people⁵ and the country there is a description of industries and trades of different provinces. He speaks of the cotton industry of Fāras with centres at Merv, Nishāpur and Bemm; the essence industry of Sābūr where essences were made of violet, narcissus, fragrant pine, lilies, white jasmine, myrtle, marjoram and orange-peel.⁶

1. Yāqūt : *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol II p. 434.

2. Al-Iṣṭakhri : *Kitāb al Masālik wal Mamālik*, edited by de Goeje (Leyden), see chapter on Fāras.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

Enough has been said to indicate the excellence of al-Iṣṭakhrī's work and no systematic earlier regional description can be cited to match with it. The popularity of this work is shown by the fact that it gave rise to many other books treating in the same way such as that of Ibn Ḥauqal.

Ibn Ḥauqal's contribution :

Ibn Ḥauqal too was a widely travelled man. Of all the countries of Islam especially Mesopotamia, Syria, Samarqand and Bokhāra, Ibn Ḥauqal had clear and fairly accurate ideas of the country and people. He draws a picture of peace and prosperity in almost every region from the Nile to the Oxus and from Tibet to Taurus. "In all the world" says Ibn Ḥauqal, "there is no place more delightful and more health-giving than the plains of Samarqand and the oasis of Damascus and the valley of Aila."¹ About Ṣughd he says: "The Ṣughd, for eight days journey, is all full of gardens and orchards and villages; cornfields and villas; running streams, reservoirs and fountains both on the right hand and the left, and if one stood on the old castle of Bokhāra one cannot see anything but rich country as far as the eye could reach, even to the horizon, where the green of the earth and azure of heavens are united."² This sounds surprising for the present day dull and grey scenery of Samarqand has no match with the picture presented by Ibn Ḥauqal. The cause of present decay of agricultural prosperity and the neglected state of irrigation system is not far to seek. As a matter of fact it is the direct outcome of the gradual desiccation as well as the political upheavals experienced by the country after the tenth century A.D. Under the present Soviet regime, however, due to the prospects of dry farming, interest in Central Asian lands is again reviving and it is to be seen whether the prosperity of bygone days can be achieved once again.

As regards the people he observes: "Such was the hospitality of the inhabitants that one could imagine all the families of the land but one house.... In some of the dwellings the doors were nailed back against the walls and had been so for a hundred years or more, so that no strangers should ever be denied admittance.... every peasant allotted a portion of his house for the reception of guests, the greatest pleasure of the owner was in persuading a stranger to accept liberality."³

Al-Maqdisī's observations :

A befitting close to a century of travel and exploration is furnished by al-Maqdisī. In his book 'Aḥsan-al-Taqāsim' al-Maqdisī reveals himself a close observer of life. "The fairest of the province" he says "is al-'Irāq,

1. Ibn-i Ḥauqal: *Kitāb al Masālik wal Mamālik*, p. 345, edited by de Goeje (Leyden).

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 345-46.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 346.

its climate is most cheering to the heart and invigorating to the mind, with adequate means nowhere will the heart be so glad and intellect so subtle. The province which is the greatest and which produces the fairest fruit and contains the greatest number of learned men and notable persons and has the coldest climate is al-Mashriq. The province which produces the greatest number of wool and silk and considering its size yields the largest revenue is Dailam. That which has the best milk and honey and nicest bread and strongest saffron is al-Jibāl. The province most favoured by blessings, pious men, ascetics and shrines is al-Shām. The province where there are more devotees, readers, riches, commerce, special products and grain is Miṣr."¹

Sometimes the various people are being labelled with group of characters which through frequent repetition become stereotyped: "One of the peculiarities" says al-Maqdisī, "of the natives of Mecca is their pride; the people of Yemen have no refinement; the men of 'Omān give short weight and defraud and do wrong; adultery at 'Aden is overtly practised; and the people of Aḥqāf are bigoted heretics."²

Since the treatment of natural phenomena interests the modern geographer, al-Maqdisī's paragraph on the climate of Syria and 'Irāq may be transcribed as typical of the tenth century method and point of view: "The climate of Syria is temperate except in that portion which lies in the central region of the province between al-Sharh and al-Ḥalab and this is the hot country where grows the indigo tree and the palm. One day when I was at Jericho, the physician said to me, 'seest thou this valley,' 'Yes' I replied. And he continued, 'It extends from al-Ramla as far as Ḥijāz and thence through al-Yāmen to 'Omān and Ḥajar. Thence passing Raqqa, it is always a *wādy* of heat and palm trees."³

As regards the climate of al-'Irāq he observes: "The climate of this province is varied. Thus Baghdād and Wāsiṭ and the intervening country have a fine but quickly changeable climate, there being time when the heat in summer is intense and inhospitable, but a sudden change sets in; al-Kūfa stands in complete contrast with this, whilst in al-Baṣra a great heat prevails and it is only when a north wind happens to be blowing that the weather becomes pleasant."⁴

In the above quotations we find an unsound and dogmatic method of treatment, in which no attention is being paid to the determination of climate by latitude and its modification by topography.

Al-Maqdisī's observations on manners and customs of the people are worth consideration. "The Syrians" he says, "take pride in their dress. Both the learned and the simple wear the *riḍa* (cloak) and they

1. Al-Maqdisī: *Aḥsan-at-Taqāsim*. . . p. 33 (Translation by Ranking).

2. *Ibid*, p. 103.

3. *Ibid*, p. 179.

4. *Ibid*, p. 125.

do not wear shoes in summer, but only single-soled sandals. They wear the rain cloaks thrown open ; and their tailsāns (hoods)¹ are not hollowed.²

We may conclude the paper by pointing out certain facts of extreme importance. Firstly, that the Arab explorers include in their geographical pursuit, all such phenomena as we think worth including in that subject even today. Secondly, that their approach was mainly from the human and commercial point of view. Thirdly, that it was this travel literature which was of great consequence in putting geography as a definite branch of learning in the tenth and the following centuries.

S. M. ZIAUDDIN ALAVI.

1. See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1935, article by Rueben Levy : *Notes on Costumes from Arab sources*, p. 334.

2. Al-Maqdisi : *Ahsan-at-Taqaṣīm fī Ma'rifat al Aqālīm*, p. 183.

THE TĀRĪKH KHĀN-I-JAHĀNĪ-WA-MAKHZAN-I-AFGHĀNĪ

[Continued from page 142 of *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XXII, No. 2.]

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TĀRĪKH KHĀN-I-JAHĀNĪ

THE chief distinctive feature of the *Tārīkh* is the genealogical account of the various Afghan tribes. They are all alleged to have descended from 'Abd-al-Rashīd Pathan,¹ who himself was said to have sprung from the line of Jacob Israelite. The full genealogical table of the different clans of the Afghans called Sarbanī, Batanī and Ghurghast, the three sons of 'Abd-al-Rashīd, have been drawn in Chapter VI. The author has devoted more than 100 pages to this chapter. This portion of the work, as is natural, does not possess much historical value: the account being more in the nature of legend than that of history proper. In the later part, the genealogies are historical and in the earlier they are valuable only as a guide to the Afghan beliefs as to the relationship between the different Afghan tribes.

The truly historical part of the book, however, is short but clear, and does not abound in absurd and ridiculous stories in connection with the Lōdī and Sūrī history as is the case with Mullah Mushtaqī, 'Abdullah² and Ahmad Yādgār's³ histories. As far as the histories of the Lōdīs and

1. According to the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda* and the *Majma'-al-Ansāb*, Khālīd after conversion invited the Afghans, who were residing in the hilly tracts of Ghōr to accept Islam. They came under the leadership of Qais to our Prophet. Qais was named 'Abd-al-Rashīd and called Malik as he was descendant of Malik Tālūt, who is called Malik in the Qur'ān by God. On the day of the capture of Mecca, Rashīd performed such heroic and military deeds that he was entitled as Pathan and returned to Ghōr. He died in 40 A.H. (659 A.D.) during the Khilāfat of Hadrat Mu'āwīa b. Abi Sufiyān (cf. RASB. MS. No. 100, foll. 39-40b).

2. 'Abdullah compiled the *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī* in 983 A.H. (1575 A.D.) during the reign of Akbar and dedicated it to Dā'ūd Shāh, the last independent Afghan king of Bengal. This book is full of anecdotes and stories. The dates given are mostly incorrect. (For further information see Bankipur Vol. VII, No 548, Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. IV and Blochet—Paris Vol. I, No. 558.) There are three copies, one is preserved in the Allahabad University library another is in the possession of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and the third one is kept in the Bankipur library.

3. Ahmad Yādgār composed the *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Afāghīna* (*Tārīkh-i-Shāhī*) under the orders of Dā'ūd Shāh, the last king of Bengal. It is important as it deals with the last two years of Babur's reign in detail and with the Afghan kings in full. At the end of the reign of each Afghan king, fanciful and sometimes absurd stories are given. The dates given are not always correct. It has been published by the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal.

the Sūrs are concerned the author has copiously drawn from the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizāmuddin the deficiencies being supplied by himself. The part dealing with the history of the Lōdīs, however, is mainly based on the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, though the *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīm Shāhī*, the *Wāqī'āt-i-Mushtaqī*, etc., are also utilised by the author. Again, the part dealing with the history of the Sūrī kings is based on the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, though the *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī*, the *Ma'dan-i-Akḥbār-i-Aḥmadī*, etc., are also consulted by the author. Sher Shāh has justly earned a great reputation for his administrative ability and the *Tārīkh* fortunately supplements often the information contained in the *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī*, and thus helps us a good deal in forming a judgment of his character and talents. It is very important and valuable for the history of the later independent Afghan Chiefs, who settled themselves in different parts of India, after the overthrow of the Afghans by the Mughals and made claim for the kingdom up to 1021 A.H., when they finally submitted to Jahāngīr. It was written by one, who lived about the time of which he wrote and had a special interest in the subject. He wrote it only sixty-eight years after Sher Shāh's death, when there must have been persons living, who had witnessed the events, or would have derived their information from eye-witnesses. It is therefore likely, that he had access to many authentic sources of information for this section of the book.

A very important portion of this work is the Bāb V, dealing with the memoir of Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī, an Afghan Chief, after whom the *Tārīkh* was entitled. The author has very carefully described the military achievements of the hero of his work along with the history of his family. The honesty and merit of the author lies in the fact that he never over-praises his patron. This chapter along with the *Mā'āthir-i-Jahāngīrī* is very important for the first-hand information of his character and achievements. The author was not only an eye-witness of the scenes, but he had also the opportunity to throw more light on his character than Jahāngīr and the author of the *Mā'āthir-al-Umarā*. Naturally for the first part of his life up to 1024 A.H. (1615 A.D.) we have to depend more on the information supplied by him than by others.

Another important portion of this work is Chapter VII, dealing with the reign of Jahāngīr. The author gives a systematic account of about eight years of his reign in detail. He was an eye-witness to the scenes of the death of the Emperor Akbar, of the rebellion of Prince Khusraw,*

* Prince Khusraw was the eldest son of Jahāngīr by the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das. He was born at Lahore in 1587 A.D. He was a favourite of his grandfather Akbar. He rebelled against his father on his accession to the throne. He was defeated and put into prison. He made a second conspiracy in Afghanistan. For this he was imprisoned for the whole of his life. In 1622 A.D. he died at Asirgarh near Burhanpur (Deccan). He was buried in the Khusraw Bagh at Allahabad. His two sons Dāwar Bakhsh and Garshasp were killed at Shāh Jahān's accession.

of the latter's flight and defeat, and of the coronation of Jahāngīr¹ and had narrated these events methodically and faithfully.

In the *Khātimah* he deals with the Afghan saints, who were Afghans either by birth or by adoption. Being a religious-minded man and a lover of saints and sages, he expatiates at length upon their miracles and achievements. But here history and tradition, facts and myths are so mixed up that as Dr. Halim rightly observes, "It is difficult to ascertain the actual facts."² His credit, however, lies in the fact that he has collected the lives of the Afghan saints lying scattered and compiled them in a single work. Had he not done this good service many of the sages would have remained unknown.

He wrote this book almost about the same time as *Firishta*.³ Dr. Dorn says, "Neamatullah was a contemporary of *Firishta*, and commenced the history of the Afghans in the same year, when *Firishta* finished his work, but he is nowhere mentioned. The identity of the sources they used in compiling their respective works is evident, from the extreme, often verbal coincidence of the style and thread of the history of the reign of the Lodi race and the family of Sher Shah."⁴ The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*

1. According to our author Akbar died on Wednesday night, the 14th Jumādi-al-Thānī, 1014 A.H. *Padishahnāma*, Vol. I, pp. 66, the *Mir'at* and *Khafi Khān*, Vol. I, p. 235 give Wednesday, the 12th Jumādi-al-Thānī as the date of the death of Akbar and Md. Hādī (the *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī*), Wednesday the 13th Jumādi-al-Thānī. According to Pillai, the author of *Indian Ephemeris*, the 12th and 14th Jumādi-al-Thānī fell on Tuesday and Thursday respectively. Therefore the 13th Jumādi-al-Thānī 1014 A.H. which fell on Wednesday, the 16th October, 1605 A.D., seems to be the correct date.

Again according to Ni'matullah Jahāngīr sat on the throne of Agra on Thursday, the 22nd Jumādi-al-Thānī, 1014 A.H. Almost every contemporary historian agrees with him as to the day but differs from him in dates. Md. Hādī says that Jahāngīr's coronation took place on the 8th (هشتم) which is apparently a mistake for بستم for Akbar was alive then) Jumādi-al-Thānī. Sarif-i-Irani, the author of *Iqbāl-nāmah*, gives 11th Jumādi-al-Thānī (a date when Akbar had not died), *Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī*, the third Thursday Jumādi-al-Awwal (perhaps a mistake for 'ukhra') and the rest of the historians namely *Khafi Khān*, Roger's Translation of the *Ma'āthir-i-Jahāngīrī* and Sayyed Ahmad's edition of the *Tūzak-Jahāngīrī* give 20th Jumādi-al-Thānī as the date of Jahāngīr's coronation. The 20th and 22nd Jumādi-al-Thānī fell on Wednesday and Friday the 22nd and 24th October, 1605 A.D. respectively. But these days are not accepted on all hands. Hence the 21st Jumādi-al-Thānī 1014 A.H., which fell on Thursday may be regarded as the date of coronation.

If we believe in Pillai's calculation, then Ni'matullah committed a mistake in one day's calculation. He has given 14th and 22nd Jumādi-al-Thānī in place of 13th and 21st as the date of Akbar's death and Jahāngīr's coronation respectively.

2. *Transactions of the Indian History Congress*, 1941, pp. 377-383.

3. M. Qasim Hindu Shāh Astrābādī known as *Firishta* as he calls himself in the *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīm* was the son of Ghulām 'Alī Hindu Shāh. *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī* usually called *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* is a general history of India from Adam to 1015 A.H. (1606-1607 A.D.), dedicated to Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh and existing in two slightly different recensions the first dated 1016 A.H., the second with a new title, *Tārīkh-i-Nauras Nāma*, 1018 A.H. both divided into a *Muqaddima*, twelve *Maqalās* and a *Khātimah* (Ethe—I.O., Vol. I, No. 291, Rieu I, p. 225 sq., Bodl. No. 217). It has been lithographed by the Newal Kishore Press and also in Bombay.

4. Dorn—*History of the Afghans*, Part I, p. X.

of Nizamuddin was the chief source of *Firishta* and Ni'matullah's work for the part dealing with the history of the Lōdīs and the Sūrs, and, therefore, it is not strange if there is verbal coincidence in their style and thread of narratives. Both of them not only derive their information but also borrowed the language from the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. Hence it does not appear that Ni'matullah utilised the *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* without making any mention of it in his work as Dr. Dorn appears to suggest. The wrong conclusion drawn by Dr. Dorn is due to the fact that he did not have access to the original work of Ni'matullah before writing the preface of the first part of his Translation and even after having access to Prof. Lée's MS. of the *Tārīkh*, he did not care to correct his conclusion by writing a supplementary note in the preface of the second part of his Translation.

As a historian he describes in detail and in chronological order, not only the political events of the period and the character and cultural attainments of the rulers, but also gives the causes of the important political events. He discusses the events methodically and gives abundant and correct chronology. The author's real merit lies in the fact, that he does not depend upon any second-hand information without scrutinising their views fully. He has strict regard for truth. He does not follow the earlier historians blindly, but tries to test the truth of their statements and if he finds that they were in the wrong he does not hesitate to correct them.

Ni'matullah writes the historical part of the book in a plain and elegant style free from the rhetorical devices. The work is valuable as the product of a contemporary writer, who had excellent means and sources of information. The work demanded from the author much care and reflection in ascertaining facts and collecting materials. As his sources also are important and reliable it is entitled to much credit. It is the only complete history, which contains a detailed and systematic account of all the Afghan kings of India from their rise up to their downfall. It is the most celebrated and comprehensive book on the subject and might be held as a model for those, who aspire to write the genealogical account of the Afghans and to reconstruct the history of the Lōdī and the Sūrī kings, the later independent Afghan Chiefs and the early history of *Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī* and *Jahāngīr*. In spite of the great historical importance it is a matter of regret that it has not been published as yet.

THE BOOK IS UTILISED BY THE LATER HISTORIANS.

Basawan Lal, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Amīr Nāmāh* has utilised the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī* in tracing the genealogy of Amīruddawla Md. Amīr *Khan*. He says, "The author of the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* has given a full account of the Lōdī and the Sūrī kings of India."*

* BK. MS. No. 531, fol. 3.

Hāfizul-Mulk Raḥmat Khān ibn Shāh 'Ālam Kutah Khail Badl Zai Barich, the author of the *Khulāṣat-al-Ansāb* acknowledges that he has utilised it along with other documents in writing the genealogy of the Afghans.¹

Maulvi Md. Qudratullah Ṣiddiqī has also utilised this book along with many other books in writing the general history of the Muslims in India.

The often verbal coincidence of the *Risāla-i-Dar-Ansāb-i-Afghānān* with the *Tārīkh* leads us to believe that the former must have been drawn from Chapter VI of the latter, though the author of the *Risālah* does not mention Ni'matullah's work as his source. A few extracts are given below from the two books, side by side, to show their similarity:²

(I) چون بدر و برادرانش دانست که اورا نخواهند گذاشت و او برقتن راضی است و ازوی غیبت (۹) گفتند که بگذارید اگر شیرانی نخواهد شد چه نقصان خواهد شد چنانچه از ما بیزار است مانیز ازوی بیزاریم - پس آن جماعت شیرانی را بوطن خود بردند و پرورش سعی بنقدیم رسانیدند - ۳

چون پدر و برادران شیرانی دانستند که اورا نخواهند گذاشت و او هم در رفتن راضی است از روی شدت و غضب گفتند بگذارید تا شیرانی ببرند اگر بک شیرانی نخواهد بود چه خواهد شد چنانچه او از ما بیزار شده ما نیز از و بیزاریم - پس آن جماعت شیرانی را بوطن خود آوردند - جدا و در پرورش سعی جمیله بنقدیم رسانیدن گرفت - ۴

(II) القصه از ان باز شیرانی خود را غرغشتی می گویند و در مجلس سلطان بهلول ابن مذکور شده بود و چون شیر شاه سور بسلطنت متمکن گشته از رای حسین جلوانی استفسار نموده که شهادت کدام قوم اید رای حسین بعرض رسانید که ما از قوم غرغشتی ایم اگر چه شیرانی بودیم اما حالا داخل غرغشتی ایم - ۵

القصه از ان باز شیرانی خود را غرغشتی گویند و در مجلس سلطان بهلول ابن سخن مذکور شده بود و چون شیر شاه بسلطنت متمکن شد از رای حسین جلوانی ابن واقعه را استفسار نمود که شما از کدام قوم اید ، رای حسین بعرض رسانید که ما از قوم غرغشتی ایم اگر چه اول سر بی بودیم اما الحال داخل غرغشت شده ایم - ۶

The above quotations show clearly that they tally with each other with only minor variations—the language and style being the same. Hence it may be inferred that the *Risālah* was based on the *Tārīkh*, but it is to be noted that the author has nowhere acknowledged it. Further research on the subject would be an interesting and instructive study.

1. Rampur MS., No. 211 (Introduction) and Aligarh MS., No. 12/146, fol. 13a.

2. Rampur MS., No. 184, p. 3.

3. See *Risālah*, RASB. MS., No. 103, fol. 6.

4. See *Tārīkh*, RASB. MS., No. 100, fol. 121a.

5. See *Risālah*, RASB. MS., No. 103, fol. 7b.

6. See *Tārīkh*, RASB. MS., No. 100, fol. 121.

'Abdullah Khalifahji bin 'Abdul Haq has very much appreciated Ni'matullah's work and critically utilised it in writing the history, the *Akhhbār-al-Auliā*, in Persian. Some lines from the *Akhhbār-al-Auliā*, where references are made to our book as the *Tawārīkh-i-Afghānī* are quoted below:—

(الف) مولف تواریخ افغانی گفته که من در دریا بایشان (شیخ بستان بڑیچ) همراه بودم ، شبی در دریا طوفان بدید آمد - چنانچه خلائق دست از جان شستند - من بدیشان عرض کردم وقت مدد است تبسم نموده فرمودند که خاطر جمع دارید که هیچ دغدغه نیست بمجرد (گفتن) این سخن طوفان فرو نشست - و چون معاودت نموده در گجرات رسیدیم ایشان را مرض اسهال روئداد در سینه اثنی و الف بر حمت حق پیوستند - 1

کمترین محور و متصدی ابن تاریخ مدت یک و نیم سال در آخر در سفر دریا که به بندر کوه رفته بود ، در خدمت ایشان (شیخ بستان بڑیچ) شب و روز همراه بود ، و اکثر خوارق بنظر درآمده - شبی در دریا طوفان (بیدا) شد ، چنانچه خلائق دست از جان شستند و هریکی به نیاز و دعا بدرگاه قاضی الحاجات مشغول گشت - چون این فقیر را بخدمت ایشان رابطه بندگی و اخلاص تمام بود ، در آن حال بایشان عرض کردم که وقت مدد است - تبسم نموده ، فرمودند خاطر جمع دارید که دغدغه نیست - بمجرد این سخن گفتن طوفان فرو نشست ، و باد مراد وزیدن گرفت ، و جهاز از سهلکه خلاص شده راهی شد - و چون از سفر کوه معاودت نموده ، باحمد آباد رسیدیم ، ایشان را اسهال کبد روئداد فقیری را فرمودند که ای فلان کس وقت سفر من رسید ، باید که خود بتجهیز و تکفین من خواهی پرداخته با الراس والعین اقبال نموده ، روز جمعه ماه ربیع الثانی سنه ۱۰۲۱ اثنی و الف وقت نماز خندان و فرحناک بمحبوب اصلی و اصل شد - 2

(ب) صاحب تواریخ افغانی فرموده که من بملازمت ایشان (شیخ عبد الله) مشرف شده بودم ، و از اعتقاد مهدیه استفسار نمودم ، فرمود که من در ابتدائی اعتقاد داشتم که مهدی موعود موجود گشته ، اما درینولا از کتب احادیث تحقیق کردم که مهدی موعود آمدنی است و ازان عقیده فاسد باز آمدم - 3

این کمترین متصدی ابن تالیف بملازمت ایشان (شیخ عبد الله) مشرف شده اعتقاد مهدیه را استفسار نموده بود ، فرموده بودند که من نیز در ابتدائی ایمان آورده بودم که مهدی موعود گشته - اما درینولا از کتب احادیث تحقیق کردم که مهدی آمد نیست و از آن عقیده فاسد باز آمدم - 4

(ج) و آنکه در بعض تواریخ افغانی سید محمد گیسو دراز نوشته ، از بیموده نسخ است ، که از مشارکت اسمی مشارکت مسائی فهمیده ، لقب سید محمد گیسو دراز را که یکی از خلفائی ارشد حضرت شیخ نصیر الدین چراغ دهلی است ، برین سید محمد افزوده است - 5

1. The *Akhhbār-al-Auliā*, RASB. MS., No. 273, foll. 180b-181a.

2. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*, RASB. MS., No. 100, fol. 186a.

3. The *Akhhbār-al-Auliā*, RASB. MS., No. 273, fol. 187a.

4. The *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*, RASB. MS., No. 101, fol. 209.

5. The *Akhhbār-al-Auliā*, RASB. MS., No. 273, foll. 200a-200b.

'Abdullah Khalifahji only summarises the statements of Ni'matullah as appears from the first two extracts quoted above. Therefore, the mention of the 'Tawārikh-i-Afghānī' in the 'Akhbār-al-Auliā,' is no other work than the Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī.

The genealogies, recorded in the Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī, are the foundation of those found in more modern works. Moḥammad Hayāt Khān utilised Ni'matullah's book along with several other Afghan histories, written in Persian, English and Pashtu languages, in compiling the 'Hayāt-i-Afghānī,' an important modern historical work in Urdu.¹

The English historians also appreciated very much the importance of the book in question. Sir H. H. Elliot and Ensign Charles F. Mackenzie have translated many extracts from it for the Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. V. Dr. B. Dorn published a complete Translation of the well-known abridgment of the book the 'Makhzan-i-Afghānī' in two parts.² He could not get a MS. of the Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī before translating the first part of his book. However, he got a manuscript of the Tārīkh at the time of writing the second part of his Translation and extracted many of those passages from it, in which it is at variance with the Makhzan, and embodied them among the annotations to the second part of it. Besides these, several other modern historians have utilised this important work in writing the history of the Afghans.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE BOOK.

As far as it is known there are more than 20 MSS. of the Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī and 16 of the Makhzan-i-Afghānī, preserved in different libraries of the world. Out of these not less than eleven MSS. of the former and six of the latter are known to be in India.³

A description is given here of a few MSS. of the Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī that I have access to and a combined reading of which will give the most correct and complete text of the book.

1. The Hayāt-i-Afghānī, p. 2.

2. Dorn's *History of the Afghans*, Part II, p. ii.

3. (a) The catalogues of the following foreign libraries may be consulted for the MSS. of the Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī and the Makhzan-i-Afghānī:

Ethe—India Office; Rieu—British Museum, Sachau—Bodleian library, Browne—Cambridge University, Morley—Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and Blochet—Paris, *De La Bibliotheque Nationale*.

(b) The following libraries of India possess the MSS. of

(I) the Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī :—

Ivanow—Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal MS. Nos. 100-102; Khān Bahadur Muqtadir—Bankipur Khuda Bakhsh library, MS. No. 529; Aligarh University library MS. Nos. 136/2, 137/3 and 115; Rampur State library MS. Nos. 374 and 381; Habibganj library MS. No. 32/204 and Kapurthala State library MS. and

(II) the Makhzan-i-Afghānī :—

Rampur State library MS. Nos. 379 and 380; For their description see *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, October, 1947, pp. 371-374; Rai Mathura Prashad MS. (Patna City); Kapurthala State library MS., Madras Government Oriental library MS. and Udaipur Saraswati Bhandar library MS. No. 165.

(I) Book 529.

The Oriental Public library, Bankipur, possesses one complete MS. of this book No. 529. It is written in clear and bold Nasta'liq with minor mistakes. In size it is $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$; $7 \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ and comprises ff. 552 (1103 pages) and not ff. 554 as given by Khān Bahādur Muqtadir in the Bankipur catalogue, with 12 lines per page and 42 to 45 letters in a line.

The calligrapher gives his name as Dub-chand Khushnawīs (دوبچند خوشنویس) in the concluding lines at the end of the book. According to his version, the *Tārīkh-i-Khāzin* (which is evidently a mistake for *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*), *Mākhzan-i-Afghānī* was copied for one Khuda Dād Khān on the 25th Dhīqa'd, 1136 A.H.

The MS. begins thus —: جمده یکہ سور خان صنایع نکار و مستخبران بدایع افکار الخ - . It contains the causes that led to the composition of the book. It is a complete copy, but in several places some omissions and additions may be noted, for example see ff. 96, 97, 356, 384, 386-392, 397, 374-487. These additions and omissions might have been made by the copyist intentionally or the MS. from which he had copied, was defective in these respects. The last and the first half of ff. 372b and 373a respectively is blank. The ff. 145 and 152 are disorderly arranged and put between ff. 156 and 157. The binder is responsible for this dislocation of the leaves. Several pages from fol. 162 onwards are worm-eaten and patched up with paper here and there, but the text is legible except in three or four places. The diacritical points are sometimes omitted. In general the copyist does not make any distinction between the three peculiarly Persian letters پ, چ, and ک and their Arabic equivalents ب, ج, and ك. Especially ك is always written in place of 'ج'. Except as regards the Arabic citations the text presented is on the whole correct.

The claim of Khān Bahādur Muqtadir, the cataloguer of the Bankipur Persian MSS. collection, that this MS. was copied from the original,¹ seems to be baseless. A copy from the original need not be compared with another copy, but we find that variations (تفاوت) are given in the margin of this MS. (see fol. 3), which indicate such comparison. The events of 1060 A.H. and of years subsequent to the date of composition (1021 A.H. = 1612/13 A.D.) are included in this MS. of the work.² Such inclusions must have been made in a subsequent copy of the work and not in the original one. Besides, we do not find even a single line in the text in support of his view. There is practically no evidence hence, to indicate that MS. was copied from the original draft of the author. Rather the evidences are contrary to such a theory. But, however, it is one of the best and the most complete manuscripts available.

1. Bankipur MS. No. 529—a detailed description is given there by Khān Bahādur Muqtadir.

2. *Ibid.*, Bāb VI, fol. 370.

(2) RASB. MS., No. 100.

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses three copies of the book Nos. 100-102. A very brief account of these manuscripts has been given by Ivanow in the RASB. Catalogue. The MS. No. 100 is the best of all these MSS., though one Bāb (namely Bāb, dealing with the history of *Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī*) is missing from the text. In size it is 11'9" × 8' and consists of ff. 227 (453 pages), with 17 lines on a page and 17 to 20 words in a line, excluding the first and the last pages, which contain 12 and 16 lines per page respectively and ff. 123b-128a and 134a-151a, 9 to 12 and 11 to 17 lines on a page respectively. It was copied on the 26th Jumādi-al-Awwal, 1090 A.H. (سهر جادی الاول سنه ۱۰۹۰) Wednesday, 25th June, 1679 A.D. by an unknown person.

It begins like the Bankipur manuscript. The cause of composition of the book is not given in this MS.¹ like the above-mentioned MS.² The copy under notice is incomplete, as stated above. Folio 70 is wrongly placed between ff. 67 and 68. It is written in clear and bold Nasta'liq and is not nicely preserved. Some mistakes of the copyist are also visible in several places. The diacritical points are often omitted and ب , ج and ک are written in place of پ , چ and گ . At the end of ff. 221a-227b there are two appendices dealing with the genealogy and the life of Miān Haibat *Khān* and the piety of *Khawājah Yahyā Kabīr*. These appendices are not found in the Bankipur MS. described above.

It is called the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*, known as the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* on fol. 220b and fol. 221a and *Kanz-al-Afghānī* on fol. 224a. On the title page we get the full title of the book the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī-ba(?) Makhzan-i-Afghānī* (تاریخ خان جهانى بمخزن افغانى) with the owner's name 'Abd-al-Hamid *Khān* Miān (مالک عبد الحمید خان میان).

(3) RASB. MS., No. 101.

The MS. No. 101 of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, though complete, is not a good copy. In size it is 11'7" × 7'1" and consists of ff. 215 (429 pages), with 19 to 21 lines per page, excluding the first and the last pages which contain 14 and 18 lines respectively.

It begins abruptly in the middle of the Introduction thus :—³ - نقدر و تعالى از میان این گروه قراء صاحب ولایت الخ . This defect is due to the fact that the first two folios might have been wanting in the MS. from which the present one was transcribed. The genealogy of the Afghans is very briefly narrated here in Bāb VI.

1. RAS. MS., No. 100, fol. 2.

2. Bankipur MS., No. 529, fol. 3.

3. See Bankipur MS., No. 529, fol. 4a.

Its defect lies in its being inaccurately transcribed by different hands in bad Nasta'liq character and is full of clerical mistakes, archaic spellings and omissions. In Arabic verses and proverbs the mistakes are often so numerous as to obscure the sense. In doubtful words not only diacritical points, but also complete vocalisations are wanting. It is so obscure in many places that it is difficult to explain the precise meaning of the technical terms they employ in describing the events. From the numerous mistakes, that the copyists have committed, we come to the conclusion that they did not know Persian and Arabic. In the present copy, we find that whenever the particle *ke* (who, that) is added to the preceding word, the final *o* is dropped and we get 'آك' and *لك* in place of *آكه* and *لكه*. Arabic letters *ب*, *ج* and *ك*, have in many places been written in place of Persian letters *پ*, *چ* and *ك*. From folio 135 onwards the manuscript is in hopeless condition. Eaten up by white ants and pasted up with paper here and there, the text presented to us is often illegible. On the whole the copy is not good and often differs from the other two manuscripts of the Society. In spite of all these drawbacks, it is important for one who wants to make a critical study of Ni'matullah's work, for it is the only copy known to be in India, which tallies with the Bankipur manuscript, wherever the latter differs from other MSS. and sometimes corrects the text of the Bankipur MS.

From the title page we obtain the following informations. The manuscript of the *Tārīkh-i-Afghānī*, comprising the account of *Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī Jahāngīrī*, etc., was presented to Quṭbuddin Hasan, Naṣīruddin Ḥusain, Ghulām Zain-al-'Abedīn and Thamr-al-Nabī (they were perhaps members of the same family) in the month of Jamādi-al-Thānī, 1129 A.H. (May, 1717 A.D.) while the copyist (?) was accompanying Nawwāb Mīr Jumla Sayyed Mu'azzam Khān-i-Khānān Bahādur Muẓaffar Jang* to the city of Lahore. This copy came into the possession of one 'Abd-al-Rasūl Khān Jelwānī on the 25th Jumādi-al-Awwal, 1177 A.H. (Thursday, 1st December, 1763). In the left hand corner there is a stamp of محمد علی رضا (Md. 'Alī Reḍā), in the middle مالک (owner) and there is also a stamp of 'Kitāb College Fort William' in Urdu, Nagiri and Bengali characters. There is also the following remark in the left hand corner :—

مرزا خیر الله بیک ولد عاقل بیک ابن خضر بیک مرحوم متوطن بلده عظیم آباد عرف پتہ
 همراه بودند - قریہ لولکپور (گولکپور) ؟ وفصلی پور (؟) و سلطان کنیج در شہر موطن ایشان است —

* Mīr Jumla, title of 'Abdullah, came to India from Tūrān. He was appointed Qādi of A'zamabād (Patna) by Bahādur Shāh. He was raised to the rank of 7000 soldiers and entitled Mīr Jumla Khān-i-Khānān Mu'azzam Khān Bahādur Muẓaffar Jung and appointed as the Governor of Bihar by the Emperor Farrukh Siyar (1713-1719 A.F.). Mīr Jumla did not like the subadari of Bihar, so he was transferred to the Punjab. He was appointed as the Chief Ṣadr by Muḥammad Shāh. Mīr Jumla died in 1731 A.D., (Cf. the *Ma'āthir-al-Umarā*, B.I., Vol. III, pp. 711-713).

(4) RASB. MS., No. 102.

The MS. No. 102 of the Society is also incomplete. In size it is 10' 1" × 6' 3½" and consists of ff. 203 (405 pages) with 16 lines per page with the exception of the first and the last pages, which contain 10 and 14 lines respectively.

In the concluding portion of the manuscript the calligrapher gives his name as Sayyed 'Azīm. He calls it *Tārīkh-i-Zubdat-al-Ansāb* known as *Jahāngīr Nāmah*.¹ He copied it for Ghafūr-al-Rahīm al Dar-al-Momin, better known as Bigrī Momin, Pargana Daūd Zai, Peshawar, on the 23rd Šafar, 1272 A.H.

The MS. begins and does not contain the reason for the composition of this book like MS. No. 100 of the Society.² Two chapters—Bāb V and *Khātimah*, dealing with the history of *Khān-i-Jāhan Lōdī* and the life of the *Sheikhs* respectively, though mentioned in the list of contents, are wanting in the text. A leaf, between the leaves now numbered 119 and 120, is missing from the MS. It is written in bold Indian Nasta'liq. Folio 124 is written in diagonal lines. Its defect lies in its being eaten up by white ants and pasted up with paper here and there, thus rendering the text in several places hardly readable. The diacritical points are often left out specially in the doubtful words, where not only these points, but also complete vocalisations are required. ک , ب , ح and گ have generally been written in place of چ , پ and گ . In Arabic verses and proverbs, mistakes are often committed. On the whole it is, however, a good manuscript. It ends abruptly thus:—

در بروی اسلام دریغ نه نماید نارسگار گردید تمت -

(5) RAMPUR MS., No. 381.

The Rampur State Library possesses two manuscript copies of the *Tārīkh Khan-i-Jahānī-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghānī*, Nos. 374 and 381.³

The size of the Rampur MS. No. 381, which is complete, is 11½' × 7'; 9' × 4'. It comprises ff. 159 (pp. 317), having 22 lines per page and 16 to 18 words per line excluding the first and the last pages, which contain 13 and 23 lines respectively.

It was transcribed by one 'Abdul-Hamid Ḥabībullah on Wednesday, 11th *Dhīqa'd*, 1038 A.H. (June, 1629 A.D.) only 16 years 10 months and 21 days after the composition of the book by the author.

The MS. begins and ends like RASB. MS., No. 100 having the two appendices of *Haibat Khān* and *Khawajāh Yaḥyā Kabīr* at the end of the

1. See RASB. MS., No. 102, fol. 203.

2. *Ibid.*, fol. 2.

3. There are also two MSS. of the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī*, Nos. 379 and 380, preserved in the State library, Rampur. (Cf. *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, October, 1947, pp. 371-374).

book.¹ It contains at the end eleven couplets more in praise of the author's patron Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī² like MS. No. 101 of the Society³ over and above the four couplets in praise of the composition of the book as given in other MSS. The copyist calls it as the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* on fol. 153.

The manuscript with the headings in red is written in clear fine Nasta'liq. It is slightly worm-eaten and pasted with paper here and there, but the text is on the whole readable except in some places from fol. 144 onwards. The lines on pp. 280-282 are confused and about 6 or 7 lines relating to the last story of Sheikh Mulhi Qattal are left out and the rest of the lines relating to this portion of the book are there; but they are so confused that without the help of another manuscript this copy cannot be properly utilised. The diacritical points are in many cases wanting. At places some words and at others some lines are missing. It shows that the copyist was very careless and in a hurry. Very often ب and ح have been written in place of پ and چ. ک has been generally written as گ.

The seal of Nawwāb Karīmullah Khān son of Nawwāb Faydullah, the first Nawwāb of Rampur State, dated 1235 A.H. (1819 A.D.) and 'نارنج' مخزن افغانی در علم نوارنج' نذر کرده مولوی سعد الله صاحب is borne on the title page.

So far as my investigation goes this MS. is the most complete and the oldest copy of the book and fortunately speaking it is at our disposal through the courtesy of the Educational Adviser to the Rampur State and the Librarian of the Rampur State library. It tallies with the MS. No. 100 of the Society specially in Bāb VI where the transcribers of several other MSS. of the book have tried to bring the genealogical table of the Afghans up-to-date, failing to recognise their mistake that they were introducing the events of the succeeding years of the composition of the book which could not be justified in a true copy of the book.

(6) RAMPUR MS. No. 374.

The next one No. 374, which is incomplete, is in size $10\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$; 8×4 . It contains 585 pages, having 18 lines on a page and 11 to 13 words in a line with the exception of page 132 containing 3 lines, pp. 227-584, 17 lines on a page and the last page, 12 lines. It is a combined MS. of two books—the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahāni-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghānī* and the *Laṭā'if ul Akhbār* defective at the beginning as well as in the middle and incomplete at the end.

This MS. deals with the *Tārīkh* up to p. 226 and from page 227 it deals with the next book. It begins abruptly with the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lōdī agreeing with the MS. No. 381, page 70, line 13.

راجہ آمدہ جنگ کرد ہزمت یافت بجانب بٹنہ بگر یخت الخ -

1. Rampur MS., No. 381, pp. 306-317.

2. *Ibid.*, 306.

3. RASB. MS. No. 101, fol. 215.

The pages from 2 to 226 are not in order. Pages 133-226 which have been misplaced and should come at the beginning, correspond with the portion from page 17, line 16, to the bottom of page 68 of the MS. No. 381 while pp. 2-132 correspond with the portion from page 70, line 13, to page 141, line 16. Page No. 132 contains only 3 lines ending with part of the reign of 'Adli. On and from page 133 it abruptly begins with Bāb I الخ 'نمود قبول نکردند و یکدیگر بس نمودند گفتند بوهوز کو دی الخ'. There are some gaps in some lines on pages 170 and 171. On page 226 it ends with the reign of Sulṭān Sikandār Lōdī, agreeing with MS. No. 381, page 68. The special feature of this part of the MS. is that it begins and ends with the reign of Sulṭān Sikandār Lōdī, but wanting some pages in the middle of his reign.

The manuscript with the headings in red is written by different hands. The copyist, named Abna Ram, says on page 585 that the book named *Khulāṣat-al-Akḥbār* was transcribed by him on the instructions of Nawwāb Aḥmad 'Alī Khān on Tuesday, the 5th Jumādī-al-Thānī, 1233 A.H. (30/31 March, 1818 A.D.) in *shikasta* character. There is a remark made by somebody on the title page that "the *Khulāṣat-al-Akḥbār* is incomplete in the beginning and there is added a portion of some other book and the *Tārīkh-i-Husain Shāhī* written before was wrong." But somebody, whose signature is illegible made the remark on the 27th July, 1899 that "these pages, incomplete both ways, were of the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* and *Khulāṣat-al-Akḥbār* was wrongly written." There is a remark of the same date by the same man on page 227 that this book is not *Khulāṣat-al-Akḥbār* but *Laṭā'if-al-Akḥbār*. The present librarian has kept it with the name of "incomplete Majmu'ah of the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* and the *Laṭā'if-al-Akḥbār* by different authors." After comparison the latter view is found correct.¹

(7) ALIGARH MS., No. 115.

There is a manuscript of the *Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghānī*, No. 115, preserved in the *Akḥbār-i-Fārsia* collection of the University library,² Aligarh, besides the other two MSS. No. 136/2 and 137/3,³ which are elaborately dealt with by Dr. A. Halim, Aligarh University. The MS. No. 115 consists of ff. 233, having 15 lines on a page and 13-15 words in a line, with the exception of the first and the last pages, which contain ten and sixteen lines respectively. It begins like MS. No. 100 of the Society.

1. See Rieu and Ethe catalogues.

2. During my visit to the Rampur State library I visited the Muslim University library, Aligarh in April, 1946

3. MS. No. 137/3 is wrongly put by Dr. A. Halim as 136/2 (see *Transactions of the Indian History Congress* 1941, pp. 377-381.

It is an incomplete manuscript. Bāb VI, dealing with the genealogy of the Afghans, is wanting. The portion of the book from ff. 222a-233 deals with the earlier part of the history. The copyist says on fol. 222a, that these few leaves were disarranged, but he had copied them. This is not a good manuscript at all. It is written by different hands with different pens and inks in *nīm-shikasta* character. The copyist says on fol. 207a that he has copied it from a book, which was written very badly and which was not fit for copying. He was persuaded to do so by Karīm Khān, residing at Jhajhra, a village near Shahjahanabad, who accompanied the Nawwāb of the village to London and returned after three years.

(8) HABIBGANJ MS., No. 32/204.

There is a MS. of the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghānī*, No. 32/204 preserved in the Habibganj library.¹ It contains ff. 250, having 17 lines on a page and 15 to 18 words in a line, but the first and the last pages contain 12 and 15 lines respectively. It begins like the RASB. MS., No. 100 leaving out the reasons for the composition of the book.² It is an incomplete MS. Bāb V, dealing with the biography of Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī, is wanting in the MS. It is written in Nasta'liq character and tallies with RASB. MS., No. 100; but the long eulogies of Haibat Khān and Khwājah Aḥmad Yahya Kabīr are not given in this MS. It ends thus : مقبول گرداند بحرمة النبی و اله الامجاد.

Its condition is slightly bad, several pages are damaged by white ants and pasted up with paper, thus rendering some portions of the book unreadable.

The date of transcription and copyist's name are not known. From the condition of the MS. however, it appears that it is an old MS. There is a note dated Saturday, the 25th Ramaḍān, 1272 A.H. on the colophon. It was bought by the owner of the library on the 21st Shawwāl, 1362 A.H. (22nd October, 1943) in seventeen rupees from 'Abdur-Rahim Khān of Bagurasi, a village in the district of Buland Shahr (U.P.).

(9) JNS. MS.

Sir Jadu Nath Sirkar, Calcutta, also possesses a copy of the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghānī*. It is written in

1. During my visit to the Aligarh University library, I visited also the library of Nawwāb Md. Habībūr Rahmān Khān Ṣadr Yar Jang at Habibganj (Dist. Aligarh). I am grateful to Dr. A. Halim, Aligarh University who introduced me to the Nawwāb Sahib, who did not require any introduction. The Nawwāb Sahib was kind enough to place his personal collection of MSS. at my disposal, and granted me every facility, necessary for a research scholar. His library is rich in its collection. I consulted some of the important MSS. also along with the MS. of the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*.

2. Habibganj MS., No. 32204, fol. 2b.

neat and clean bold Nasta'liq. It is a very beautiful copy, but it contains only two chapters—Bāb IV, dealing with the history of the Sūri kings and Bāb V, dealing with the history of Khān-i-Jahān Lōdī. It consists of 216 pages, having 12 lines on a page. It corresponds to RASB. MS., No. 100 with minor variations here and there.

According to the owner of the MS. it was copied from the Kapurthala State library manuscript. There are two MSS. preserved in that library and the present copy is of the larger recension corresponding to ff. 204b-420b of it.

Here I have dealt with nine MSS. of the *Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī*. Most of them are incomplete. They do not tally with one another. The Rampur MS. No. 381 and the Bankipur MS. No. 529 are complete but they also do not completely tally with each other. The Society MSS., Nos. 100 and 101 tally with the Rampur and Bankipur MSS. respectively. The Society MS., No. 101 and the Bankipur MS. seem to be the copy of the same MS. but differ in several places. In order to establish a reliable critical text of the book, it is necessary to make a thoroughly critical study of the three MSS.—Rampur, Bankipur and the Society MS., No. 100. Whenever the Bankipur MS. differs from the other MSS., the Society MS. No. 101 must be consulted and when they differ from one another in proper names and important matters, other MSS. may be consulted in order to determine the genuine text. Having these points in view I am preparing a critical text of the book.

S. M. IMAMUDDIN.

LAHORE DURING THE PRE-MUSLIM PERIOD

(Being an account of Lahore compiled from original sources).

The name and date of the foundation of Lahore: and identification of Alāhwar with Lahore: were discussed in two articles which appeared in 1944 and 1947 issues of *Islamic Culture*. Here the author deals with the dynasties which ruled over Lahore.

ED. I. C.

1. THE H̤UJ (CHACH ?) DYNASTY $\frac{(?-389 \text{ A.H.})}{(?-999 \text{ A.D.})$

ALL the scholars writing about Lahore have hitherto informed us that the first known rulers of Lahore are the Hindū Shāhī monarchs, and that nothing is known of the kings who ruled at Lahore earlier than the Hindū Shāhī Rājas. But here is a singular account of the rulers of Lahore given by Sharīf-e-Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr, who gives the details of a dynasty of kings immediately preceding the Hindū Shāhīs:

"It is related that H̤uj (H̤uḥ or Chach)¹ b. Bhadrā (or Bhandrā) who was the ruler and founder of Lahūr, and who has died, had a son, named Banrat, who was a wise person under whose benevolent administration people enjoyed peace. In Lahūr he ordered a temple to be made on the site where now stands the brick mosque. He ordered an idol to be made of stone and named it 'the sun.' He worshipped the sun. He lived to the advanced age of 93 years and ruled over Lahūr for seventy-five years. As he lived for a long time his son Bharat (Thanrat), who was a temerarious and wicked person, took him (Banrat) prisoner, confined him in the fort of Kahlūr (or Lohūr) and usurped the kingdom of Lohūr. Bharat was an arrogant man and was proud of his army. He built a fort in the town of Lohūr, the site of which is now occupied by the Arab quarters, and gave to it the name of Thanpūr. He also founded a village Thanpūr on the bank of the river Biāh. He became very ambitious and resolved to conquer the fort of Nandna.² He wanted to conquer all that territory and had a mind to snatch the salt-range of Nandna, and the districts of Jhelum and Tākīshar from the Shāh Jaipāl. He, therefore collected an army and marched on Tākīshar. The patrols of the Shāh (Jaipāl) gathered together in Tākīshar and wrote letters (to Jaipāl) that Bharat, the ruler of Lohūr, had marched on Tākīshar and Jhelum. Jaipāl sent his son Anandpāl at the head of a large army to give a battle to

1. The variants are given from the India Office Library and Asiatic Society of Bengal manuscripts.

2. Situated in Lat. 32° 43' N. & Long. 73° 17' E. See Haig, Sir Wolseley, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 171 F.N.; *Punjab District Gazetteer*, xxvii, A, 1904, pp. 46-7; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xviii, p. 349; and Raverty, Major H. G., *Tabaqāt-e-Nāṣiri*, pp. 536-39, note.

Bharat. In the morning Bharat had crossed the river Chandrāha and had reached Tākīshar, Anandpāl had also reached there at midnight. In the morning when he (Anandpāl) came near his army the royal drum of merriment was played in his camp. This drum was particularly associated with Shāh Jaipāl, who was the king of the Brahmans. It was called the *Singh Nād*, which means 'the Lion's Roar.' As they touched the drum the Lohūr army got frightened thinking that the Shāh (Jaipāl) had come himself. A large number of the army took to flight. Thus the Lohūr army got disheartened. The following morning when both the armies met in battle most of the men of Lohūr army had fled. Bharat fell a prisoner into the hands of Anandpāl, who crossed the Chandrāhah and marched to Lohūr. The Bisthān(?) of Lohūr pleaded for Bharat, who was asked to pay a large sum of money. He himself paid whatever he had got and the rest of it was collected from his subjects living in Lohūr.

"He (Anandpāl) subjugated Bharat, gave him a *khl'at*, allowed him to rule in the kingdom of Lohūr (as a feudatory prince), and himself returned (to) his country.

"Bharat had a son named Chandrat (or Jaindarat), who was as wicked as his father. When Anandpāl returned to his country this Chandrat placed his father in confinement, as he (Bharat) had done to his own father, and said to him 'You have lost your reason and are not fit to rule. Why did you fight against the Shāh? It has brought so much disgrace on you.' Thus Chandrat became the ruler of Lohūr. He founded a village on the bank of the Biāh, in the neighbourhood of the fort of Bilūr (or Philūr), and named it Chandratpūr. He was very cruel. When Shāh Jaipāl of Purshūr heard that Chandrat had cast into prison his own father, he became very angry and commanded his son Anandpāl, 'Collect a large army to attack that wicked and cruel person (Chandrat). Do not forgive him if you are victorious this time; put him to death and annex Lahūr so that your people may understand that a person who rebels against his own father does not deserve to be a ruler.' Anandpāl advanced on Lohūr at the head of a large army, and encamped at a village named Sāmūtalāh(?).

"Chandrat advanced from Lohūr with great preparations and sent a messenger to Anandpāl with the message; 'What imprudence has brought you to this kingdom? Did you think that I had lost my reason like my father who had attacked another kingdom, and was consequently deserted by his soldiers and taken prisoner by you?' Anandpāl replied, 'My boldness in coming to your kingdom is due to the fact that I am obedient to my father unlike you who rose and rebelled against your father, who in his own turn had risen against his father; and it was for this reason that God granted me victory over him, and for the same reason He will help me to vanquish you. Thus you will be disgraced and your evil deeds will turn on you.'

"As Chandrat reached his army he went out hunting. Now 500 troops of Anandpāl's advance guard had laid an ambush in the forest.

Chandrat, not suspecting them, followed the quarry till the prayer of the afternoon and thus tired out the horses. Then he got down from his horse and mounted an elephant. The troops of Anandpāl rushed out, attacked Chandrat, surrounded his elephant, and made him prisoner. The sons of Chandrat escaped and took refuge with Shāma Kaurā Rāy of Jālandar.

"Chandrat ruled over Lohūr for nine years. The kingdom of Lohūr now passed from the descendants of Huj to Anandpāl, and Shāh Jaipāl became the *amir* of Lohūr in A.H. 389 (A.D. 999), the same year in which the Khalīfa bestowed on Yamīnuddaulah Maḥmūd a *khil'at* and the patent of sovereignty of 'Irāq, Khwārizm, Nīmruz, Khurāsān, Sindh and Hind."¹

As has been mentioned this is the only record of a dynasty ruling over Lahore before the Hindū Shāhīs in A.D. 999 who annexed Lahore to their kingdom comprising the salt-range of Nandna, and the districts of Jhelum and Tākīshar, according to Sharīf-e-Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr.

2. THE HINDŪ SHĀHĪS (389—417 A.H.) (999—1026 A.D.).

With the exception of a very brief notice in al-Bīrūnī's *Tārīkhul Hind*, and a few references in the *Tārīkh-e-Yamīnī* of al-'Utbī, and the *Rājataranginī* of Kalhana, there is scarcely any mention of the Hindū Shāhīs of Ohind (Udabhandā of *Rājataranginī* and Waihind of Muslim histories; mod. Und, near Attock on the Indus), the successors of the Huj dynasty, in Lahore and the successors of the Turkī Shāhīya dynasty of Kushan in Ohind. Nobody is certain as to the origin of the Hindū Shāhīs. Cunningham² advances the conjecture that after a period of usurpation by Kallar (the Brahman *wazir* of the last of the Turkī Shāhīya dynasty) and his descendants, the Turkī Shāhīya dynasty was revived by the enthronement of Jaipāl; i.e., Jaipāl and his successors, according to Cunningham, were not the descendants of the Brahman Kallar, but of Kanishka and therefore Turks or Rājapūts. This view is contradicted by Smith,³ and Dr. Muḥammad Nāzīm,⁴ who consider that Jaipāl was definitely a Brahman and hence a descendant of Kallar. Dr. Nāzīm has been misled by the following statement of Sharīf-e-Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr

شاه جیپال کہ شاہ برہمان بود⁵

(Shāh Jaipāl, who was the king of Brahmins.....)

1. Sharīf-e-Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr, *Ādābul Ḥarb wash Shujā'a*. B.M.MS. No. ADD. 16583, ff. 122-24 I.O.L.MS. No. 647, ff. 89b-90b; and A.S.B.MS. 1608, ff. 134-35.

2. Cunningham, Alexander, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 55.

3. Smith, V. A., *Early History of India*, p. 396.

4. J.R.A.S., 1927, pp. 484-85.

5. Sharīf-e-Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr, *Ādābul Ḥarb wash Shujā'a*, I.O.L.MS. f. 89.

Sharif-e-Muhammad b. Manṣūr definitely calls Jaipāl a king of Brahmins, but that does not imply that Jaipāl was a Brahmin. It is very likely that here Sharif-e-Muhammad meant *Hindū* by *Brahman*, as he has unequivocally stated in his *Ādābul Ḥarb wash Shujā'a* that Jaipāl was a Bhattī and hence a Rājput. Relating an incident at the court of Jaipāl, he remarks :

دروقت سلطان یمن الدوله محمود غازی رحمه الله علیه افغانی ادیرا نام شهنه و کوتوال بردری
بود از شاه جیپال بسی ترسید - بدان جهت که روزی در پیش شاه جیپال نشست بود - روی
سوی او کرد و گفت - ادیرا شما گوشت گاؤ بخورید ادیرا جواب داد که من نخورم -
ایمان چون پدر و جد من بخورد ندی همچنان باشد که من خورده باشم - شاه جیپال
بخشم بسوے او نگریست - ادیرا ترسید که این مرد بهتیت و بهتیان از گوشت گاؤ
عازد ارند - نباید که روی از من کشد یا مرا بکشد یا بقلعه محبوس کند -
هر که محبوس فرمودی از اینجا بسلامت نیا مدی - برخاست بغزین رفت بر دست سلطان
مسلمان شد ¹

"In the time of Sultān Yamīnuddaula Maḥmūd Ghāzī there used to be an Afghān with the name of Adīrā, who was the head of the police. He was very much afraid of Shāh Jaipāl on account of the following reason: One day when he was sitting with Shāh Jaipāl, he (Jaipāl) addressed him saying, 'Adīrā do you eat beef?' Adīrā replied, 'I do not eat beef, but as my ancestors ate, it means practically the same thing as if I have eaten it.' Shāh Jaipāl looked at him angrily. Adīrā thought that he (Jaipāl) was a Bhattī and Bhattīs loathed to take beef. Maybe some day if he felt repugnance towards him, he would either kill him or cast him into prison. And whosoever was imprisoned by him never regained his freedom in safety. (Reviewing this) he (Adīrā) left (his place), went to Ghaznī and accepted Islām at the hands of the Sultān."

From this incident we gather that Jaipāl was a Bhattī Rājput. Elliott has also subscribed to this view. "The assertion that he was a Brahmin," remarks Elliott, "probably arises from ignorance on the part of Firishṭa. Al Biruni is not definite in his statement that he was a Brahmin, but merely associates him with the dynasty which commenced with a Brahmin, and he may no more have been really of that caste than were the Bahmanī sovereigns of the Dekhin, though they were called after one."² The term Brahmin, in the conception of a Musulmān, might merely imply that he maintained the doctrine of that faith, and from his position was its staunchest defender and champion. There seems ground to suppose he must have been a Rājput, and some reasons have been assigned in the notes on Mahmud's invasion for considering him a Bhattī."³

1. Sharif-e-Muhammad b. Manṣūr, *Ādābul Ḥarb wash Shujā'a*, A.S.B. MS. f. 137.

2. Even this has been disproved now.—H.K.S., ed.

3. Elliott and Dowson, II, p. 426.

Now let us examine the statement of al-Bīrūnī, who is actually the earliest authority on the Hindū Shāhīs and who is the originator of all this confusion about their descent. Referring to the Turkī Shāhīs he remarks: "The last king of this race was *Lagatūrmān*, and his vazīr was Kallar, a Brahman. The latter had been fortunate in so far as he had found by accident hidden treasures, which gave him much influence and power. In consequence, the last king of this Tibetan house, after it had held the royal power for so long a period, let it by degrees slip from his hands. Besides, *Lagatūrmān* had bad manners and a worse behaviour, on account of which people complained of him greatly to the Vazīr. Now the Vazīr put him in chains and imprisoned him for correction, but then he himself found ruling, his riches enabled him to carry out his plans, and so he occupied the royal throne. After him ruled the Brahman kings *Sāmānd* (*Sāmanta*), *Kamalū*, *Bhīm* (*Bhīma*), *Jaipāl* (*Jaypāla*), *Anandpāla*, *Tarojanapāla* (*Trilocanapāla*). The latter was killed 412 (1021), and his son *Bhīmpala* five years later (1026)."¹

Al-Bīrūnī has unequivocally stated that the rulers who succeeded Kallar, the Vazīr, were Brahmans, but personally I am inclined to agree with Elliott, that Jaipāl is included by Al-Bīrūnī in the dynasty which commenced with a Brahman, although he himself was not a Brahman, but a Bhattī (Rājput) as, has been pointed by Sharīf-e-Muḥammad b. Manṣūr.

(a) Jaipāl $\frac{(389-393 \text{ A.H.})}{(990-1002-3 \text{ A.D.})}$

Jaipāl² is the first Hindū Shāhī ruler, who actually ruled in Lahore and whose dominion is shown by Muslim authors to have extended from Sirhind to Lamaghān, and from Kashmīr to Multān.³ The history of Jaipāl and his successors till the end of Hindū Shāhī dynasty is nothing more than an account of the invasions of India by Ghaznavīs (Subuktigīn and Maḥmūd) and details of their wars with the Rājās of Hindū Shāhī dynasty. It is notable that when this history was being made Hindūs did not know the art of writing history or recording chronicles. So we have to depend on Muslim sources for filling in the details of this period. Consequently we do not get a fuller picture of events happening in India or in the Panjāb.

We hear of Jaipāl for the first time, when to retaliate for raids of Subuktigīn, he advanced with a large force to attack Ghazna about the

1. Sachau, E.C., *Al-Bīrūnī's India*, Vol. II, p. 13; and Al-Bīrūnī, *Tārīkhul Hind*, p. 208.

2. Al-Bīrūnī, II, 13, mentions the name of Jaipāl after that of Bhīm in the list of the Hindū Shāhīs, which implies that Jaipāl was the successor of Bhīm, but Firishhta, I, 19, says that Jaipāl was the son of Ishṭpāl.

3. Cf. Thomas, J.R.A.S., IX, p. 186 and Firishhta, I, p. 19. Smith, p. 39 says that eastwards it extended to the River Hakra. He has evidently confused Waihind, the capital of the Hindū Shāhī dynasty, with Bhatinda, and hence the error.

year 376 A.H.¹ (986-7 A.C.) Subuktigīn met him near a hill called Ghūzak, between Ghazna and Lamaghān. The Hindūs fought bravely but a sudden snowstorm created consternation among them and they suffered great losses. Jaipāl was forced to sue for peace and Subuktigīn had very nearly accepted the request of Jaipāl, when Maḥmūd intervened and pressed to carry on the war till Jaipāl was beaten. On this Jaipāl threatened that Hindūs, particularly the Rājpūts, in despair, would burn themselves with all their valuables the course they would adopt in such circumstances to keep their traditions alive. Learning this Subuktigīn consented to come to terms. Jaipāl promised to pay an indemnity of 1,000,000 *dirhams* and to surrender 50 elephants as the price of peace, and to cede some forts and towns on the frontier. As a security for the fulfilment of these terms, Jaipāl left some of his noblemen as hostages and returned to his kingdom.² Once back in safety, Jaipāl repudiated his promise and had the audacity to take prisoners the officers of Subuktigīn who had accompanied him to his kingdom to receive the stipulated ransom and to take charge of the ceded forts and towns.³

The perfidy of Jaipāl brought Subuktigīn a second time to India. He marched at the head of a large army and captured many towns in Lamaghān. Jaipāl, in retaliation, organised a league of Hindū Rājās against Subuktigīn and marched on Ghazna at the head of a great host which is said to have swelled to the number of 100,000 cavalry and infantry by the contingents furnished by the Rājās of Northern India.⁴ Subuktigīn defeated Jaipāl and routed his armies. Then he annexed the districts between Lamaghān and Peshāwar, and introduced Islām among the people. The Khaljis and Afghāns who inhabited the region submitted to him and were received in the army.⁵

Subuktigīn died at the village of Mārdū Mūy, on the frontier of Balkh in Shā'bān, 387 A.H. (August, 997 A.D.) and his son, the celebrated Maḥmūd, after a disputed succession ascended the throne of Ghazna. He continued the forward policy of his father and, when he was recognised as an independent sovereign by the Khalīfa of Baghdād in 389 A.H. (999 A.D.), he resolved to lead an expedition to India every year.⁶

1. Firsihta, I, 19, states that Maḥmūd was a youngster at this time, while 'Utbi, pp. 9, 22 has definitely mentioned that Maḥmūd was fifteen years of age at this time. This date is conjectured from these statements.

2. Firsihta, I, 19, says that Jaipāl returned to Lahore. But we learn from Sharīf-e-Muḥammad b. Mansūr (see *supra*) that Lahore was taken by Jaipāl not earlier than 389 A.H. (999 A.D.). 'Utbi does not define the place.

3. 'Utbi, pp. 21-4; and Firsihta, I, 19.

4. Firsihta, I, 20, mentions the Rāja of Ajmer among them but Ajmer was founded in 1100 A.D. (*Indian Antiquary*, CXXVI, 162).

5. 'Utbi, pp. 21-6; and Firsihta, I, 20.

6. 'Utbi, p. 134, simply says *وفرض على نفسه في كل عام غزوة في الهند* which means, 'He made it obligatory on himself to undertake every year an expedition to Hind,' as Dr. Nāzim p. 86, has pointed out. Elliott (E & D. II 24) in his translation of this passage implies that the Sultān vowed to undertake a holy war to Hind every year. Thus Elliott gives a touch of religious fanaticism to Maḥmūd's expedition, which is far from the truth.

In pursuance of this resolution, Maḥmūd marched towards India about the close of the year 390 A.H. (September, 1000), and took many forts and returned to Ghazna.¹

The following year Maḥmūd made greater preparation for an attack on his father's old adversary, Jaipāl, the Rāja of Waihind. He marched from Ghazna in Shawwāl, 391 A.H.² (September, 1001, A.D.), at the head of 15,000 cavalry and a large number of volunteers and encamped near Peshawar. Jaipāl advanced to meet him with an army numbering 12,000 horse, 30,000 foot and 300 war-elephants and took up his position in front of Maḥmūd's camp. The two armies met on Thursday, 8th Muḥarram, 392 A.H.³ (27th November, 1001 A.D.) and the conflict raged fiercely till noon when the Indian army unable to stand repeated charges of Maḥmūd's forces, broke and fled leaving 5000 dead on the field of battle.⁴ A great number of Hindūs were taken prisoners, among them being Rāja Jaipāl with fifteen of his sons and grandsons. Jaipāl was sent to a place named Mirand.⁵ Fifteen necklaces of pearls one of

1. Gardīzi, Abū Sa'īd, *Zainul Akhbār*. p. 63.

2. *Firishṭa*, I, 24.

3. 'Utbi, 158; and Gardīzi, 66.

4. 'Utbi, 15; 7 and Gardīzi, 66.

5. که بر سپر بلند شاهی بسودا نسر (۱)
حجر نبود بروی زمین برو نه مدر
بدست ایشان شمیر ما چو صبح سحر
تو گفتمی آنکه یرا گنده شد بدست سقر
ز هول ایشان در چشمها شمیمه بصر
بجمله پرا گند جمع آن لشکر (۳)
نمانده بود سواری نه شاه و نه چاکر
به پیش خیمه شاهنشاهی پوری
(*'Unṣurī, Divān e 'Unsurī, P.U.L.M.S. f. 46*).
In *Ṭabaqāt-e-Nāṣiri*, p. 82, Mirand is called Man-Yazid.

چو بر سه صد افزود هشتاد و هفت * * *
مهمی چند دیگر زیادت یافت *

پوشید محمود تاج دراج * * *
وزان پس برآمد بران تخت عاج *

شنیدم همان سال آن شیر مرد
یکایک در آمد به هند و ستان
یک حمله افواج هند و شکست
مراوراد راقصای غزنین برد
شنیدم فرمان فرما فروا
مقیمان بازار فروختند
سوی هند آهنگ کفار کرد
شدش کار بر کامه دوستان
فتادش همان رای جیبال دست
بدلال بازار برده سیر
بهشتا ددینا ر جیبال را
بهایش بخازن در انداختند

(*'Isāmī Futūḥus Salāṭīn*, pp 32-3).

1. These lines slightly differ from Bombay Edition.—1320.

2. This line in the Bombay Edition is as follows.

3. This line in the Bombay Edition is as follows.

بدین صفت سپی بود دست شسته بخون
خدا یگان خراسان بدست ترساور

which was valued at 80,000 *dinārs* and other booty 'beyond all bounds of calculation' fell into the hands of victors. Jaipāl and others were subsequently released on the Rāja's promising to pay 250,000 *dinārs* as ransom and to deliver 50 elephants.¹ Jaipāl was allowed to return to his kingdom, but his son and grandson were detained as hostages till the conditions should be fulfilled.² Jaipāl did not long survive this humiliation, and, shortly after his return to the Panjāb, he burnt³ himself to death probably in the beginning of 393 A.H.⁴ (1002-3 A.D.) He was succeeded by his son Anandpāl.

(b) Anandpāl $\frac{(393-404 \text{ A.H.})}{(1002-1013 \text{ A.D.})}$.

Anandpāl was appointed the Viceroy of Lahore by his father in 389 A.H. (999 A.D.), when Lahore was annexed by Jaipāl to his territory.⁵ The capital of the Hindū *Shāhī* kingdom was now probably shifted from Waihind to Nandna, and it is very likely that Anandpāl on ascending the throne left the viceroyalty of Lahore and moved to Nandna.

In spring 396 A.H. (March-April, 1006 A.D.) Maḥmūd marched to Multān⁶ but as it was not safe⁷ to cross the Indus lower down, he resolved to cross it near Peshāwar and asked Anandpāl to let him pass through his territories. Anandpāl refused to do so and taking up the cause of Dāūd, the ruler of Multān, advanced towards Peshāwar to prevent the passage of the river. Maḥmūd inflicted a crushing defeat on him and pursued him as far as Sodhra,⁸ situated on the Chināb, where Anandpāl eluded the Sultān by escaping into the Kashmīr hills.⁹ The Sultān relinquished the pursuit and resumed his march to Multān.

Anandpāl was now filled with serious apprehension at the growing power of the Sultān whose advance he and his father had failed to check. He, therefore, appealed to the neighbouring Rājās¹⁰ for help in stemming the tide of Muslim conquest from the north-west. The Rājās readily responded to his appeal and despatched their contingents to swell the army which Anandpāl had mustered from all parts of his kingdom.

1. 'Utbi, 158.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Firsihta, I, p. 24 relates that the Hindūs believed that if any Rāja was twice taken prisoner by the Muslims or was twice defeated by them he did not deserve to be a sovereign after that and he could expiate his crime by burning himself in fire.

4. 'Utbi, 159; and Firsihta, I, 24.

5. Sharif-e-Muhammad b, Mansūr, *Adabul Ḥarb waḥ Shujā'a*, B.M.MS. f. 124.

6. 'Utbi, 211.

7. Gardīzi, 67, says that the reason for the request was that Maḥmūd wanted to take Dāūd unawares.

8. Firsihta, I, 25.

9. 'Utbi, 212; and Gardīzi, 67.

10. Firsihta, I, 26 mentions that the Rājās of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kālinjār, Kannauj, Delhi and Ajmer helped Anandpāl, but Delhi and Ajmer were most probably not founded at that time.

This huge host was placed under the command of Brahmanpāl, son of Anandpāl, and was ordered to advance to Peshāwar.¹

Sultān Maḥmūd received news of this attack in mid-winter but disregarding the severity of weather, he left Ghazna on Rabī' II 29, 399 A.H.² (December 31, 1008, A.C.), crossed the Indus and met the invaders in the plain opposite Waihind. The Hindūs fought with great valour and towards the evening the success of the Muslims seemed to be in jeopardy, but the Sultān retrieved the situation by sending his personal guards to sweep round and deliver an attack on the enemy's rear.³ By effecting a partial change of front to meet the attack, the Hindū ranks fell into confusion and were utterly defeated. Valuable spoils including 30 elephants fell into the hands of the conquerors.⁴

After this victory the Sultān returned to Ghazna about the end of the year 399⁵ A.H. (June, 1009 A.D.). After the departure of the Sultān, Anandpāl managed to re-establish his power in the Salt Range with his headquarters at Nandna. Anandpāl died some time after this and was succeeded by his son Trilochanpāl.⁶

(c) Trilochanpāl $\frac{(404-412 \text{ A.H.})}{(1013-1021-22 \text{ A.D.})}$.

Trilochanpāl had not very cosily settled in his kingdom of Salt Range, when Sultān Maḥmūd resolved to crush his power. He started from Ghazna about the end of autumn 404 A.H.⁷ (November, 1013 A.D.), but was forced to return on account of a heavy fall of snow. He started again in the following spring⁸ (March, 1014 A.D.) and marched to Nandna⁹ which, situated on the northern spur of the Salt Range, commanded the main route into the Ganges Doāb. Having learnt of the Sultān's intention, Trilochanpāl entrusted the defence to his son Bhimpāl the Fearless,¹⁰ and set out for Kashmīr Pass¹¹ to implore the assistance of Sangrānarāja of Kashmīr.¹² Bhimpāl entrenched himself in a strong position between two hills at the junction of which the fort was situated, and closed the entrance to the pass by a strong line of elephants. The Sultān advanced

1. 'Utbī, 224.

2. Gardīzi, 69; and 'Utbī, 224.

3. 'Utbī, 224; and Firāhta, I, 26.

4. 'Utbī, 224.

5. 'Utbī, 226; and Gardīzi, 70.

6. Al-Bīrūnī, II, 13.

7. Baihaqī, 841.

8. 'Utbī, 260.

9. It is Nārdīn of 'Utbī, 260; and Gardīzi, 72.

10. He is called Nīdar meaning 'fearless' by 'Utbī.

11. Gardīzi, 72.

12. Kalhana, *Rājatarangini*, Bk. VII, 11, 47-60.

to the assault and, after several days of futile fighting, was at last able to draw out a detachment of Bhīmpāl into the plain and put it to the rout.¹

Bhīmpāl in the meantime received reinforcements and, leaving his entrenched position, he came out into the plain, with his rear resting on the hills and his wings protected by elephants and attacked the Sultān, but he was beaten back. He then ordered a charge of elephants. The Muslims assailed them with such a deadly shower of arrows on their eyes that they were forced to turn back. The Sultān now delivered a furious charge on Bhīmpāl which proved irresistible.² The Hindūs broke up and fled for life to the fort of Nandna. The Sultān laid a siege to it. Mines were run under the walls of the fort and the Turkomān sharp shooters poured a terrific shower of arrows on the defenders. Realising that it would be impossible to hold out long, the garrison surrendered unconditionally. The Sultān entered the fort and captured immense booty including a large number of elephants, and a big store of arms and other valuables. There was an idol in a temple here with an inscription indicating that it had been constructed 40,000 years ago.³

The Sultān now turned his attention to Trilochanpāl who, with the Kashmīr contingent, was encamped in one of the valleys to the north of Jhelum.⁴ Tunga, the commander of the Kashmīr forces was so elated with pride at an easy victory which he had won over a reconnaissance party of the Sultān that he began to think too lightly of the strength of the invader, but on the following day, Tunga's pride received a rude shock when 'the leader of the Turushka army' who was 'skilled in stratagem,'⁵ personally led an attack on the Kashmīr troops and put them to rout. Tunga fled for his life.⁶ Trilochanpāl rallied his forces and made final attempt to retrieve his fortune but he was defeated.⁷

The Sultān placed the fort of Nandna in charge of Sārūgh and returned to Ghazna in summer, 405 A.H.⁸ (July-August, 1014 A. D.). The power of Trilochanpāl was broken and he returned to the eastern part of the Panjāb where he seems to have established himself in the Siwālik hills, but Hindū Shāhīs no longer remained the monarchs of Lahore. Trilochanpāl was assassinated by some of his followers in 412 A.H.⁹

1. 'Utbī, 262.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Gardīzī, 72; and 'Utbī, 263. Elliott, II, 39 has given an incorrect translation of 'Utbī. The word *bud* in this passage is the Arabised form of the Persian *but* which means an idol, and not *Budda* as Elliott has translated it.

4. Gardīzī, 12; and Kalhana, Bk. VII, I, 53 note.

5. These epithets are employed by Kalhana, Bk. VII, 1. 56, for Sultān Mahmūd. He is mentioned in 1. 53 as *Hammira* which is an obvious adaptation of *Amīr*.

6. Kalhana, Bk. VII, 1, 57

7. Gardīzī, 72.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Ibnul Athīr, IX, 219; and Al-Birūnī, II, 13.

(1021 A.D.) and his son Bhīmpāl, the Fearless, died five years later in 417 A.H.¹ (1026 A.D.). Thus came to an end a grand dynasty of Rājas about whom Al-Bīrūnī remarks 'Of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that, in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing.'²

MUHAMMAD BAQIR.

1. Al-Bīrūnī, II, 13.

2. *Ibid.*

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

Osmania University Research Journal :

VOLUMES Nos. 10 to 12 of the Research Journal of the Osmania University, Section "Theology and Arts" have just come out in a single issue. Let us hope, it will be more regular in future.

In its Urdu section, there is a second instalment of a learned article of Maulāna Manāzīr Aḥsan Gilānī, Head of the Faculty of Theology, on the Codification and recording of the Ḥadīth, the first instalment being published in Vol. VII of the same journal (cf. *Islamic Culture*, January 1941, pp. 132-3). The article may be resumed as follows :

As the records of the experiences and observations of the Companions of the Prophet regarding the word and deed of the Prophet constitute Ḥadīth, the dates of the death of those Companions from whom the largest number of traditions has been transmitted become of unusual importance. The space of time between this and the compilation of the canonical collections of al-Bukhārī, Muslim and, others,—which were certainly not the earliest, as several much earlier collections have not only been recorded but are even actually extant,—extends hardly to a hundred or 150 years at the most.

Compared to this, the Vedas of the Hindus were acknowledgedly compiled in the 10th century of the Christian era having remained only in the memories of the generations of transmitters for thousands of years, according to the Hindus ; and for 15 to 16 centuries according to the western researchers.

Moreover the importance of Ḥadīth in Islam is secondary, since the Qur'ān takes precedence over it. If the codes of primary importance in other communities, such as the Vedas are, cannot be deemed to suffer in trustworthiness even by transmission from only the memory for over 1500 years, why should the space of only 150 years affect adversely the credibility of Ḥadīth.

Again, the article describes the factors that contributed to the preservation of the Ḥadīth :

1. Apart from the fact, that owing to different comprehensible causes, the Arabs had particularly cultivated their faculty of memory, —for which many illustrations have been given,—it is reminded that the so-called “oral transmission of the Ḥadīth” did never mean mere talk or lecture of the type of modern university practice, but actual memorising word for word just as in the well-known case of the Qur’ān. So, it is recorded that each sitting was confined only to ten or eleven traditions; and the audience learnt it by heart. The author has later given details of various methods the students adopted for memorising the traditions.

2. Patronage was accorded by the government and well-to-do people in those days to the masters of Ḥadīth, which naturally encouraged memorising the traditions.

3. The class of Traditionalists had specialised in the subject having given up all else; and the preservation and propagation of the Ḥadīth had become their sole aim and occupation of life. Besides the author has given details of the special service the Traditionalists rendered for the preservation of the Ḥadīth.

In the same journal, Dr. Mir. Waliuddin describes the nature of Self, and explains the relation between God and man. Taking his stand on a saying of the Prophet, that “God created man in His own image,” he shows that according to the ṣūfīs, God the Knower manifests Himself in the Known (the created) revealing all the aptitudes of the known, that is to say, the Knower (also known as Reality) manifesting Himself in the form of the Known is called the Created. The Created by itself is non-existent. Existence belongs to the Knower alone which is the only Reality or Existence. There is no duality of Being or Existence. Ontologically there is but one Reality. There is nothing in Existence except God. He is the First, the Last, the Outward, the Inward, i.e., the substance of what is manifest and what remains latent at the time of manifestation.

He continues : There are four aspects that may be readily distinguished in Reality or God : Essence, Knowledge of Self, Light or dawning of Essence in the Knowledge or Ego, and Observation of Self. When the Knower manifests Himself in the form of the Known or the Created, His Essence becomes what is known as the Body or Sārḡ or Matter or Hyle, His Knowledge the Heart, His Light the Spirit. The Absolute Ego when manifested in the Known is called the Finite Ego or Self.

Prophet’s Birthday Essay Competitions :

As usual, the various students’ unions of the Osmania University and its affiliated colleges, including Warangal, arranged prize essays for students on various aspects of the life of the Prophet. Some of the prizes were reserved for non-Muslim students donated by non-Muslims.

Russian and Turkish Languages :

At last, it is hoped that the teaching of the Turkish language will start in the Osmania University from the next academic year, beginning in June, 1948. The teaching of Russian is also being arranged in the Nizam College.

The Urdu Monthly (Rūh-e-Taraqqi) :

As everywhere else, the post-war period in Hyderabad has seen the appearance of a very large number of new dailies, weeklies, monthlies and other periodicals.

Although the Urdu monthly *Rūh-e-Taraqqi* was started only in the month of November last year yet it has already established considerable reputation. Last December it brought out a special issue on the present constitutional problems of Hyderabad, after the establishment of the two Dominions of Pakistan and Hindustan. Of the dozen special articles, the following are of special interest :

1. Our present status, in the light of the Standstill Agreement.
2. The comparative status of the states acceding to Pakistan and Hindustan together with an analysis of the Instrument of Accession.
3. The international status of enclosures, or states surrounded on all sides by the territory of one and the same neighbour.
4. The great harm to Hyderabad Hindus in the State's joining the Indian Union.
5. Hyderabad's right to Independence.
6. Permanent relations of Hyderabad and the Indian Union together with an analysis of the former Anglo-Hyderabad treaties.

The journal has also allotted a portion for serially publishing books, original or translated. Since January, it has taken in hand the classical work of Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, New York 1903, and about thirty pages of the original are rendered monthly.

The English Press :

The English Press in Hyderabad as it should be is not as highly developed as the Urdu Press. Besides the *Meezan*, another English daily the *Hyderabad News* is shortly expected to be published under Muslim ownership. It is to be the organ of the Majlis Ittihadul Muslimin its aim being the preservation of the independence of the Nizam's Dominions against the encroachment of the neighbouring dominion.

The Urdu organ of the Association of the Industrialists, the '*Azīm-tar Hyderabad*', in its first annual number, published last January, brought out several learned contributions on the political and economic aspects of Hyderabad.

French Circle.

For the last fifteen years, there is a *Cercle Francais* in Hyderabad. Thanks to the co-operation of the Centre culturel of the French Consulat general at Calcutta and the Service d'Information of Pondichery, its activities have now increased manifold. Housed for the present in the Nizam College, it arranges lectures in French, gives lessons to beginners and runs a reading room and a circulating library besides holding social gatherings. A bilingual monthly Franco-Urdu is now contemplated for cultural co-operation. There are over forty members now, and may be that it will be affiliated to the Alliance Française of Paris.

Institut Franco-Hyderabad is purely academic in nature. It has taken up the translation of French learned books and monographs into Urdu.

Dr. Upham Pope :

The famous American Orientalist, Dr. Upham Pope delivered a set of extension lectures at the invitation of the Osmania University. His lecture on Muslim art was very illuminating. He developed the theme that Muslim art is of decoration—a more difficult branch—whereas in other countries it is generally of representation. Unity of culture in all walks of life of a nation, even of a continent as Asia, was another theory he vigorously propounded with an array of facts illustrated by lantern slides.

Arabic Society.

The Arabic Society of Hyderabad which has been so active in propagating the Arabic language among the masses in the metropolis of His Majesty the Nizam has now got a home of its own. The Arabic publication periodical has priority on its programme for the near future.

Late Prof. 'Abdul Muqtadir Siddiqi.

A great scholar has recently passed away. For long he was associated with the Theology Faculty of the Osmania University. He was the younger brother of Maulana 'Abdul Qadir Siddiqi, Retired Professor and Head of the Theology Department of the Osmania University. Prof. 'Abdul Muqtadir was also an alumnus of the now centenarian Darululoom College. We offer our heartfelt condolence to his son, Maḥmūd 'Abduṣṣabūr, Lecturer in the Osmania University and other relations.

1. *The Iqbal Week Celebrations :*

Under the auspices of the Markaz-i-Bazm-i-Iqbal, Hyderabad, the Iqbal Week Celebrations commenced from 17th Khurdad, 1357 F. The first session was presided over by Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung Bahadur. The Hon'ble Mr. Yamin Zuberi presided over the 2nd session. Khan Bahadur Abdur Rehman Chaghtai delivered a speech on "Iqbal Art," and other speakers, too, took part in the deliberations. Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, Head of the Department of History, Osmania University, presided over the 3rd session. Among the speakers that took part in the deliberations were Dr. Mir 'Waliud-din and others. In the fourth and the last session, the Hon'ble Mr. Venkat Rao was in the chair. Mr. Khaja Mohammad Ahmad, Director of Archæology, spoke on the Islamic art. Besides this, a number of original poems were read. These sessions were a great success.

2. *Newspapers and Periodicals, in Hyderabad :*

Hyderabad State is not lacking behind other states or provinces, in the field of newspapers. It has many newspapers and periodicals to serve its people. Paper is produced by the Sirpur Paper Mills. Litho printing is particularly encouraging to the production of the Urdu newspapers, which has in spite of being written by hand and illustrated by Staff Artist, set up a new standard of production. It is gratifying to note that the Urdu Press, as usual, leads in volume and numbers. We shall be content by giving the list of dailies, bi-weeklies and fortnightlies only.

DAILIES.

English.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) The Deccan Chronicle | Editor Mr. K. S. Rajgopal. |
| (2) The Hyderabad Bulletin | „ Mr. Jorawar Mull Motilal. |
| (3) The Meezan | „ Mr. Mirza Abid Ali Baig. |
| (4) The Daily News | „ Mr. C. S. Naidu. |

Telugu.

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|--------------------------|------------------------|
| (1) The Golconda Patrika | „ Mr. S. Partab Reddy. |
| (2) The Mēzān | „ Mr. A. Bapi Raju. |

Urdu.

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|----------------------|--|
| (1) Hīmāyat-e-Deccan | „ Mr. Nizam-ud-din Husain Khan
Shams. |
| (2) Mushīr-i-Deccan | „ Mr. Vasadev Rao. |

(3) Mēzan	Editor	Mr. Habib-ullah Auji.
(4) Mustaqbil	..	Mr. Azimud-din.
(5) Mubaşşir ..	..	Mr. Abu Said Khan.
(5) Nizam Gazette	..	Mr. Sayyid Viqar Ahmad.
(7) Payām ..	..	Mr. Akhtar Hasan.
(8) Qurani Duniya	..	Mr. Abu Mohd. Muslah.
(9) Rahber-i-Deccan	..	Mr. Sayyid Mahmud Wahid-ud-din.
(10) Sahifa ..	..	Mr. Mohd. Taher Ali.
(11) Sulṭanat ..	..	Mr. Sayyid Sad-ullah Qadri.
(12) Subḥ-i-Deccan	..	Mr. Ahmad Arif.
(13) Tanzeem ..	..	Mr. Ali Ashraf.
(14) T'amir-i-Deccan	..	Mr. Fiaz-ud-din.
(15) Waqt ..	..	Mr. Abdur Rehman.
(16) Mo'in ..	..	Mr. Sayyid Jafer-ullah.
(17) Inṣāf ...	..	Mr. Ahmadullah Qadri.
(18) Ittiḥād ..	..	Mr. Mohd. Sultan-bin-Omar.
(19) Imroz ..	..	Mr. Shuaḥ-ullah Khan.
(20) Jinnah ..	..	Mr. Sayyid Azhar Husain Razvi.
(21) Nizam ..	..	Mr. Mir Muhammad Ali Khan.

• Bi-WEEKLIES.

Urdu.

(1) Milāp ..	..	Mr. Wahid-ul-Haq Siddiqi.
(2) The State News	..	Mr. Akhtar Husain Qurashi.

WEEKLIES.

English.

(1) The Clarion	..	Dr. S. A. Latif, (recently stopped publication).
(2) The Indian States and Zamindars	..	Mr. V. Subramanyam.
(3) The Rainbow	..	Mr. S. N. Sastri.

Urdu.

(1) Azād, Hyderabad	..	Mr. Thakur Omrao Sing.
(2) 'Azimtar, Hyderabad	..	Mr. Aziz Ahmad.
(3) The Commercial Reporter ..	..	Mr. Shaik Ahmad.
(4) Hayāt-i-Nao	..	Mr. Musleh-ud-din.
(5) Iqbāl ..	..	Mr. Sarmast Khan.
(6) Iqtidār ..	..	Mr. Sayyid Ali Ashraf.
(7) Jamhūr ..	..	Mr. Abdul Aziz.

(8)	Madrasa ..	Editor	Mr. Mohd. Hasan Siddiqi.
(9)	Mumlekat ..	.. ..	Mr. Hasn-ud-din.
(10)	Naqsh-o-Nigār ..	.. ..	Mr. Sayyid Hamid Mohiuddin.
(11)	Parchem ..	.. ..	Mr. Sayyid Fasih-ud-din.
(12)	Rah Numa ..	.. ..	Mr. B. S. Rao.
(13)	Sayyid-ul-Akḥbār ..	.. ..	Mr. Samsam Shirazi.
(14)	Tāj ..	.. ..	Mr. Bahauddin Mahmud.
(15)	Tājir ..	.. ..	.. ..
(16)	Daur-i-Jadid ..	.. ..	Mr. Abdul Mannan Khan.
(17)	Wafadār ..	.. ..	Mr. Yakub Ali.
(18)	Inqilāb ..	.. ..	Mr. Murtuza Mujtahadi.
(19)	Yād ..	.. ..	Col. Sayyid Ghulam Moin-ud-din.
(20)	Kāmran ..	.. ..	Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Baig.
(21)	Amān ..	.. ..	Mr. Vasdaw Sastri.
(22)	'Aiwan ..	.. ..	Mr. Akhtar Husain.
(23)	The Deccan Gazette ..	.. ..	Mr. Abid Husain Siddiqi.
(24)	Āzādī ..	.. ..	Mr. Sayyid Mukhtar Muhammad.
(25)	Āhang ..	.. ..	Mr. Daulat Khan Sharar.
(26)	Anjuman ..	.. ..	Mr. Qazi Sayyid Hamid Ali.
(27)	Al-A'zam ..	.. ..	Mr. Hakim Azad Ansari.
(28)	Naqqash ..	.. ..	Mr. Ahmad-ullah Khan Mansur. *
(29)	Payām-i-Aman	Mr. Janki Parshad.
(30)	Āshkār

Marathi.

Nizam Vijaya	Mr. V. L. Phatak.
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Urdu-Marathi-Telugu and Kanarese.

Payām-i-Amn.

Marathi and Kanarese.

(1) Lokmat (Bidar)	Mr. Uma Kant Rao.
(2) Swantantra Vir ..	.. ..	Mr. D. L. Jukkalkar.

FORTNIGHTLIES.

English.

(1) New Hyderabad ..	.. ..	Mr. K. Ishwar Dutt.
(2) Nava ..	.. ..	.. ..

Urdu.

(1) Filmi Mauj ..	.. ..	Mr. B. R. Mehra.
(4) Sehat-i-'Āmma ..	.. ..	Mr. Hakim Laiq Ahmad.
(5) Zīrā'at ..	.. ..	Mr. Munir-ud-din.

The Hyderabad Broadcasting Station :

The Hyderabad Broadcasting Station in spite of its limited resources is making day-to-day progress and considering the changing times, it is doing its best to fulfil the expectations of the listeners.

The new year 1357 has witnessed the openings of some new chapters in the history of Hyderabad Broadcasting. New programmes have been planned to keep pace with the changing condition. This act has received great appreciation from the public. Some items have been added to make the programmes as interesting as possible. Some of these items are :

The weekly newspaper review on Fridays at 9.30 a.m.

To infuse the spirit of patriotism, sacrifice and responsibility a feature called, 'New Hyderabad,' is being broadcast on every Thursday.

To inspire a sense of duty among our countrymen, national songs and poems are broadcast.

Sports review is another new item broadcast fortnightly on Wednesdays at 9 p.m.

Special programmes are broadcast for ladies, students, children and Army.

K. S. L.

MADRAS

Islamic Studies in the University :

MADRAS used to be a model province of British Indian administration owing to the reasonable and law-abiding mentality of its public. Excepting a few pinpricks here and there, Muslims and Islamic studies remained there in security and reciprocated loyal collaboration. Thus Islamic history and culture, for instance, were recognised as optional subjects in Inter., B.A. Ordinary B.A., Honours examinations, and as a separate group in the M.A. course. We learn with regret that with the advent of independence, extra-provincial forces are capturing the university, and the authorities are contemplating abolition of this subject altogether. It is also reported that henceforward municipalities will not give aid to schools which impart religious instruction. The blow will be particularly felt by hundreds of Quranic schools for Muslim youth in the province, which have contributed not a little in training them for citizenship of good type in the past.

The sixty years old Madrasah Muḥammadi has recently been rejuvenated not only in its building but also in its curricula and the very spirit in running it. The graduates of this theological college are found in many parts of India, particularly in Madras and Bombay provinces. It is trying to become a Muslim university for the southern parts of the Indian Union.

The historic centre of Muslim culture, the town of Karnool is fortunate in having now a first grade college for its youth. A grant of Rs. 2 lakhs from Hyderabad has enabled it to meet the initial expenses for opening the arts, science and commerce faculties, and for providing residential facilities which go a long way in training not only the mind but also the character of the alumni. It is a Muslim institution which is recognised by the University as an affiliated college.

M. H.

DELHI

The Anglo-Arabic College and the Asafjahi Dynasty :

As may be known to many of the readers of the *Islamic Culture* the Anglo-Arabic College, which is situated just outside the Ajmeri Darwaza of Shahjahanabad or Old Delhi, was not spared the ravages during the dark days of the carnage of September, 1947, and had to be closed after everyone of its inmates, including the so-called menial staff, had been successfully evacuated by the Principal. The College is a remarkable institution, and its magnificent quadrangle and a more magnificent mosque, have seen dynasties, governments and politics made and unmade during nearly two centuries of their existence. The institution was originally founded by Nawwāb Ghāziu'd-dīn Khān Fīrōz Jang, father of Āṣaf Jāh I, founder of the Hyderabad Dominion, during the first decade of the eighteenth century, and as such might well be regarded as the oldest existing educational institution in India with an almost continuous history from about 1706 onwards. It was only during the short interval of seven years following the tragic events of 1857-58 that the great quadrangle was utilised otherwise than for purposes of education by the new masters of the Imperial Capital. In 1764 it was restored to its original purpose, education, and has since served the object of imparting higher education, firstly as the Delhi College and then successively as the Anglo-Arabic High School, the Anglo-Arabic Intermediate College and the full-fledged Anglo-Arabic College, admitting students, both Muslim and non-Muslim, reading for the highest degrees of the Delhi University in practically all the branches of knowledge. In many ways it has been a unique institution, for while its founder was directly connected with the Deccan it was re-endowed by the grant of a large sum of money deposited with the East India Company by Nawwāb I'timādu'd-dowlah, Prime Minister of Oudh in 1828. As Delhi College it counted as its alumni such giants of Islamic and Indian culture as Syed Aḥmad Khān, Naẓīr Aḥmad, Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād, Srī Rām, Dhakāu'l-lah and many others, and as late as September 1947 it included on its rolls students from all parts of the Indian subcontinent, from Hyderabad, Mysore, Madras, as well as from the Panjab, the United Provinces and Bengal. It was naturally not affiliated to any particular school of active politics, though it is interesting to know that it was in the grounds of the College that the great

Convention of the Muslim League was held which gave a final shape to the demand for Pakistan six or seven years ago.

As has been noted, the institution was originally founded by the father of Aṣaf Jāh the Great. As is well known Nawwāb Ghāziu'd-dīn Khān Fīrōz Jang took a prominent part in the conquest of Bījapur in 1686 and was practically in command of the Imperial forces before Golconda when that great fortress fell to the Mughal forces the next year. He was later appointed governor of Berar and Gujarat, and on his death-bed at Ahmadabad he willed that his mortal remains be carried to Delhi and interred in the beautiful mausoleum which he had erected near the tomb of his preceptor Ḥadrat Shāh Wajīhu'd-dīn, by the side of the mosque on the western side of the great quadrangle of the Madrasah. The mausoleum is a simple roofless structure of exquisitely beautiful trellised white marble of the purest quality, pierced with the foliage pattern, while there is a further enclosing wall of buff sandstone with exquisite panels of foliage in relief. The actual burial chamber contains three graves, the central being that of the founder, flanked on either side by those of his wife Ṣafiyah Khānam, daughter of Nawwāb Sa'du'l-lāh Khān Prime Minister of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, and that of his grandson, the eldest son of Aṣaf Jāh I, Nawwāb Ghāziu'd-dīn Khān Fīrōz Jang II who rose to be the Prime Minister of the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh at Delhi. Outside the College quadrangle further to the west there is a large platform of white marble with two graves in the approved Mughal style with beautiful calligraphy in relief depicting verses from the holy Qur'ān, and these graves are reputed to be those of Nawwāb Mu'īnu'l-Mulk Rustam-i-Hind who was the nephew of Khwāja 'Abid Qilich Khān, grandfather of Aṣaf Jāh I, who lies buried near Himayatsagar, and his wife Faṭimah Sultān Begum. About a hundred feet further to the south is another platform, this time of red sandstone with two graves exactly identical to those of Mu'īnu'l-Mulk and his Begum, and without doubt containing the remains of another scion of the Aṣafiyah dynasty.

Thus it will be seen that the oldest existing educational institution in North India is not only directly connected with the forebears and scions of the Aṣafiyah dynasty but has been hallowed by their mortal remains. It is the earnest prayer of the writer that the College be resuscitated and regain its old glory, and that these wonderful historical and archæological remains which have such a direct bearing on the family of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar should be properly preserved.

Urdu Translation of Indian Constitution :

A WELCOME departure from the general linguistic policy of the Indian Union was made in October last when a committee was appointed by Hon. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly of India, to translate the draft constitution into Urdu, side by side with

another committee to translate it into Hindi. Apart from official members, Prof. H. K. Sherwani and Prof. M. Mujib were invited to serve on the Urdu Committee perhaps in their capacity of constitutional experts. The Committee began its work at New Delhi in right earnest towards the end of February, and went almost without a break right up to the middle of May when the last proofs had duly been read and corrected. It is interesting to note that before the two Committees started to function it was definitely laid down that they were to translate the draft constitution into *Urdu* and *Hindi* and not into the newly found Hindustani language. From the very outset the Urdu Committee had to face a number of problems, such as that of vocabulary, technical terms and construction of sentences. It is recognised on all hands that Urdu has to face many difficulties and pass many hurdles and blocks under the present set-up, and after giving the matter their deep thought the Urdu Committee came to the conclusion that it would serve no useful purpose to make the translation too technical in its vocabulary or to coin new words in the presence of words, whatever their origin, which had become part and parcel of the spoken tongue and on the basis of which Urdu has real claims to be the *lingua franca* of this vast subcontinent. At the same time the fact remained that the construction of the English language, specially in its legal and technical aspect, is entirely different from that of Urdu, and this difficulty, by no means small, was added to the fact that the original English draft, itself a first essay of its kind, contained many printing mistakes and numerous ones of punctuation, which made the meanings difficult to make out. The Committee was fully cognisant that if the translation was to be of any permanent utility at all it should have the same status at least as the Hindi translation, and they became more aware that the Hindi Committee, which was in session at Nagpur under the Chairmanship of the Speaker of the C.P. Legislative Assembly, was in the continuous act of concocting an entirely new phraseology consisting of words and juxta-positional compounds representing English legal and technical terms, and taking their cue direct from Sanskrit. However that may be, the Urdu Committee stuck to their programme of translating the text in the easiest possible Urdu, of course with the fullest regard for its technical aspect. They have now completed work, and it is hoped that the translation along with Urdu vocabulary, will soon be out.

It may be interesting to note that a private agency is transcribing the Urdu translation into the Latin ('Roman') script with certain modifications, as opinion, however feeble today, seems to be gathering ground that with the increasingly widening gulf between Hindi and Urdu and the need for a common script for India, perhaps a reformed Latin script might, after all, be the best solution of the problem.

A curious anecdote is related about the new language which has been introduced in the U.P., the cradle of the Urdu language. On the 10th of May a Hindu advocate who was travelling from elsewhere to his

home at Aligarh, insisted on entering and remaining in the ladies' waiting room of the Aligarh railway station, as he said that there was no indication that the room was reserved for ladies only. When the station master and the police officer on duty at the station intervened, and the advocate was informed there *was* a (Hindi) notice-board outside which clearly showed that the room was a Zanana waiting room, he showed complete ignorance of the contents of the notice-board, and said that if there was a notice it was in a language and script which he could not read or understand, and it would not have mattered in the slightest if the language had been in the Chinese not in the Devanagri script !

H.K.S.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA AND EAST PAKISTAN

Mahatma Gandhi's tragic death :

THE biggest tragedy of the year 1948 is the martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi, whom Jawahar Lal Nehru called the Father of Indian Nation. The entire population of India was plunged into unfathomable depth of grief. Poets, litterateurs, and every literary journal of North-Eastern India bemoaned and bewailed the tragic murder of the apostle of non-violence with the greatest intensity of pain and pathos. The *Ma'arif* of Azamgarh, published several elegies. Some of the verses of an elegy are :

جب بغز و عداوت کی آندھی قوموں کو اڑا لے جاتی تھی تب مجمع محبت کو کس نے سیو میں جلا یا گا ندھی نے
تہذیب و تمدن کے داعی جب ایٹم بم برساتے تھے اس شور میں راگِ الفت کا دنیا کو سنایا گا ندھی نے
ہستی کی اس بستی میں تھی روح شرافت خواہد پیغام حیات نو دیکر پھر اس کو جگایا گا ندھی نے

The political disciples of Gandhiji have announced their intention to translate all his life-long missions into practice. One of his missions was to make Hindustani, with Devnagri and Persian scripts popular, as the lingua franca of India. The draft constitution prepared by the Indian Constituent Assembly had recommended Hindi with Devnagri script as the official language of the Indian Union. But the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress has now given its decision in favour of Hindustani although the script has not been explicitly mentioned. But the Premier of India, Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru, has clarified the issue by making the following observations in the Union of Journalists at Bombay : " It was obvious that English would have to be less and less in use as the official language. The Congress had been wedded to the Hindi; or Hindustani, language. He did not like the term " Hindustani," either in relation to the people or the language. The controversy was not

merely in regard to whether it should be Hindi or Urdu, but in regard to the script also. Mahatma Gandhi had wished that Hindustani should be India's official language with both the Nagri and Urdu scripts. He entirely agreed with Mahatma Gandhi. Nagri was, of course, the more popular script, but he did not like excluding the Urdu script. Even as regards the vocabulary Hindi should not be exclusive. Simple words which were common all over the country should be included in it, in whichever language they had their root, even English. The richest languages in the world were inclusive languages. English was one such, and every year 5000 words were added to it. The Hindi-Urdu question was not Hindu-Muslim question, but a territorial question, and any outcry to exclude Urdu words and Urdu script, as also any attempt to import into the Hindi language difficult Sanskritised words was to be deprecated."

Indian Art Exhibition :

A Lucknow daily has given some information regarding the Indian Art Exhibition in London, which we referred to in the *Islamic Culture* of October, 1947. This exhibition of £5,000,000 worth of art from India and Pakistan began in December, 1947, and was closed on February 29, 1948. The turnstiles recorded a total of about 110,000 visitors in three months. Twelve years ago an exhibition of the Chinese art drew 400,000 spectators. All were agreed that the Indian Art Exhibition, which spanned five thousand years of art in India, was the greatest of its kind ever seen in London or Europe. The reasons for seeming indifference of the British public towards Indian art, according to Sir Richard Winstedt, Vice-Chairman of the Exhibition and Director of the Royal Asiatic Society, are as follows: "The emphasis of Indian art is on the spiritual side. This repels rather than attracts the British public of a material age. The greatness of Indian sculpture is obvious to any connoisseur but it can hardly appeal to the average Briton, who has never had the chance of seeing sculpture of high merit. Even prominent art critics have qualified their praise of exhibition by lamenting their ignorance of the Indian artists' aims, an attitude inexcusable in experts, for whom all art should be a matter of colour, design and plasticity." The High Commissioner for Pakistan, Mr. Habib Ibrahim Rahimatoola, placed the exhibition in its right perspective when he said that it was only an index to art in the two Dominions. "Personally," he said, "I feel that so far as Muslim artists are concerned, they reached the heights of their inspiration in architectural design. The structure and beauty of the Qutbminar, the inscriptions and carvings on the wall of the Fort in Delhi, the Taj Mahal and the Juma Masjid have only to be seen to be appreciated. The early Deccan paintings, the seventeenth century jades and crystals and the Mogul embroideries are but small indications of the height that the genius of Muslim artists has reached and which in Pakistan will, I am sure, reach greater heights yet."

Peacock Throne :

Another interesting information is about the search for the Peacock Throne : The strange prophecy of a fortuneteller has encouraged a 70-year-old British engineer to plumb the sea for the historic £3,000,000 Peacock Throne of the Emperor Shah Jehan of India. The throne and other treasures worth a royal ransom, are reputed to have gone down with the wreckage of the East India merchantman "Grosvenor," which sank off the South African coast, 166 years ago. Fourteen people were drowned when the "Grosvenor" foundered and death and disaster have been linked with the vessel ever since. Many attempts to reach the supposed treasure have failed and bad luck attended the last effort. An engineer named Bill Duckham and his colleagues have formed a Salvage Syndicate and acquired a giant grab-crane in the hope of fishing up the treasure. Lack of funds is reported to be delaying their venture. Duckham, however, recently met a Cape Town clairvoyant, who told him : "Nothing to worry about. You will find what you seek." He now believes that success is round the corner. Legend says the "Grosvenor" treasure includes 19 boxes containing diamonds, rubies, sapphires, emeralds and hundreds of gold and silver bars and gold coins, in addition to the famous Peacock Throne which was removed from Delhi by Nadir Shah in 1739.

We would like to give here some useful details from the various articles published in the Muslim press of Calcutta. They are :

1. *Muslims in Balkans.*—Before the beginning of the second World War, the Muslims in the Balkans enjoyed religious autonomy. There was a council of the community consisting of from five to ten members to look after the religious needs of every three hundred Muslim houses in one or more than one village. There was a District Commission to supervise the work of the Council and also to administer the Wakf property. There were two Wakf Assemblies, one at Serajevo and the other at Uskub with twenty and twenty-seven members respectively to advise the Muslims about the administration of the Waqf property. Two councils of the 'Ulema were also set up at Serajevo and Uskub. The Ra'is-ul-'Ulema was the supreme head of the Muslim community in Yugoslavia and in his person he represented its unity. He controlled the Muslim community in its religious affairs and had two councils to advise him on the matter. He was appointed, like the members of the council of 'Ulema, by the King on the recommendation of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Justice and on the result of election held by the two Waqf Assemblies which released to him after his appointment a written authorization to take up the duties of his office. The official language of the Muslim community has been Serbo-Croat. It has also a green flag with a crescent and five stars. In the confusion of the World War II the Muslims suffered greatly at the hands of both the factions of Tito and of Mihailovitch although they took part in the struggle against the invaders and contributed to the national liberation army. In Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as in

Serbia the Muslims were subjected to a sort of planned description. Many fled and took refuge in neighbouring countries. Some found their way to the Near East. In 1946 the Constituent Assembly of Yugoslavia formed the Federative Republic of Yugoslavia which consists of (1) the Republic of Serbia (2) the Republic of Croatia (3) the Republic of Slovenia (4) the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (5) the Republic of Montenegro. Besides there are autonomous territories attached to the Republic of Serbia. What is the position of Muslims as regards their old religious organisation and their Waqfs? What part are the Muslims playing in the new Federative Republic of Yugoslavia? These are questions over which no reliable informations are yet available. But the Yugoslav Muslims have a strong faith in Islam and in its recuperative and adaptive power.

(2) *The Religious Revival in Turkey*—by Dr. Riyāḍ-ul-Hasan :—The question of religious revival in Turkey has been attracting for sometime much public attention. Heated discussion took place on this question at the Peoples' Party Conference which began on December 2, 1947, at Ankara under the presidentship of Şahmşettin Günaltay. There was a debate on the separation of religion from State and politics. Opening the debate Fikri Caymaz said that centuries before the Turkish people had accepted Islam with a great spiritual force and established their glory and grandeur in all parts of the world. He was of opinion that religion was not against progress and that religious instruction was necessary and should be imparted under the auspices of the State. Abdulkadir Uluer wanted that in the elementary schools and in the Faculty of Theology religious instruction should be introduced. Sinan Tekelioğlu said that the Turkish nation could not live without religion. He stressed the need of organising the Muslims. He added further that it was a short-sighted policy to separate religion from worldly affairs. Today as a result of laicism their mosques were without Imams and villages without preachers. Şukri Nayman defended the freedom of thought in matters of religion. But he proposed that waqfs and other religious endowments and schools should be organised. Hamdullah Suphi said that religion would bring the world of Islam together and would create a great power. He was cheered many times during his speech. Reşat Kemal Çaglar attacked Hamdullah Suphi, who, he said, had gone over to the extreme of irreligion during the years of resolution. But Hamdullah Suphi retorted that the idea of Islamic solidarity had never left his mind for a single moment. Today there is a great danger all round. They must think of solidarity. He also said, "Education in the University should be provided according to the spirit of Islamic civilization and Islamic philosophy. Today fear is stalking our land and even our intellectuals have become its victims. We must fight this fear." The Education Minister of Turkey, who also participated in the debate, made the following statement: "Turkey is a state which unites in itself the qualities of advanced Islamic principles of laicism. On the one hand laicism guarantees freedom of thought and

Islam on the other, makes the people good patriots. The State has a right to decide what to teach and what not to teach in the realms of metaphysics. It is our duty to find within freedom of thought the need for stabilisation of our society." The Turkish press took full notice of the above discussions and reproduced verbatim reports of the speeches. "The *Yeni Sabah*, a popular Istanbul daily, gave a four-column headline. "The closed door of religious establishments should be opened again."

Muslims in China—by Mr. Ahmed Ali, Visiting Professor, Nanking University:—The Chinese Muslims do not in any way, look different from the non-Muslims, either in name, dress, looks or manners and customs. So much so, that during the days when women used to have bound feet the Muslim women too had followed that cruel and inhuman action. Though more frank and open than the Chinese, the Muslims too are reserved and shy. This is perhaps due to their persecutions of the last three hundred years, perhaps due to the great gulf that exists between them and the Chinese, perhaps due to a consciousness of their backwardness or to all three. Yet they are justly proud of their religion and birth and strictly keep away from all forbidden things. It is remarkable that in a country where wine is drunk most commonly, where pork is the most popular meat, where tobacco and even opium is smoked generally, the Muslims have kept away from all of them. Few, very few Muslim women have had University education so far. Even the number of men with University Education is limited. Most of them go to Egypt and can read, write, and speak Arabic. There are two main ways of teaching Arabic in China. One follows the Arabic style, and those who follow it speak the language and recite the *Qur'ān* like some of the *qārīs* of India. The other follows the Persian style which is more difficult than the Arabic way. In China it is considered bad manners to embrace. So after the 'Id prayers people shake hands bending down on one knee at the same time and move in the fashion of a dance rhythmically that goes round and round.

Language Problem in East Pakistan :

Since we last referred to the controversy of the language in East Pakistan, there followed a trail of blazing bitterness between the protagonists of Urdu and supporters of Bengali. The draft rules of procedure in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly laid down that every member should address the assembly in Urdu or English but if he is unable to express himself in either of these languages he can speak in his mother tongue. Mr. Dharendra Nath Dutta (East Bengal) moved an amendment in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly that Bengali was the language of four crores and forty lakhs of people in Pakistan out of its total population of six crores and ninety lakhs. The State language should be one spoken by the majority and therefore Bengali should be the *lingua franca* of Pakistan. Opposing the amendment, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Premier

of Pakistan said "Pakistan was a Muslim State, and therefore it must have a language of a Muslim State. Urdu will serve as a unifying link between the Muslims of Pakistan." Mr. Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din, Premier of East Pakistan, contended in the course of the debate that the feeling of the majority of the people of East Pakistan was that Urdu was the only language which should be adopted as the *lingua franca*, and there was no reason for Bengali to be the State language but in proper time, as far as education and general administration were concerned, Bengali would be used within East Bengal. Mr. D. N. Datta's amendment was rejected. The *Dawn* of Karachi called this amendment a "disingenuous move." But the pro-Bengali section of the press resented the decision of the Pakistan Central Legislature. The most staunch supporter of Bengali was Majlis-e-Tamaddun. It insisted upon the adoption of Bengali as the language of the Central Government of Pakistan along with Urdu. It claimed that the retention of Bengali language was one of the ways to preserve Bengali culture. The advocates of the cause of Urdu did not like his morbid and aggressive mentality of narrow provincialism, and disfavoured Bengali because it was devoid of Islamic ideology and tradition. The Bengali-speaking Muslims retorted that once the State will give fund for reasearch and translation Bengali will grow rich in Islamic learning and lore. The potentiality and importance of Urdu in the political, social and cultural life of Pakistan failed to attract the extremist group. The wordy warfare was followed by physical duels also. And there was a demonstration against Mr. Nazim-ud-Din and his Government in Dacca, which led to the arrest and impriscnment of a large number of persons. Qaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the Governor-General of Pakistan had to intervene in the matter. He visited East Pakistan in the third week of March, and was invited to address the annual Convocation of the Dacca University, during the course of which he observed. "Let me re-state my views on the question of a State language of Pakistan. For official use in this province, the people of the province can choose any language they wish. This question will be decided solely in accordance with the wishes of the people of the province as freely expressed through their accredited representatives at the appropriate time and after full and dispassionate consideration. There can, however, be only one *lingua franca*, that is, the language for inter-communication between the various provinces of the State, and that language should be Urdu and cannot be any other. The State language must obviously be Urdu, a language that has been nurtured by a hundred million Muslims of this subcontinent, a language understood throughout the length and breadth of Pakistan, and, above all, a language which for more than any other provincial language, embodies the best that is in Islamic culture and Muslim tradition and is nearest to the language used in other Islamic countries." This pronouncement of the Governor-General of Pakistan was heard with a little bit of amazement by the pro-Bengali section of the East Pakistan. And a fortnight after, the provincial assembly passed

a resolution that Bengali should be adopted as the official language for replacing English in the province of East Bengal and the medium of instruction in educational institution should, as far as possible, be Bengali or the mother-tongue of the majority of students in institutions. This resolution was moved by Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din, the Premier of East Pakistan. Speaking on this resolution Mr. Habibullah Bahar, Minister for Health, remarked : "It was a glorious day for Bengalees that their language was now going to be the official language of the province. The Premier would rank among the great men like king Hossain Shah, Sir Asutosh Mokerjee and others for establishing Bengali in its place of pride. Rabindranath had won for Bengali a status among the languages of the world." In the course of this speech Mr. Bahar advocated also reforms in Bengali letters and grammar. But the *Morning News* of Calcutta called this resolution an 'unwise decision' made 'in the face of the determined attempts of some racial chauvinists to hustle things in their own way.' On the contrary, the Committee of Action of State Language Sub-Committee, formed in favour of Bengali, issued a statement that the agitation would be continued in a constitutional way so long as Bengali is not adopted as one of the State languages of Pakistan. And the Jamiat-e-Ulama-i-Islam of Dacca tapped an altogether new note. It demanded that the language spoken by the Muslims in East Pakistan should be re-named as Pak-Bengali and should be divested of Sanskrit words. It also wanted that Pak-Bengali should be written in the script of the holy Qur'an, as this script is prevalent in almost all the Muslim countries. And documentary proofs were furnished by the Jamiat to show that Bengali was originally written in Arabic script.

Educational Organisation in East Pakistan :

THE government of East Pakistan is trying to make a thorough reorganisation of its entire educational system. In undivided Bengal secondary, College and post-graduate education of the province was exclusively controlled by the Calcutta University. The Dacca University was purely a residential one. The Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education at Dacca had under its supervision only a few schools and all the rest in East Bengal and Sylhet were under the Calcutta University. The East Bengal Education Ordinance promulgated on September, 1947 empowered the University of Dacca, without prejudice to its original character as a teaching and residential university, to affiliate all educational institutions above the Matriculation and High Madrasah standard. The Matriculation, High Madrasahs, and other equivalent examinations were placed under the control of East Bengal Secondary Education Board. Provision has also been made for the reconstitution of the Executive and Academic Councils and various faculties of the University of Dacca, as also for the expansion of the court of the University, so as to make it representative of the various colleges and madrasahs brought

under its control. The academic isolation of the University and college students and the madrasah students of equivalent standard has been removed and now the madrasah students would also receive their degrees diplomas and certificates from the University of Dacca and the Secondary Education Board. The Madrasah-i-'Alia of Calcutta which has been for over a century the centre of Islamic education in Bengal has been shifted to Dacca, where it has already started functioning. A Government Commercial College and a Veterinary College have been opened in Chittagong and Commilla respectively. The Medical College of Dacca has been strengthened with the Muslim section of the staff of the Calcutta Medical College. Similarly the Ahsanullah Engineering School of Dacca has been raised to the Degree Course. Double-shift arrangements have been made in the Medical schools at Dacca, Chittagong and Mymensingh. A new Medical School has been established in Sylhet. In the annual budget 1948-49, besides provisions for increased grants to non-Government educational institution seven lakhs of rupees have been set apart for further studies of Muslim students. The Scheduled Castes have been given four lakhs for their education and uplift, and a sum of rupees ten thousand has been granted for students belonging to the Buddhist community. A complete transformation of spirit and content of education also was urged by Mr. Fazl-ur-Rahman, Education Minister, Pakistan Government, when he addressed a joint meeting of the Academic and the Executive Councils of the Dacca University on 1st February, 1948. In the course of this discourse he suggested that educational system should be inspired by Islamic ideology emphasising among its many characteristics those of social justice, tolerance and universal brotherhood. The first task of education, he continued, is to produce men and women, imbued with the highest spirit of selfless service. This spirit, he added, can only be inculcated through an understanding of fundamental principles of religion, for religion provides the most durable foundations for right conduct. Mr. Fazl-ur-Rahman further stated: "We as a Muslim nation have our roots stuck deep into the past. Study of Islamic history and culture should, therefore, occupy the central place in our universities. There should be sufficient incentive for sustained research into Muslim contributions to other important branches of learning such as philosophy, law, mathematics, economics, civics, science, medicine, and literature with the object of rescuing and preserving whatever lent meaning and significance of human civilization." He also impressed on the universities the importance of finding ways and means of strengthening and expanding the scope of scientific and industrial researches according to Islamic ideology. He said: "It is the distinction of Islam that it has encouraged the pursuit of knowledge for service of humanity. If scientific inquiry is inspired by this spirit of unselfish service, we will have found the answer to the challenge of atom bomb and the common man can look forward to speedy amelioration of his lot through blessings of science." Mr. Fazl-ur-Rahman referred also to the need of cultural contact with

foreign countries especially with the Middle East, with which the people of Pakistan had a strong spiritual kinship. For this he suggested an exchange of students, teachers, literature, scientific and educational missions. In a speech from the Dacca Radio Station on the 24th March, 1948, Miss Fatima also exhorted the women of East Pakistan to prove themselves worthy of the glorious tradition and culture of Islam. Addressing the women she said, "There is one matter to which I would like to draw your attention and that is that East Bengal specially in small districts and villages un-Islamic social customs have crept into our society. Root out these evils and revive our own Islamic culture, literature and art, which none can excel."

Iqbal Day :

THE tenth anniversary of Dr. Muhammad Iqbal's death was celebrated in Dacca with unprecedented enthusiasm. A well-attended public meeting was presided over by the Premier, Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din, who in his presidential speech remarked that the greatest tribute to Iqbal would be the development of Pakistan as a State in which the principles of Islam were given a practical shape. These principles, said the Premier, had been set forth brilliantly and forcibly in the poetry of Iqbal, who ranked not only as a great idealist but also as the author of the idea of Pakistan. Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, the Finance Minister of Pakistan, also addressed the meeting. He observed that as an exponent of true Islamic socialism Iqbal in his poetry faithfully mirrored the concept of Islam which emphasised dedication to the will of God and selfless service to humanity. His outlook on life was broadbased on the principle of universal brotherhood unhindered by artificial man-made barriers of a narrow geographic nationalism, racialism or provincialism. Universal brotherhood was to Iqbal the only practical solution of the political ideological conflicts of today. Mr. Habibullah Bahar, Minister, East Pakistan, read a paper on Dr. Iqbal's life and work. A resolution urging the establishment of a branch of Iqbal Academy in East Pakistan was adopted at the meeting. This Academy would promote the study of the life and work of Iqbal and arrange translation of his poetry into Bengali.

S. S.

The Dacca University :

THE installation ceremony of the office-bearers of the Fazlul Haq Muslim Hall, University of Dacca for 1948-49 came off amidst scenes of great enthusiasm and rejoicings. Dr. Mahmud Husain, ph. d. (Heidelberg), Reader in History, Head of the Department of International Relations, Provost of the Fazlul Haq Muslim Hall and a member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, presided. Many professors of the University and elites from the city, including

Dr. M. Hasan, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca were also present.

The function began with a recitation from the holy Qur'ān. After the usual formalities of the occasion which included, among other things, the installation of the office-bearers, the distribution of prizes by the Vice-Chancellor, speeches by the incoming as well as the outgoing Presidents and by the incoming as well as the outgoing Secretaries and a speech by the Vice-Chancellor were gone through. The President Dr. M. Husain delivered his address that was at once learned and instructive with a short preface in which he reviewed the progress which the Hall was able to make so far. In the course of his address, he recounted the all-round achievements of the Muslims of the past and maintained that the Muslims had been the teachers of modern Europe and for the matter of that of the world as a whole. He regretted that they had now fallen on evil days. "But that should not in any way damp the spirit of the present generation of the Muslims" added the learned Doctor "as history repeats itself." He brought home to the student community the fact that there could be no question of compulsion so far as the repetition of history was concerned inasmuch as it might or might not repeat itself. He exhorted the members of the Hall to live up to the ideals of Islam and said that it was up to them to make history repeat itself or otherwise.

A public meeting under the auspices of the Indo-British-Pak Good-Will Mission was held on 10th February, 1947, at 7-30 p.m. in the Assembly Hall of the Salimullah Muslim Hall, University of Dacca, Professor S. M. Husain, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon.) Provost of the Hall presiding. Swami Avyaktananda, leader of the mission and the Founder-President of the Indian Cultural Movement in Britain, Miss Vyven Jenkins, the President of the Society for Cultural Fellowship in Great Britain and Miss Margaret Flint, Assistant Secretary of the League for Federation of Mankind in Britain spoke at length on the occasion on 'Federation of mankind and how to achieve it.' Every one of them spoke on the need of religious toleration amongst all and sundry and the study of the religious scriptures of others with sympathy for and appreciation of all the good and excellent features contained therein. Thus, they thought, the idea of the federation of mankind, which was the nearest to the heart of every one present in the meeting, could be realised and achieved. Professor S. M. Hussain in his presidential remarks said that nothing would please him, nay the Muslims at large, more under the sun than the wide and general acceptance by all the religions of the world of the very laudable programme, the Indo-British-Pak Mission had before them. He concluded by saying that Islam had forestalled more than thirteen centuries ago the noble and beneficent programme now so nobly and selflessly sponsored by the protagonists of the Indo-British-Pak Mission. He said he was glad to find that with the advancement of science and civilization all the world over, the master-

minds of the world were gradually drifting to Islam and what it stood for. With a hearty vote of thanks to the members of the delegation by the Chair, the very interesting meeting came to a close.

An interesting meeting was held on Friday, the 28th February, 1948, at 2 p.m., in the Assembly Hall of the Fazlul Haq Muslim Hall, University of Dacca, Mr. Mazharul Haq, M.A., Lecturer in Economics, University of Dacca, presiding when Dr. Shamar Ranjan Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Lecturer in Economics, University of Dacca, who recently returned from England, gave a very learned discourse on "The economic recovery of Post-War Europe and the Marshall Plan." In the course of his discourse, the learned lecturer said that World War II had left Europe financially bankrupt and economically crippled and that the country that was most hard-hit was Germany for whose economic recovery two plans were set on foot of which Marshall Plan was inaugurated for the economic recovery of the Western Germany and the Stalin Plan for that of the Eastern Germany. The speaker observed that as the authors of the two plans were suspicious of each other's intentions, it was very much doubted if they would ultimately pave the way of Germany's economic recovery. In the opinion of the learned speaker, as a result of the mutual rivalry between the western democracies and the Communist Russia, the world was heading towards a crisis that might involve the nations of the world once again in another armageddon of yet greater magnitude and dimension.

Mr. M. N. Roy, our Socialist Leader of international fame and the distinguished editor of the *Independent India*, of Bombay, delivered a learned address on *Islam and Democracy*, on Friday, the 20th February, 1948, at 2.30 p.m., in the Assembly Hall of the Salimullah Muslim Hall, University of Dacca under the auspices of the Tamaddun-i-Majlis of Dacca, Mr. Abul Qasim, M.Sc. (Dacca), Lecturer in Physics, University of Dacca and the Secretary, Tamaddun-i-Majlis presiding. In the course of his lecture, the learned speaker maintained that of the three world religions, viz., Buddhism, Christianity and Islam, Islam was the latest promulgation and that there was the need for the coming in of Islam in the world inasmuch as neither the renunciation of Buddhism nor the doctrine of Trinity of Christianity could satisfy the ever-progressive and go-ahead-people of the world. He paid a glowing tribute to the unique and unparalleled equality and democracy which Islam had established all the world over 13 centuries ago and up to which the Muslims had been living wherever they were. At the end, he criticised rather adversely the economic system of Islam to which he attributed the slow and gradual decline of the various Muslim States in the world and showered encomiums on the economic system of the Union of the Soviet Russia. Thereupon Mr. Abdul Awwal, a student of the 2nd year B.L. and M.A. class University of Dacca rose to a point of order and said that the five-year plan of the Soviet Russia was a sad and dismal failure inasmuch as by discouraging the private ownership of property, it took away all the

incentive from the individual workers whereas by recognising the ownership of private property for every individual worker, Islam did not only seek to provide incentive for him but also by providing for poor-rate and by prohibiting usury, it actually removed all the causes of friction and conflict existing as between capital and labour. Mr. M. N. Roy admitted the soundness of the economic system of Islam as pointed out by Mr. Abdul Awwal.

Under the auspices of the Fazlul Huq Muslim Hall Union, University of Dacca, Professor Miss. A. G. Stock, B.A. (Oxon.), Head of the Department of English University of Dacca delivered a lecture on "Drama as an expression of human feelings" on Saturday, the 20th February, 1948, at 7 p.m., Mr. Mazharul Haq, M.A., Lecturer in Economics and House Tutor, Fazlul Huq Muslim Hall, University of Dacca presiding. Miss Stock covered the entire field of the drama right from the ancient Greeks down to the 19th century, and observed that the dramatists of all ages and climes sought to discuss the various problems of life confronting human societies but not their applications. She held that on account of this dramas always appealed to us all. She remarked that but for this, the dramatists would be no different from the politicians who concerned themselves not only with the discussion of our life's problems but also with their application.

The first annual Mahfil-i-Milad of the Islamia H.E. School, Dacca, was celebrated with due pomp and grandeur on Sunday, the 29th February, 1948, with the distinguished educationist Moulvi Abdus Samad, M.A., B.L., the Secretary of the East Bengal Board of Secondary Education, Dacca in the chair. Many prominent citizens of Dacca both official and non-official including our famous divine Al-Hajj al-Mufti Mawlana Din Muhammad Sahib of Dacca, were present on the occasion.

The function began with a recitation from the holy Qur'ān by a student of the school. The chairman then called upon Mr. Abdus Subhan, M.A. (Alig.), B.Litt. (Oxon.), Lecturer in the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Dacca, to address the gathering. Mr. Subhan delivered his address with apt and appropriate quotations from the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth. In the course of his address he said that of all animals under the sun man was the most prone to imitation so that the maxim that example was better than precept played such a vital part in the economy of human activities. He then graphically explained to the audience the need for the advent into the world, from time to time, of the prophets and seers with a view to acting as ideals and prototypes for the members of the human-society, as a whole, to follow and said that the nobler and more complete was the ideal the better was the type of his followers. He maintained that as appreciation on the part of a guide of the feelings and sentiments of the followers was a necessary concomitant, an ideal and a prototype for the members of the human society could be no other than a member of their own society so that the possibility of God being an ideal for human being was completely

ruled out from the realm of practical proposition. The speaker further observed that of the three world-prophets namely Buddha, Jesus Christ and Muhammad, the first could not be an ideal for human beings because he himself, at least in his prophetic career, was a recluse and preached complete renunciation of the world and all that it stood for and the second too, could not be an ideal as he was an unmarried saint, or according to the Christians, God Himself and as such he could not be a true prototype even for an ordinary married individual far less for other categories of human beings of this vast and panoramic world of ours such as labourers, traders, generals, kings and so on and so forth so that it was Muhammad and Muhammad alone who could be a true ideal for the members of the human society, experiencing as he personally did all the important phases of human life beginning from the life of an ordinary day-labourer down to that of the undisputed monarch of the whole of Arabia. Referring to the present degrading condition of the Muslims of the world, the speaker averred that as the followers of the most ideal of the prophets, the world leadership would have been theirs by the right divine and that if they fell, they fell for reason of their own shortcomings and failures which by self-examination they should find out and remedy if they again wanted to play the most glorious role, they had once played in the past history of the world. He concluded his discourse by appealing to the audience to follow the Prophet of Arabia more realistically, than they had so far done.

The President then called upon Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, M.A., B.L., Asstt. Public Prosecutor, Dacca, to address the house with particular reference to the requirements of the boys of the school. He too emphasised the fact that the model before a man must be a man and not an angel nor a God either and that the Prophet of Arabia was the best ideal that men could ever follow. The learned speaker then criticised the Doctrine of Incarnation as obtained both in Christianity and Hinduism and said that according to the popular version there were in Hinduism as many as eight avatars who were God Incarnate, that is to say in whom God incarnated Himself namely Fish, Crocodile, Hog, Norsingha (Half-man and Half-animal), Ram, Buddha, Krishna and Kalki. He maintained that by having recourse to the Doctrine of Incarnation, Christianity and Hinduism, for all practical purposes, reduced the Almighty Who is ever Infinite into a finite being and virtually accepted God as the human ideal which was simply absurd and preposterous. He dwelt at length on the Prophet's many sterling qualities of head and heart such as his piety, charity, fellow-feeling, truthfulness, patriotism, perseverance, self-abnegation, singleness of purpose and so on and so forth and said that any student who would implicitly follow the noble example of the Shepherd Prophet of Arabia he will surely come out with flying colours in life. The President who was feeling indisposed then rose to speak a few words to the student community and among other things he said that the Prophet of Arabia was so truthful that he got the epithet of

Al-Amin, the trustee, from his friends and foes alike. He exhorted the students and said that if they would only follow the Prophet of Arabia in truthfulness alone if not in anything else, their future was more than assured.

A meeting of the International Relations Association, University of Dacca was held on Sunday, the 18th April, at 4-30 p.m. in room No. 60 of the University Central Building. Dr. M. Husain, ph.d. (Heidelberg), Head of the Department of International Relations, University of Dacca presided.

Mr. Salimuz Zaman of the M.A., Previous class of the Department of International Relations, Dacca University, read an interesting paper on "The Problem of Palestine." In his talk, the speaker traced the history of the British Mandate over Palestine under the ægis of the League of Nations after the Foreign Ministry of Great Britain had entered into the two mutually contradictory and secret treaties with the Arab Chiefs on the one hand and the Palestine Zionists on the other, promising the former a complete independence and the latter a Jewish National Home in Palestine, the latter was further confirmed by the nefarious Balfour Declaration. The young lecturer maintained that 30 years of British Mandate over Palestine not only not brought peace to the Holy Land but it also greatly aggravated the conflict between the Arabs and the Jews who were living so very happily and peacefully as neighbours in the centuries past. In his opinion, the British Mandate over Palestine reacted adversely on the Arabs and favourably on the Jews inasmuch as by allowing the Jewish immigration it considerably strengthened the numerical strength of the latter and made them the master of almost all the coastal area of Palestine pushing the Arabs slowly and gradually towards its hilly and arid tracts.

The speaker concluded by saying that it was bloodshed and not the cosy and armchair decision of the members of the U.N.O. that would ultimately decide the Palestine issue and that as the cause of the Arabs was just it would win in the long run, determined as the Arabs were to repeat their past history most glorious in the annals of the world.

FOREIGN

A. S.

INDO-CHINA

MONSIEUR MARCEL NER has published in the journal of the Ecole française d'Extreme-Orient an interesting article on the "Musulmans de l'Indochine française," in about fifty pages with several illustrations and maps. He treats Annam, Cochinchina and Combodia separately as well as jointly and generally. At the end there is a useful bibliography also.

The periodical *France-Asie of Saigon* (vol. 21, dated 15th December 1947) contains an interesting article by Emile Dermenghem on l'Islam,

et l'Occident. He deplores the inexcusable ignorance of the modern West regarding Islam and tries to give a nice summary of Islam and its cultural achievements of world importance. The article has been rendered into Urdu by a Hyderabad periodical.

KENYA

With the help of a princely donation from the Agh Khan, *Reuter* learns, Kenya will soon have a first class institution of Islamic learning. The all-round developments initiated there by the British Colonial Office augur well for the future of this long-neglected Muslim centre.

Maulānā 'Abdullah Rashīd of Hyderabad has gone to Port Louis, Mauritius, to supervise another Muslim educational institution of a high standard. We await further news.

TURKEY

The monthly *Politique* of Paris recently published a long report on conditions in the present-day Turkey. Among other interesting data, it was claimed that owing to the agrarian policy of the present government, the entire debt of the peasants has been paid off. The methods employed there must be worth serious study by less fortunate countries in this respect, our own country included.

SPAIN

The cultural department of the Arab League, Cairo, has received in photostats the transcriptions of the following MSS in Escorial as a gift of the Spanish Government:

- ١ - جزء من مسائل لصفى الدين الحلى في الاغلاط الشائعة على الالسن (يبدء بحرف "س") -
- ٢ - رسائل في المطق والفلسفة والطب لابن سينا -
- ٣ - اصلاح المطلق لابن السكيت -
- ٤ - ديوان ابي الحسن النيشترى -
- ٥ - من تراصيل ابن زباسة :
- ٦ - الكامل للمبرد -

ARAB WORLD

The secretariat-general of the Arab League was the scene recently of an important meeting attended by all the members, for the purpose of studying the following projects, says *al-Hajj* of Mecca:—

1. Unification of mercantile laws of the Arab States.
2. Standardisation of the laws for medical practitioners.

3. Mutual recognition of industrial patents in Arab States.
4. Mutual recognition of copyrights of authors.
5. Unification of the laws of negotiable instruments.
6. Co-operation in and mutual relays of cultural broadcasts.

The same journal reports that the movement of liberty in Morocco has now permeated from the king down to the man-in-the-street and all wish to terminate the French protectorate. The matter has been raised even in the UNO in order to obtain moral support to achieve their rightful objectives. In the neighbouring Algeria, the French authorities are trying to force even private schools to include the teaching of French language as a compulsory subject, naturally with great resentment by the populace.

Pilgrim returns analysed :

The final figures of the pilgrims of the last Hajj, published by the Saudi government not only finally shatter the wishful thinking of some people that Turkey has broken away from Islam, but also show a sure revival of Indonesian and Malay pilgrimage to Mecca. In addition to the one hundred and fifty thousand and more pilgrims from inside Arabia, the following were registered on disembarkation at ports :—

India	30,343	in spite of cancelling several boats.
Negroes	7,174	
Egypt	71,111	in spite of cholera.
Turkey	6,430	Kemalist prohibition was removed only two years ago. In the first year a few dozen came.
Indonesia	5,924	
Sudan	1,934	
North Africa	1,852	
Syria and Lebanon	1,819	
Palestine	1,481	
Bukhara (refugees)	227	
Miscellaneous	797	
 Total	 55,422	

There is no mention of Iraq there. People came not only on camels but also by aeroplanes and other modern conveyances.

Sweet Water for Jidda :

The sweet water springs of Wadi Fāṭimah near Mecca have been utilised to provide the growing port of Jidda with fresh water by a pipe

line, about sixty miles in length. The project has been named, after Ibn Saud as 'Ain 'Azīziyah, as all its expenses were borne by the privy purse of the beduin monarch. It took barely six months for the project to complete, and the pilgrims during the recent season enjoyed this amenity on their return from Hajj. The Crown Prince ceremoniously inaugurated the water tap at Jidda. The *al-Hajj* of Mecca has brought out a special number recording data on the project.

The Door of Ka'bah :

The monthly *al-Hajj* of Mecca mentions that the door of the Ka'bah which was 322 years old, was in need of repairs for some time. At the orders of King Ibn Saud, a new door was constructed of aromatic woods and decorated with gold and silver by carftsmen in Mecca, and the old door was replaced by the new one at the hands of the Crown Prince on the 16th of *Dhulhijjah*, 1366 H. as the king was in Najd.

Four new hospitals are to be constructed in Mecca, Madinah and Taif. The present waterworks of Madinah date back from the time of the Caliph Mu'āwiyah I. Their renovation and improvement has now been taken up so that every house in the city should have a tap indoors which is now a luxury enjoyed by a few.

The government of His Majesty the Nizam is considering to make a gift of a big mobile hospital to the Saudi government for meeting the needs of the hundreds of thousands of pilgrims during the Hajj season.

M. H.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Arthur Rhuvon Guest :

* It is our sad duty to record the death of the English Arabist, A.R. Guest, who passed away at his home in Wimbledon on the 24th February, 1946, in his 77th year.

Guest was born in 1869. He joined the British navy in 1881 and served in it for 16 years. It was during his service on the Barbary coast during his early manhood that he became acquainted with the Arabic language and Islamic art and literature. He was so fascinated by these subjects that he resolved to devote the rest of his life to their study. In 1896, he left the British navy and got an appointment in the Ministry of the Interior in Egypt, where he served for three years. It was here that he laid the foundations of his wonderful skill in Arabic epigraphy, which enabled him to decipher the Arabic inscriptions on textiles, preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and elsewhere.

Mr. Guest made his literary début with his contributions to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*. These were mostly

concerned with the history and archæology of mediæval Egypt. In 1903, he published in this Journal an exhaustive article on "Misr in the 15th century," which was followed by another on the "Foundation of Fustât and its *Khittas*." He also wrote on "the Delta in the Middle Ages," and "The Nile and the Kurahs of Lower Egypt." All these articles were based on a close study of the works of al-Maqrîzî and other Arabic historians. A by-product of this study was an article on "Writers, Books, etc., mentioned by El-Maqrîzî in his *Khiṭāt*," which appeared in 1902. He also contributed a paper on the "Relations between Persia and Egypt under Islam up to the Fatimid Period" to *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*. In this study, he considered how and in what degree the influence of Persia extended itself in the early centuries of Islam to the west.

Mr. Guest's edition of the Arabic text of *al-Kindi's Governors and Judges of Egypt*, which appeared in the Gibb Memorial Series in 1912, is based on a unique manuscript of the British Museum and forms a contribution of the highest value to the history of Egypt. It runs to nearly 700 pages and contains a long introductory essay on the author, the sources he used and the various historical questions connected with the text. In recognition of its high merit, the Oxford University conferred on its learned editor the honorary degree of M.A.

The last book to appear from Mr. Guest's pen was his "*Life and Works of Ibn er-Rumi*," published by Messrs Luzac & Co. of London in 1944. It is the result of a painstaking research into the verse of Ibn al-Rumi, a celebrated poet of Baghdad who flourished in the 9th century under the Abbasids. By a close scrutiny of the poet's verse, Mr. Guest has derived the details of his life from his own utterances.

Michelangelo Guidi :

Arabo-Islamic studies in Italy have suffered a serious loss through the death of Professor M. Guidi, who passed away on the 15th June, 1946, in his sixtieth year.

M. Guidi held a very distinguished position among the Orientalists of his country ; and enjoyed international fame as an Arabic and Semitic scholar. He had studied with Schiapparelli, Nallino and his own father Ignazio Guidi ; and as a result of his sojourn in the East, he had acquired a practical knowledge of Arabic, which he spoke fluently. He held the chair of Arabic Language and Literature in the University of Rome ; and when Nallino died in 1938 he succeeded him in the chair of Islamic History and Institutions. At Cairo, he also delivered courses of lectures on linguistics. He was a member of *Accademia dei Lincei*, of the Royal Academy of Italy, a Commissary of the Oriental Institute of Naples and the Director of the Oriental School of the University of Rome, where he also edited *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*.

He was passionately devoted to Arabic studies ; but his interests and his literary activities were not confined to this field alone. He was also deeply versed in linguistics, in all branches of Semitic philology, in the origins of Christianity and the history of Oriental Churches. During the last years of his life, he also paid particular attention to the history and doctrines of the various heterodox sects in Islam. He gave us the results of his researches in this field in *La Lotta tra l'Islam e il Manicheismo* (Roma, 1927), and recently in a brief but conclusive article on the origins of the Kharijites. With a profound knowledge of the sources, he combined a sagacious penetration of historical phenomena and a remarkable skill to shape the documents into a connected picture of a certain period or subject. As a brilliant example of this process, we may mention his *Storia della Religione dell'Islam* (Torino, 1936), in which he gives us a masterly sketch of the subject without parading his erudition.

Professor Guidi was overtaken by death, while he was engaged in dictating his new work on the cultural history of the Arabs, with full references to the literary sources. He was eminently fitted to do ample justice to this task by his vast erudition and his humanistic culture.

With his deep humanity, Guidi was an affectionate friend and a teacher with a high sense of duty. During his last illness, he not only did not interrupt his work on the cultural history of the Arabs, but he also continued to take his classes at home. Although the World War II and his own illness prevented his personal contact with the outside world, he admired and evinced a keen interest in the literary activity of his fellow Orientalists in other countries and showed constant solicitude for their welfare.

Sh. In.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

ISLAM AND SOCIALISM; by Mirza Muhammad Husain; Ashraf publication; Lahore, 1937; ix, pp. 446; Rs. 10.

WITH the establishment of Pakistan and the insistent suggestion of the Muslim divines that the constitution and economy of the new state should be based on Islamic principles, it is only natural that attention should be pivoted on what exactly is Islamic constitution and Islamic economy, and recently some books have been brought out on the subject, although their number is not half as large as the great importance of the subject demands. The book under review deals with one aspect of the problem and not only does it give a résumé of what the economic teaching of Islam is but it compares it with the programme and practice with the present-day economic systems of the world, viz., capitalism, Nazism and communism. The book is interspersed with thought-provoking quotations from modern European authors and from Quranic verses which have a bearing on economic and social problems.

Present-day socialism is not merely a belief in the economic philosophy of the German Marx and Engels but in the practical shape given to that philosophy by the Russian Lenin and the Georgian Stalin. This shape transcends the pure economic doctrine but in doing so it sets definite social and un-religious and godless standards necessary to make a man a good communist. In the

same way, capitalism has entailed not merely the practice of certain economic principles but has evolved a whole social system in order to ensure the permanency of that system. It was perhaps for this reason that the learned author has based his very readable and useful narrative not only on the quasi-socialistic principles of Islam but has covered it with social and political concepts as well. The chapter-headings of the book are tell-tale: the human situation; war on wage slavery; private ownership and social welfare; balanced society; the Golden Calf; zakat, a scheme of social insurance; sex and society; the Quranic solution of the sex riddle; in defence of the parda; the taming of the gods of war; a great trinity, religion, science and morality. He thus deals with the whole expanse of economic, individual, social and international aspects of the modern man with reference to the prevalent systems of Islam.

The author is by no means dogmatic, and in certain chapters he has discussed non-Islamic systems with no reference to Islam from end to end. The prejudged Muslim reader may think that this perhaps belies the title of the book, but as a matter of fact it enhances its value, for the problems are discussed there with reference to the current economic thought. Thus in the chapter, the Golden Calf, are enumerated the non-Muslim economic concepts embodied in the capitalistic, the corporative and the Soviet state, and they are discussed with an unbiassed mind.

There are some very thought-provoking epigrams and quotations in this as well as other chapters, such as, under the capitalistic system "democracy becomes the government of the capitalist, by the capitalist, for the capitalist;" "man is respected for his money, not for his merits;" and the absence of the principles of "eternal morality under the Soviet system" has meant the conversion of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat into the "Dictatorship over the Proletariat."

The author clearly demonstrates that Islam leads human beings to a middle course. While capitalism is inhuman as it ignores the existence of a large majority of human beings, communism ignores, perhaps, the most important aspect of human life, i.e., its spiritual and human aspect by its godlessness. On the other hand Islam takes both these aspects into the fullest consideration. "In the matter of social organisation the Islamic concept of a healthy society is penetrated by a noble and ennobling spirit of charity which shuns pride and ostentation." This spirit is manifest in all Islamic Economics. "Zakāt is not merely a poor tax in name; it is a "system of social insurance" in that it actually specifies the special purposes for which it is to be spent. In this connection the author rightly challenges modern governments that very little of what is obtained by way of taxes is spent on the amelioration of the lot of the poor, while Islam effects a revolution in human mind in favour of the needy. The same may be said regarding interest which is a capitalistic arrangement pure and simple. Islam rightly deprecates what is at best a heartless mechanical device and a form of unearned income. The author quite rightly contrasts the system of interest in capitalistic lands like England and America with the English attitude when the question of the payment of interest on the huge loan contracted with America under the Bretton Woods agreement came up. Surely what is good enough for the gander must be good enough for the goose, and if needy England demurs to the payment of interest on the loan she has contracted

surely the needy individuals should not be treated differently.

Was it Lenin who once said in confidential whisper that communism was godless Islam? Of course it is all nonsense, for Islam cannot be godless in any form. Islam takes its stand both on the mechanical, the animal aspect of man and his spiritual and divine aspect which is the differentia between him and other live beings and is the quintessence of his human nature. As a fact the whole misery which is befalling the world is due to the godlessness and the non-human aspect of our society, and Karl Mannheim's quotation on p. 1 of the work is very apt in which he says that mankind is engaged in a life and death struggle for civilisation, and even the engineer now realises that society is rooted in deeper layers of human soul than he ever thought.

The author says that the book is his first attempt of scholarship, but he is to be congratulated on the attempt. He has a vigorous style which sometimes unconsciously becomes heavy and almost pedantic, full of metaphors and similes which could have been avoided. In spite of this it is interesting and instructive. One wishes he had given original Quranic verses along with the translations and had given footnote references to the pages of the books he has quoted. The book should be commended to those who wish to have an objective knowledge of Islamic/economic system and its practical applicability. The publisher, Mr. Muhammad Ashraf, is also to be congratulated on the good printing and fine get-up.

H. K. S.

THE FRENCH IN INDIA, FIRST ESTABLISHMENT AND STRUGGLE; by S. P. Sen, University of Calcutta, 1947; XVII-360 pp.; Rs. 7.

THIS well-planned, well-written and well-printed book deals with the early struggle of France with other European powers as well as with Indian kingdoms of the south from the foundation

of the French East India Company in 1664 up to the foundation of the French settlement at Pondicherry about ten years later. The French were the last of the European nations to enter the field of settlement in India, and it was the great French statesman and economist, Colbert, who was "the first to be able to follow a firm and consistent policy" about maritime enterprises. The new French East India Company had the advantage of being patronised by a person of the eminence of Colbert as well as by Louis XIV himself who is called 'le Grand' even by the republican France today. Yet the enterprise came to an abrupt close, and as our author clearly states, this failure was due, among other things, to "the loss of opportunities, the spirit of insubordination and dissatisfaction among all ranks, the chronic discord among the chiefs of the French Company in India, and...to the neglect of the French government," all of which may be object lessons to us at the present day. As a matter of fact had it not been for such stalwarts as François Martin and Dupleix the French Empire in India might not have come into existence at all after the signal disaster at the hands of the Golcondese and the Dutch in 1674.

The whole story centres more or less on the fortunes of San Thomé, an eminence about ten miles south of Madras and the reputed place of St. Thomas's martyrdom. This hill as well as Madras proper were situated within the kingdom of Golconda, which had driven out the Portuguese from San Thomé although, as the author says, the Muslims had never pillaged the cathedral or even touched it after their victory. This was in 1660, or 1662, and thus the work before us may be said to be a detailed chapter of the history of the Qutb Shāhī Sultanate during its final stages. The story depicts both the strength and weakness of Golconda; strength in that it shows the effective control of practically the whole of the Coromondal coast right up to the frontier of Bijapūr, Cuddalore, and its weakness in that it not only allowed European peoples to come and settle in important places on its coast but actually

sought help from some of them, such as the Dutch and the English, against others, such as the French.

Besides the history of the two sieges of San Thomé which finally resulted in its evacuation by the French in favour of the Golcondese and the Dutch, we have a fairly detailed account of the history of two other French settlements, one at Masulipatam which was again a Golconda port, and the other at Surat which was the chief Mughal port in South India. Surat was the emporium for cotton goods as for "pepper from Malabar, indigo from Agra, musk from Patna, cinnamon from Ceylon, cowries from the Maldives and...spices from the Moluccas," and, according to Souchu de Rennefort, Surat was "the chief warehouse of the Indies and the greatest city in the world for her commerce." It was the Emperor 'Alamgir who first permitted the French to establish their factory there in August 1666, and when De la Haye, later 'Governor-General of the French possessions in India' arrived there with his much vaunted naval squadron in September, 1671 he must have found the French to be well-established there.

One is interested in the part which deals with the affairs of the English factors and the French representatives with the astute François Martin at their head, at the Golconda-port of Masulipatam. Golconda was fast approaching its doom, yet its prestige even at this time of its decline was such that the English at Madras, who were otherwise on friendly terms with the French, were forced not to have any dealings with the latter in their enterprise at San Thomé for fear of endangering their good relations with Sultān Abū'l-Ḥasan Qutb Shāh who was destined to be the last ruler of the dynasty. Thus we find that "any break with the king of Golconda was detrimental to their (the English) Company, and moreover Madras had but poor defences to risk the attacks of a formidable army like the one which had laid siege to San Thomé."

The book goes on to the first contact of the French with what was destined to be their Indian capital town, Pondicherry,

in 1673, and deals with the first intervention in Indian political affairs by a European power. This occurred in 1775 when the French sided Shēr Khān Lōdī, the Bijapuri governor of Cuddalore against Naṣir Muḥammad the Bijapuri governor of Jinji, who was defeated with their help at Valdour. The book is full of interesting and instructive details and fills a gap in the history of the southern Sultanates, especially as Professor Sen has drawn upon purely French sources which are generally outside the purview of a modern author on the medieval history of the Deccān.

H. K. S.

HEIRS OF THE PROPHETS; by Samuel M. Zwemer; pp. 137; published by the Moody Bible Institute of Chicago.

DR. SAMUEL M. ZWEMER belongs to that class of Christian writers, which revels in ridiculing Islam and vilifying Islamic customs, manners as well as history. *Heirs of the Prophets* is one of his many works, which he has written with a missionary zeal to carp and cavil at what he calls the heritage of the followers of the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be on him). Once this motive is known it is simply a thankless task to give a serious reading to this volume. But we owe an obligation to him for kindly sending his book for favour of review in the *Islamic Culture*, hence we want to call attention to certain points.

Dr. Zwemer is reputed to be a consummate scholar, and a great authority on Islam. He writes on Islam apparently with a true spirit of inquiry in order to make his readers understand the religion, the folklore, the traditions and the history of the Muslims. But we were surprised to find in the volume under review that he has based his researches and informations primarily on second-rate authorities. Instead of referring to the holy Qur'ān or the Hadīth or books regarded authentic by Muslims he quotes profusely either

missionary writers or some Christian authors. His great source of knowledge is the journal, *The Moslem World*, which is being published under his own learned editorship. The book is therefore not to be valued for its scholarly tenor of discussions. It has been compiled to serve the well-meaning purpose of an evangelical propagandist.

Dr. Zwemer seems to have been irritated at Dr. William Thomson's remark that unlike Christianity Islam has no priesthood. Dr. Zwemer's contention is that Islam has the clergy and the priesthood, and the logic of his argument is that Islam had its rise in a Jewish-Christian environment, so we might expect that Muḥammad would borrow much of the organisation of his new faith from these sources (p. 14). Islam did not, of course, reject but 'confirmed that which was revealed before it' (Cow: 97). When Prophet Jesus (peace be on him) preached, it was objected that his religion was an amalgam of principles and facts borrowed from former religions. But he told the people 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law (i.e., Torah) or the prophets. I am not come to destroy but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law (Torah) till all be fulfilled (S. Mathew, 5: 18). And so the holy Qur'ān bears the same teaching which was preached in former revealed books. It does not, of course, consist of the amendments, innovations and additions which have been made from time to time in the old and the new Testaments. Dr. Zwemer, instead of building the structure of Islamic priesthood on the basis of any law or principle laid down in either the holy Qur'ān or Hadīth or Fiqh, has rushed forth to seek help from Century Dictionary, Encyclopædia, Britannica and Oxford Dictionary. And then as an etymologist he discovers forthwith that Imam in Muslim religion holds the same position which a priest has in Christianity. This confusion of Islamic priesthood gets confounded when he says that 'Islam has no priests who have authority to administer sacrament or pronounce absolutions.' But he

changes at once his angle of vision and puts forth categorically that Islam has the clergy who are the guides and keepers of the public conscience. Not satisfied with it, he tries to convince rather encircle his readers with a chain of logical argument. He asserts that Islam is totalitarian. How? The answer is because Dr. Charles R. Watson and Dr. E. E. Calverley have pointed it to be so in *The Moslem World*. And as Islam is totalitarian, so it must have priesthood. We hope that Dr. Zwemer will not think it fallacious or untenable if we argue in a similar logical manner that as Christianity has priesthood, so it must be totalitarian. But an average Muslim believes that totalitarianism and authoritativeness enjoyed by a Christian priest have not been bestowed even upon Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him). Addressing the Prophet, God says "Wherefore warn thy people, for thou art a warner only: thou art not empowered to act with authority over them" (Chapter LXXXVIII).

Dr. Zwemer calls *لارهابية في الاسلام* (there is no monasticism in Islam) a late and unorthodox tradition, merely because it does not cater to his taste. But he wants to prove a thing, so he must. He exploits therefore a Quranic verse which he borrows not direct from the holy Qur'an itself, but from an article *Rahbaniya* in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*. Dr. Zwemer quotes the verse thus: "We put in the hearts of those who followed Jesus, compassion and mercy and the monastic state. They instituted the same only out of a desire to please God, etc." The learned doctor has deflected from the path of rectitude in copying the verse from *Encyclopædia of Islam*, which records it thus: "And we put in the hearts of those who followed Jesus, compassion and mercy, and the monastic state, they instituted the same (We did not prescribe it to them) only out of a desire to please God." Italics are ours. These italicised words have been deliberately glossed over by Dr. Zwemer to mislead his readers. Even the writer of the article in *Encyclopædia of Islam* has reproduced the verse from George Sale's translation of the holy Qur'an

with some variation, for George Sale writes 'but as to' after the word 'mercy.' We do not acknowledge Sale's rendering of the verse as a correct one. The holy Qur'an says:

وجعلنا في قلوب الذين اتبعوه رأفة ورحمة -
ورهبانية ابتدعوها ما كتبناها عليهم الا ابتغا
رضوان الله

Its correct translation will be: "And we placed love and mercy in the hearts of those who followed him (i.e., Jesus). And as for monastic life, they invented it themselves. We did not prescribe for them anything except the seeking of God's satisfaction." This shows clearly that even among the Christians monasticism was an institution which was introduced by themselves. It was not a divine ordinance. The way in which Dr. Zwemer has manœuvred his writing is however a positive proof of his pastoral enthusiasm to misrepresent Islamic teachings.

Dr. Zwemer is highly qualified in dodging his readers to get themselves entangled into the cobweb of his theological idiosyncracies. And so he employs the dexterous art of wordy discussions to prove that Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him) was a *kahin*. This word '*kahin*' has been used for Prophet Jesus (peace be on him) also. For in Hebrew, 4:10 we read "we have a great high priest that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God." 'Priest' in Hebrew means *kahin*. Vide also Psalm, 110, Hebrew. 7:3. 20, etc. Dr. Zwemer knew that St. Paul liked Prophet Jesus (peace be on him) to be called *kahin*, so he writes that Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him) was a *kahin* not in Hebrew but in Canānite, Phœnician and Arabic sense, which signifies a 'soothsayer,' etc. The learned Christian divine was probably aware of the fact that this had been exploded by the holy Qur'an itself. For it says

فذكر فمأنت بعملة ربك بكا هن ولا محنون -

(therefore continue to remind, for by the grace of your Lord, you are not a soothsayer (*kahin*) or a madman, Lii, 29)

انه يقول رسول كريم - وما هو بقول شاعر
قليلًا ما تؤمنون - ولا يقول كاهن قليلًا ما تدكرون -
تنزيل من رب العالمين -

(Most surely, it is the word of an honoured Messenger, and it is not the word of a poet, little is it that you believe, nor the words of a soothsayer (kahin); little is it that you mind, It is the revelation from the Lord of the worlds—lxix, 40 41, 42, 43). The author of the *Heirs of the Prophet* was perhaps obsessed with the fear that these Quranic verses would dismantle his edifice of propaganda literature. So he at once took shelter behind the researches of this and that Christian scholar. At one place he says that Margoliouth tells of a later convert to Islam in Mohammad's day "who remembered seeing him on a high place at Taif leaning like a kahin on a staff or bow and reciting a Surah." For this Margoliouth refers to *Isabah*, iii, 1127. There is an error in this reference. This version is found in *Isabah*, Vol. 1, 2152 and its actual text runs as follows:—

ابن النبی صلعم فی مشرق ثقیف وهو قائم علی
قوس او عصا حين اتاهم ینبئهم عندهم النذر
فسمعتهم یقرؤا السماء والطارق -

We would translate it in the following words: "on the east of Thaqeef (Taif) he saw God's messenger (peace be on him) leaning on a staff or a bow, when he had come to seek help from them. He then heard him reciting 'والسما والطارق'." In the above Arabic version there are no words which can be translated 'like a kahin.' These words are purely Margoliouth's fabrications. Nor is there any word which can be rendered into 'high place.' In the Bible 'high place' conveys the sense of a worshipping place of the pagans. Margoliouth has introduced these words only to associate Islam with paganism.

It would become still more unwieldy, if we make a thorough scrutiny of the book, for a large portion of it is over-stuffed with an altogether ill-conceived and misrepresented idea of the so-called priesthood of Islam, which, if it exists

at all, is to be discovered in the author's own castle of imagination.

The calibre of the author may, however, be judged by the fact that he, instead of feeling any compunction or disgrace, delights in maligning Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him) as an 'actor' and "head of robber community" etc. These malicious remarks, together with a portrait of Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him) in the body of the book, have been deliberately included to arouse the passions of the followers of Islam, but all these must be scornfully treated as mere humbug and sheer trash of a fanatic pastor.

S. S.

ANECDOTES FROM ISLAM; by
Ebrahim Khan, Principal, Sa'adat
College, Karatia; Publisher Sh. M.
Ashraf, Kashmeri Bazar, Lahore, pp.
457; Rs. 8.

THE book has been dedicated to youth and idealism. Nothing could have been more appropriate. The stories heard in tender age have very powerful effect all through the life, and it is at that age that one is most fond of hearing anecdotes and stories. A judicious selection from Islamic cultural history serves the dual purpose hinted in the dedication.

Apart from a few stories of the pre-Islamic Arabia, there are in the book separate chapters on the Prophet, Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Syria, Iraq, Arabia, Egypt, Persia, Spain, Central Asia, India and Turkey. Sources are generally quoted.

This classification may be of some use to the student of provincial psychology and the like. There could be another way of arranging them according to subject matter, such as bravery, self-respect, sense of justice and the like. This last purpose has to an extent been fulfilled by a very detailed list of contents.

The nature of the book, entailing collection from diverse sources, renders the style different from paragraph to paragraph. Still the author's sense of proportion and of judiciousness in selection

are blameless. The sort of literature cultivated by Tanūkhī, Sa'dī, Kāshifī, etc., has found now a continuator in our learned author.

The books must be particularly welcome to Muslim parents in the British Commonwealth and U.S.A. where the greatest handicap is the lack of Islamic atmosphere for the young.

M. H.

مقدمة كتاب الشعر والشعراء لابن قتيبة.
INTRODUCTION AU LIVRE DE
LA POESIE ET DES POETES D'IBN
QUTAIBAH; Publishers: "Les Belles
Lettres," 95—Boulevard Raspail, Paris.

THE veteran French Orientalist, Prof. Gaudefroya-De-Mombynes re-edited the famous Introduction of Ibn Qutaibah in his *Book of Poetry and Poets*, with a learned introduction, translation and commentary, and published in the new series "Collection Arabe" under the patronage of the "Association Guillaume Budé." Paris, 1947. Price is not given; pages over two hundred.

Ibn Qutaibah is a prolific writer of classical Islam and a veritable polyhistor of the Middle Ages. In his multifarious literary activities, he tried to improve the standard of Government servants as far as their style and diction was concerned. Most of them by then must have been non-Arabs.

Ibn Qutaibah's *Book of Poetry and Poets* is a classic; and its introduction is a masterpiece of erudition. Prof. Gaudefroya-De-Mombynes has made it available to the French reading public. In spite of his modesty, the charming style of the translator gives the impression of an original compilation. It is, however, doubtful if the translation could always be relied upon. One will disagree with him in many cases. For instance on p. 33, he translates مئزر as veil. The presence of both the text and translation in opposite pages must be very welcome to all students of Arabic in French schools. The copious notes at the end, and the brief yet piercing introduction in the beginning are very valuable.

M. H.

SPLENDOUR OF ISLAM; by Muhammad Amin; Pakistan Publications, Railway Road, Lahore; pp. 176; Rs. 2,

IN this booklet, the author Muhammad Amin, Barrister-at-Law, a convert to Islam, has collected 21 extracts from eminent thinkers including Sir Philip Gibbs, Annie Besant, O. Cleveland, J. A. Froude, Charles Adams, Lady Cobbold, Major Leonard, Bosworth, Smith, Prof. Monet of France, etc., on various aspects of Islam and the Prophet of Islam. Although excerpts shred of context are generally dangerous to rely upon, the difficulty has increased owing to the fact that in most cases sources of quotation have not been referred to.

Otherwise it is an interesting reading though as incoherent as the nature of obiter dicta entails. The book ends with a selection of the sayings of the Prophet on all possible topics of social life covering 25 pages.

M. H.

WHY'S OF THE GREAT INDIAN
CONFLICT; by M. A. Mehtar of
Durban (S. Africa); Published by Sh.
Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar,
Lahore; pp. 226; Rs. 4-8-0.

THE author returned to his country after 24 years' absence in South Africa. Ordinarily it is well nigh impossible for such a person to tell the full story of the conflicts in the parent country, more so on account of the fact that in the foreign domicile those who would have as a matter of course been in hostile camps in the parent country, live amicably and with disgust for what seems to them a foolish fratricide at home.

Yet the book is an exception. It is a mine of information to the younger generation, information nowhere also easily accessible. The author tells in a lucid way the development of the Hindu-Muslim question culminating in the partition of the country. It is to be noted that the book was written before partition was decided upon.

M. H.

INVOCATION

[Prof. Mahmūd Ahmed of Srinagar intends to render the Jāvid Nāmāh of the late Dr. Iqbal into the English verse. Here is the translation of the first 25 pages of the poem. The author desires to express his gratitude to Prof. Hosain Ali Khan, who has taken great pains in revising this translation.—Ed , I.C.]

THE world around is woven of seven hues,
And man in it will always wail full like
The flute. A friend to gain, his heart's aflame
With fire of love from which he learns to sing
Sweet melodies. The universe around
Of lifeless matter formed has seldom shown
A throbbing heart. The seas, the wilds, the hills
And plains are mute ; the sun, the moon, the sky
Itself in silence cast. Look at the stars
That cluster in the sky : how each remains
Apart from other stars. Each one like us
Is e'er alone, each one a wanderer
In space—a caravan that's unequipped
Sojourning in the endless skies through long
Unending nights. This universe, is she
A prey and I her hunter wild or just
A captive out of mind, whose wailing none
Doth heed ?—O where is one to meet a friend ?

The days which make man's dwellings bright I've seen
All over the world. A spinning planet makes
Them live, they terminate too soon. O for
A day, a different day, whose morn should have
Nor noon nor eve—a day whose light shall fill
The soul and make sounds visible like hues,
Revealing all that's dark, unknown ; a day
That ne'er shall cease to be. O Lord ! create
That day for me, and take away the other days
Which bring my heart and soul no kindling flames.

Who was ordained to conquer all ? the sky
For whom looks mystified ? Was it not man

Who learnt the names¹ and quaffed the cup? He was
 Selected once and raised above all else,
 Thou mad'st him know what no one knew. The shaft
 That pierced my heart has come from Thee: "Thou call
 Me out,"² Thou said'st to me. My holy book,
 My faith's Thy face. Why keepest Thou away
 Its gleam from me? Will it be that the sun
 Will pale because it has expended light?

This age of Reason makes the chains to bind
 Around her feet: there is no restless soul
 Like mine. Life winds around itself for long
 To make one restless soul. Take not amiss
 If I must say this earth is barren for
 Desire's seed. 'Tis fortunate if Thou
 Canst find one throbbing heart in th' barren soil.
 Thou art my moon, light up my night, dispel
 The gloom within my soul though even for
 A while. Fire should not keep away from straw,
 The bolt of lightning should not fear a fall.

In pangs I spent the life I lived, now pray
 Reveal the other side of this blue arc.
 Unbar the closed up gates for me and let
 Men know what angels dream. My Lord! within
 My bosom light a fire at first to spare
 The incense and yet burn the fuel—and then
 The fire should spread and flame the incense too,
 And spread the smoke thereof the world around.
 Joined unto Thy indifference for Thy sight
 I long, that fiery be my cup's contents.
 Thou art away from sight and Thee alone
 I seek—nay, Thou art all around, I lack
 The proper vision. Pray remove the veil,
 This mystic veil, or take away this life,
 This sightless life. Bare is the tree of my
 Philosophy, send leafy spring or cut
 Away this tree. Thou reason gav'st to me,
 Grant madness now—an inward zeal that has
 Its source in love. Our learning dwells in doubt
 Whereas love lives in restless hearts. Unless
 Our knowledge springs from love, it is a show
 Of flights of mind, a pagan pageant.

1. cf. the Qur'ān, chap. 2, verse 31.

2. *Ibid.*, chap. 40, verse 60.

Philosophy unblessed of the Holy Ghost
 Is just a charm. The seer doth vainly grope
 And dies of th' tyranny of thought. Without
 The light of love all life's forlorn, and faith
 A chain and reason helplessness. This world
 Of mountains, oceans, wilds gives barren facts
 To me whereas I seek insight. O let
 This wandering heart now reach its goal, restore
 This piece of moon unto the moon. Although
 Save words my clay has nothing grown, the wails
 Of separation do not end. I find
 Myself alone beneath the sky, now from
 Beyond the sky repeat "I'm* nigh," and like
 The heavenly spheres these sides may set for me
 With neither North nor South, so that the charm
 Of th' past and future I may cross and may
 By-pass the sun, the moon, the galaxy.

Thou art eternal light and we are sparks
 With only borrowed moments for our lives.
 O Thou Who dost not feel the strife 'twixt life
 And death, how can man envy thee?—the man
 Who seeks to conquer space and restless feels,
 Whom solitude nor company can please.
 Now elevate my life, O Lord! extend
 My moment to eternity. Pray let
 Me check my speech and work instead, the paths
 Are open, grant me speed. From a different world
 Is all I say, from another sky has come
 This book. A sea I am, an ocean deep
 With treasures in my bed, but settlers on
 My shores see only waves in me. No hope
 Have I from older men since I but sing
 Of days unborn, but help the young my words
 To understand and wade my depths with ease.

THE PROLOGUE IN HEAVEN

The First Day of Creation: The sky reviles the earth

For joys of union, separation, life
 Gave the world of far and nigh a form, and cut
 Its cord from everything to shape anew
 The wonder-house of time. And thus all round

* The Qur'ān, chap 2, verse 186

Was spread the zeal and love for building up
The self and each one said, "I'll live in my
Own world." Thus learnt the moon and stars to glide,
A hundred lamps were lit in space; upon
The sky was pitched the golden tent of the sun
With ropes of silver hue, and in the east
The first day dawned and from the world new born
It raised the veil. Man's earth was desolate
As yet. No caravan had crossed its sands,
No streams yet struggled through the hills, no clouds
Appeared above the wastes, nor chirped the birds
On twigs, nor leapt the roes in lease. The earth
Uneven was like winding smoke, unlit
By life its oceans or its lands: its depths
Concealed the verdure from the eye of spring.
The sky reviled the earth, "I've never seen
The plight of one like thee, there's none so blind
Within my ken who on myself alone
Depends for light. In spite of the Alvand Hills*
Thou hast nor life nor permanence. Now live
Beloved-like bedecked or die of shame."
This slander made the earth to grieve, to feel
Forlorn and sad and hurt. She raised her eyes
To God to mend her murky life and from
Beyond the sky a voice responded thus:
"If thou hadst known thy priceless trust thou wouldst
Not have thus grieved. If thou look'st in thy soul
Thou'lt find tumultuous life to brighten up
Thy days without the help of light that floods
The world. The morning's bright with the spotted sun,
From stainless life thy light will come. This light
Will move in pathless places faster than
The moonbeams or the sunlight. Why hast thou
Defaced hope's pattern limned on the tablet of
Thy soul? 'Tis from the murky earth that the light
Of life will come. Man's knowledge will attack
All space, his love will claim the Infinite.
With eyes more wakeful than the angels, he
Unled will find the way. Though moulded out
Of earth he'll like the angels fly, until
The sky will be a tavern old upon
His way. With ease he'll in the heavens live,
Will wash the stains from out the cloth of life,
And flood this murky earth with the light of eyes.

* Hills in Iran which were considered sacred.

Though little will he praise the Lord and will
 Too often fight, a spur he'll be for time,
 And from the universe will learn to see
 The being in attributes, 'and will rule the world
 Enamoured of the beauty of the Lord.' "

THE ANGELS' SONG

This earthly mould will far transcend
 The angels too some day
 His 'star of luck will make this earth
 A paradise some day.
 Vicissitudes of time will all
 His strength of mind array,
 The whirling arc of blue above
 He'll fly across some day.
 And little can we tell of man,
 But scan thyself we pray:
 What dwells within his nature must
 Assume a shape some day.
 This vision when he will project
 To throw upwards a ray,
 The heart of even God Himself
 For this will bleed some day.

THE PROLOGUE ON EARTH

*The Spirit of Rumi appears and reveals the secrets of the flight**

Tumultuous love that shuns the crowded towns
 From noises shelter seeks on wilds and hills
 Or shores of boundless seas, thus saves his flame
 From death. And so I rested on the coast
 Awhile, far off from friends in whom I failed
 To find a kindred soul. The waters blue
 In twilight shone like scarlet wine and lent
 The sightless sight, and turned to morning bright
 The dusky eve. There I with my own soul
 Had counsel deep, and questionings and desires
 Full swayed my mind. Without eternity
 I lived un'ware of life. A fountain flowed
 But I far off and parched did sing this song—

I long for honey lips of thine
 And love the garden of thy face;
 O dance with me a measured pace,
 I'll hold thy locks and quaff the wine.

* Mi'rāj : the Prophet's flight to Heaven.

Say once again: "O do not so,"
I love this coyness, give me more;
For wisdom is bewildering lore,
So guide me love where'er I go.

This food, this drink: they are no goal,
Though full of sharks the sea I claim,
Of Moses' hand grant me the flame¹
For Pharaoh doth oppress my soul.

The yester-eve a lamp in hand
The Shaikh around the city ran,
Of devils sick, he sought a man,
But could find none in all the land.

"I Rustum² or a Haider³ seek
I'm sick of snails, am sick," he said,
"There's none," said I. He shook his head
"There's none like them, but still I seek."

While thus I sang the restless wave did sleep
On water smooth. The firmament grew dark
With the setting sun, from which the evening stole
A piece to make a shining star appear
Like love at window. Rumi's Spirit rose
Behind the hills and tore all veils. His face
Was like the sun, serene and flushed with youth,
His figure gleamed with godly light that lent
Him bliss and grace. The secrets of this life
Hung on his lips and broke the bounds of word
And sound. The words he spoke were crystal clear
With learning full and inward light. I asked
Of him, "What's life and death? what's good and bad?"
He answered, "One who lives will show himself,
For self-revealing is ingrained in us.
Life seeks to decorate itself, to gain
A witness to affirm its worth. To find
This witness nature did create all things.
Art thou alive or dead or dying fast?
Seek witness of three witnesses for that.
The first to witness is a consciousness
Of thine, a knowing of thyself, the next
To witness is the consciousness thou wak'st

1. The miracle of the gleaming hand which was given to Moses.

2. A famous Persian warrior.

3. The fourth caliph after the Prophet, proverbial for his courage.

In other's mind, an alien light to show
 Thyself. Th' third witness is the consciousness
 Of God to make thee know thyself. Before
 That light if thou canst stand and live, like God
 Thou art eternal and alive. Life is
 To reach thy destined end, that is to see
 The Lord unveiled. One who believes
 Shall never lose himself in attributes
 Divine, but prophet-like shall see the Lord.
 The flight to heaven means a longing for
 A witness who your ego should attest.
 Without His testimony our life is naught
 Except what odour, hue are for a rose.
 No one can stand against His beauty bright :
 If one does that he has perfection reached.
 O grain of sand, thy lustre do not lose,
 But keep it close to heart. Thy gleam
 Increase, then test thyself against the sun.
 If thou canst thus re-shape thyself and pass
 The test, thou art alive and praised or else
 The fire of life is smoke and naught beside."

I asked again, "But how to reach the Lord
 And break the way through all material bounds?
 The Lord Who doth create is far above
 The world around and man who groans with pains
 Untold," "If thou may'st hold authority,"*
 He made reply, "Then thou canst cross the skies.
 Thus live that this mysterious world to thee
 Be bare—its fringes washed of dirt of sides.
 Thou seest the Lord through self and self through Him,
 Nor more nor less thou seest of God than that.
 Authority 's the key. Remember it,
 Or else like ants and worms thou diest. Thou cam'st
 By way of birth into this world all bound
 By sides. Outgrowing it is one more birth
 Which sets thee free from every chain that binds.
 But this is not material birth as one
 With a heart that throbs will know. That birth was forced
 This one for thee to choose, that one is veiled
 This all revealed. A wail accompanies that
 A thrill attends this one. That seeks and this
 Achieves, that one to move or stay in space
 This one to cross its bounds. On days and nights

* The Qur'ân, 55 : 33.

That taught thee to depend, this teaches thee
 To master day and night. The woman suffers
 When a child is born, the world doth shake and break
 When man is born. At both the births the call¹
 Resounds, at that from lips, at this from life.
 When Living Soul is in this body born
 A shaking in this ancient world is seen."

"I do not understand this birth," I said,
 "This is a form of life," he said, "And life
 Is woven of presence and of absence both :
 That moves, this ever stays. In company man
 Dissolves himself, alone he gathers back
 His self. The attributes in company are
 The source of light for him, alone the Lord
 Lights up his self. To company Reason drags,
 While love restores him to himself. Although
 This Reason seeks the world and breaks the charm
 Of matter, stones are open books and clouds
 And lightning speak to him, the seeing eye
 He also has, yet reckless valour lacks.
 He gropes his way just like the blind and moves
 As slow as snail. So long as Reason winds
 Around his odour, hue, upon the path
 Of love he slowly moves. His work by shifts
 And stages moves ahead, and no one knows
 If it will e'er perfection reach. But love
 Defies the month, the year : all space and time.
 While Reason drives a wedge in hills or moves
 Around their sides, love sweeps away a hill
 Like straw and like the moon it swiftly sails.
 Its target is the Infinite, it moves
 Beyond without the grave : its source of strength
 Are muscles strong nor water, wind nor earth.
 Love fed on black bread breaks the Khyber fort,²
 And cuts the moon in twain,³ and Namrud's head
 It smashes though without a stroke,⁴ and routs
 The Pharaoh's hosts without a war,⁵ it dwells
 Amidst the soul as sight is in the eye—
 Within and yet without : 'tis both the fire

1. The Muslim call to prayer which is breathed in the ears of a new-born baby.

2. Refers to Hadrat 'Ali's breaking open the gate of the Khyber fort.

3. Alludes to a miracle of the holy Prophet.

4. Refers to the spiritual triumph of Abraham against Namrud.

5. By a miracle Pharaoh's hosts were drowned.

That flames and ashes cold. 'Tis greater than
One's knowledge and one's faith. The final plea
Is love and governs both the worlds. And it
Transcends both time and space: below, above,
The future and the past proceed from it.
Whene'er love seeks the ego from the Lord
A sovereignty of all the world it gains.
For hearts inspired by love there's left no fire
In temples old. A lover gives his self
To God to sacrifice the sense that strays.
In case thou lov'st, transgress the bounds of space
And thus absolve thyself from death. Arise
Without the doomsday trumpet to escape
The grave in which thou liv'st. Thou only croak'st
Whereas sweet melodies are in thy throat.
Now ride on space and time, and cast aside
The cord that binds. With ears and eyes both keen
And sharp read meanings new in things thou seest.
'If thou canst hear the music of an ant
Then thou canst read the secret of all time.'¹
Now gain from me the eye that burns the veil,
And liberates the sight. 'The body's a shell
The kernel is the sight with which one seeks
One's love. Transform thy body into sight
To cast thine eye around, below, above.'"²

Fear not the skies nor fear this space, but cast
Thine eye on space and time which are two forms
Of life. Thus time was born when life did love
Confront. The seed that 's buried in the earth
Deprived of every sight has little thought
That it can grow and blossom forth. Desire
To grow gives it its rank, its longing is
Its essence and its self. ('Tis thus with man).

O thou who say'st the body doth contain
The soul, see secret of the soul, and of
The body be not proud. 'Tis not the soul's
Abode, but is an aspect of the soul.
What is the soul?—it is attraction, bliss
A burning and an erethism that seeks
To make assault and conquer skies, whereas
The body takes to space, and comfort seeks
And finds in odour, hue. 'Tis sense that thinks

1 and 2 From Rumi.

Of far and nigh ; but for the Flight there comes
 A revolution born of longing and
 Desire, which gives us liberty from fears
 Of far and nigh—the body cannot stop
 Or check the soaring soul from onward flight.

ZARWAN, THE SPIRIT OF TIME AND SPACE CARRIES THE VOYAGER TO
 THE UNIVERSE ABOVE

Like aspen quivered every particle
 In me—his words so moved my soul. From the east
 To west I gazed and found the sky drowned deep
 In clouds of light from which emerged an angel
 With faces two : this one like fire, that one
 Like smoke, that one as dark as night, this one
 A shining star, with open eyes on this
 One, closed on that. His hair had all the hues :
 Blue, emerald, scarlet, yellow, silvery, pink.
 Like thought he was in constant flight and linked
 The earth and Milky Way in a moment's flight.
 All times he crossed new climes, new atmospheres.
 He said, "I am Zarwan, who holds the world
 In thrall, at once concealed and visible.
 All efforts are related to my fate
 I've thus enslaved the eloquent, the mute.
 For me the beauteous bud upon the branch
 Blossoms, and sings the bird in nest. My flight
 Bestows growth on to grain, to union turns
 The lover's separation. I bring rebuke,
 Indulgence too, and I bring thirst and I
 Bring wine. This life and death, res'rection too
 And hourie, heaven and hell I am. I hold
 In grip angels and men, this six-day world¹
 Is my own child. The rose thou pluck'st from the branch
 Is me, my bosom nurtured everything.
 Thus have I charmed the world that it grows old
 With every breath I breathe. Whoever makes
 His own, 'I have a time² with God' can break
 My charm : say this with thy soul and I go."

I know not what was in his eye, but from
 My sight this old world flew. May be a new

1. The Qur'ān, 7 : 54.

2. Alludes to the following hadith of the Prophet : "I have a time with God of such sort that neither angel nor prophet is my peer" meaning according to the sense of this passage that he is timeless.

World met my eyes, or all the universe
 Was rocked. I died in this material world,
 Was born where no one sighs. My knot with this
 Old world was cut, till I a new world gained.
 The loss so pained my mind that it carved out
 A new world from my clay. My body light,
 My soul was bright and the eye of mind so gained
 In sight that every secret was unveiled
 And e'en the song of stars could reach my ears.

THE SONG OF STARS

Life's kernel is thy sense,
 World's secret is thy love.
 O earthly mould, we joy
 That thou hast come above.

Moon, Venus, Jupiter,
 Are rivals for thy sight—
 'Tis hope of thy one glance
 That keeps them gay and bright.

Sweet love has on His way
 Full many a lovely view,
 Whose heart's bedight with love
 Seeks not the rose and dew.

With justice show thyself,
 From godlessness be free,
 With Truth this life doth grow
 Unto eternity

If 'tis the bard's desire
 Then let him sing new songs,
 Give brimming cups to all
 Who drink or call it wrong.

Iran, Iraq, and Ind,
 For sweets do ever moan,
 Give them a taste for bitter
 Who like but sweets alone.

Put in desires wild
 In tiny hearts of streams,
 With surges of the ocean
 They may of fight now dream.

While sovereignty is straw,
Faqr is burning fire,
Whose blunt word can undo
The monarchies entire.

Alexander with his fire
Builds up a Pharaoh's charn.,
But Moses' shining hand
Protects him from all harm.
That one doth kill with fire,
And burns this one with sight.
That one is war entire,
This source of peaceful right.

Both long for permanence,
The world they do extend,
That one with force ascends,
With sweet love this doth mend.

Bring forth the dervish's stroke
The China wall to shatter !
Revive the rite of Moses,
And magic will not matter !

MAHMUD AHMED.

* Reference is to the magicians whom Pharaoh invited to match against the miracle of the shining hand which was given to Moses as a sign of God.

THE LOCAL RECORDS AND MSS. ABOUT THE AGRA COLLEGE

IN the course of the correspondence (1881) respecting the grants of jagir lands in Agra, Muttra and Aligarh which is said to have been made by Madhava Rao Scindia to Pandit Ganga Dhar Shastri for his maintenance and 'as a means of enabling him to entertain and teach students the vedas,' Mr. Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government of India writes, "...the funds were not bequeathed or set apart by any native donor for any specific purpose but are derived from a grant of lands made for public and charitable purposes by the Mahratta Government in 1796 and dealt with by the British Government under Regulation XIX of 1810 on the death of the original grantee. The original intention of the grant was the encouragement of vedic studies, and the Government in 1815 and subsequently held that it would be proper to devote the proceeds to general education...."

According to Regulation XIX of 1810 it devolved on the Board of Revenue and Board of Commissioners, N.W.P. to recommend the best ways of utilising the grant ; and in the course of their recommendation dated (30th December, 1814) it was stated, "that no interpolation, addition, erasure or alteration of any sort appears in them (the deeds) nor anything to impeach their authority. We beg leave at the same time to observe that we are still of opinion that the object and intent of the grant cannot be affected by any technical inaccuracy in the wording of the clause of the best mode of disseminating useful knowledge among the natives....."

.... We hope that a collegiate institution at Agra might be established and conducted on principles calculated to secure permanent benefit to the natives of these provinces....."

On 16th July, 1816, the Agra local agents submitted for the orders of the Board of Commissioners a proposal to establish

(1) a college for the tuition of Hindus in the various branches of scientific knowledge at Muttra.

(2) a general hospital which shall be open to all classes of natives under certain restrictions at Agra and

(3) a separate college for the revival of literature among the Muhammedans at Agra....

In their report (24th October, 1823) on the subject the General Committee of Public Instruction observed: ".....Agra therefore becomes the fittest site for the intended foundation; the celebrity and extent of the latter with its importance as a civil station renders it in our opinion entitled to preference. We therefore recommend that the institution be established at the latter of those cities and receive the designation of the Agra College..... The local agents have also suggested that the Agra College shall be equally available to all classes of native population; and as they are all unquestionably equally the object of the solicitude of the Government and it is not necessary to give an exclusive preference to either upon the present occasion, we fully concur in this recommendation....."

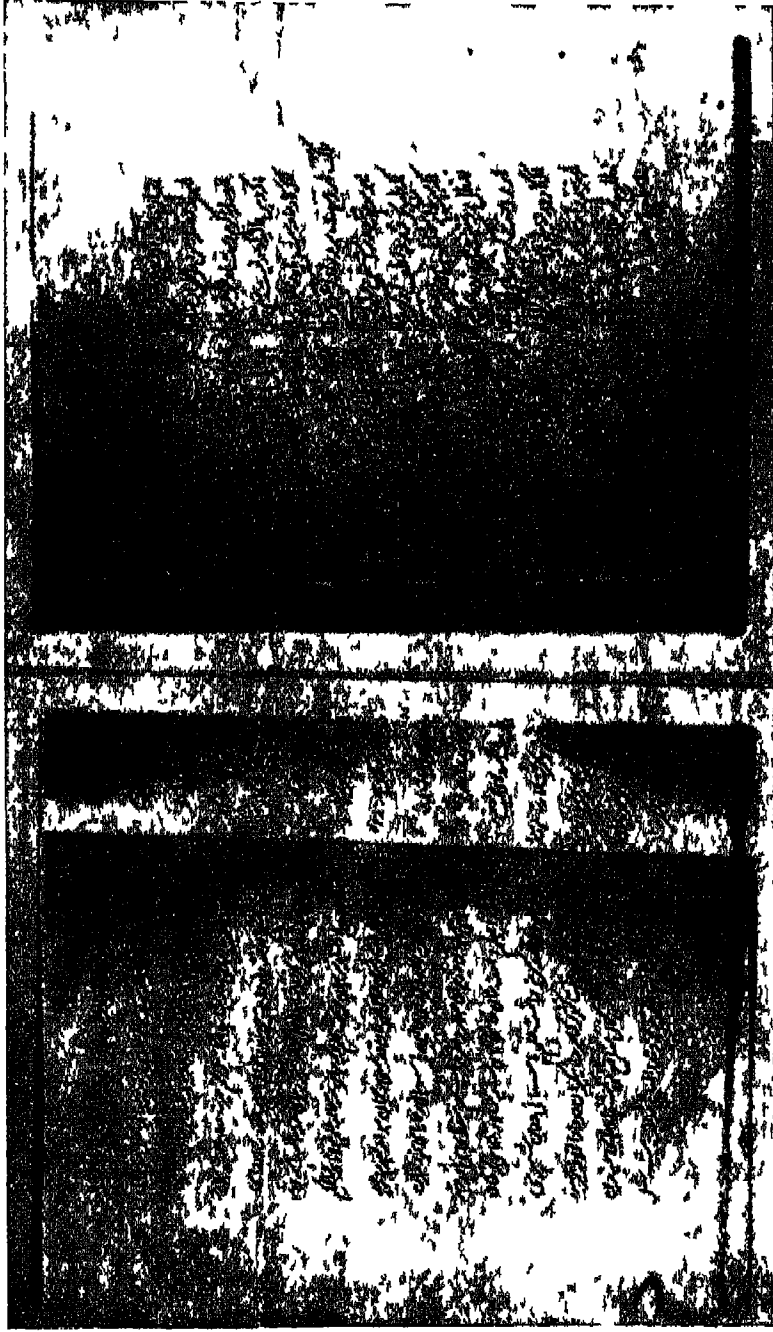
The above extracts from the pre-Mutiny records at the Commissioner's Office, Agra, should be read along with the Persian and Urdu manuscripts of early 19th century A.C. which tend to establish that Madhava Rao Scindia administered the realm on behalf of the Mughal emperor for a span of twelve years; and although he was more powerful than his predecessors Najaf Khān and Afrāsiyāb Khān he was in no way the legal sovereign. Numerous records of the Mahratta regime in Agra bear testimony to the fact that Mughal grants were continued for the most part by Madhava Rao Scindia; and these were subsequently recognised and renewed by the East India Company (*vide* Register of Political Pensions preserved at Agra in the *bastas* of the pre-Mutiny records). Such is also the spirit of the Persian manuscript—*Tārīkh-i-Agra wa Fathpūr Sīkri* by Seel Chand who was a senior student at Agra College in 1823, the year of the foundation of Agra College. This manuscript is now the property of the Shu'aibiyah Library, Agra. Similar is the impression made by an Urdu manuscript of Sayyid A'zam 'Alī, the erstwhile Tehsildar at Mainpuri who was deputed about this time by the Government to work as 'Munshi' and Persian teacher at Agra College which he served for at least eighteen years (1824-1842). In that capacity he wrote a story book in Urdu called *Surūr Afzā* (1825) in the course of which he makes mention of the foundation of Agra College. Under the orders of his chief, the Superintendent of Agra College, he received five prize essays written in elegant Persian by five students of Agra College—Bheron Persad, Mangu Lal, Luchman Persad, Sayyid Hizabr 'Alī and Khushwaqt 'Alī. The original essays are preserved in a volume which contains at the end an incomplete note about his ancestral history from the pen of Sayyid A'zam 'Alī; and the said volume is now in the possession of his great-grandson Sayyid 'Itrat 'Alī of Agra. The facsimiles of the handwriting of Seel Chand may be seen at the end of this paper.

None of the above writings makes any allusion to Gangadhar Shastri or Patvardhan and none of the writers describes the Agra College as a

Mahratta institution. Mackenzie takes it at best as a product from the grant of lands made by the Mahratta government in 1790 for public and charitable purposes. But he expressly says that the funds with which ultimately the College was founded *were not intended by the donor for teaching and disseminating of any particular classics or scriptures ; nor were they reserved for any specific purpose*. Now, if it be conceded that the Agra College is the product from the grant of lands made by the Mahratta government it will also have to be accepted that the grant in question was a *de facto* Mughal grant implemented under the orders of the Mahratta Administrator Madhava Rao Scindia. The crux of the matter is whether or not Madhava Rao Scindia during his regime was legally in a position to make independent grants of lands in the metropolis of the Great Mughals and its vicinity. It appears that Madhava Rao Scindia himself did not claim that position which some protagonists endeavour to establish in his favour. If it were so and if the Agra College had been originally a Mahratta institution as has been contended, then it should have been primarily a Patshala providing teaching in Mahratti and the Vedas and Hindu literature and scripture exclusively. But the facts militate against such a theory and the contemporary evidence in Persian coming from the Agra College itself in the year of its foundation about the great importance then attached to the teaching of Persian in that institution vitiates such a conclusion. It should be noted that the "Madrasa-i-Sarkār" of the *Tārīkh-i-Āgra wa Fathpūr Sikrī* and of the *Surūr Afzā* was no other than the present Agra College—a fact which is established beyond dispute by cumulative evidence and also by the family records in the possession of the descendants of Sayyid A'zam 'Alī the first Persian teacher and Head Clerk employed at Agra College in the year of its foundation. It follows that the Agra College of 1823 was a sort of Mughal legacy revived by the East India Company on the strength of the so-called Mahratta grant. The fact that the first literature of any importance formally produced at the Agra College by the students and the staff was in Persian and in Urdu and not in Hindi or Mahratti throws a lurid light on the disputed nature of the grant and the personality and motive of the donor. Seel Chand, the student-author quoted above traces the origin of the said Madrasa-i-Sarkār to the age of Akbar the Great and says, "There were many madrasas at different places in this city of Akbarabad during the reign of the Emperor Jalal-ud-din Akbar. Renowned professors came from Fars and Shirāz to deliver lectures at these. Accordingly the great madrasa which is the most splendid and perfect of all such institutions still exists in this magnificent city, the seat of the Caliphate," Like Seel Chand the essayists maintain that the Madrasa-i-Sarkār (Agra College) is the lineal descendant of the madrasas of the age of Akbar Bādshah ; and Sayyid A'zam 'Alī lends support to the view that the Agra College is a legacy of the great Mughals, although he gives credit to the East India Company for its foundation and feels indebted to them. Seel Chand also gives a vivid picture of the

political history of his times and describes the role played by Madhava Rao Scindia during the reign of the Emperor Shah Alam and makes mention of Madhava Rao Narayan Peshwa and his death in 1795 A.C.

MAHDI HUSAIN.



Facsimiles of the handwriting of Seel Chand

THE RISE OF THE SAMMAS IN SIND

(Based on contemporary sources)

THE political history of Sind during the Sultanate period has yet to be written in a definitive manner. It still suffers from numerous chronological errors and uncertainties. The reason is that the modern scholars who have dealt with this subject have generally based their accounts on the provincial histories of Sind which were all written during the post-Sultanate period. The compilers of these provincial chronicles—such as *Tārīkh-i-Sind* of Mīr Ma'sūm, *Tārīkh-i-Tāhīrī Tuḥfatul Kirām*, *Beglār Nāma*—wrote long after the end of the Sultanate period. They had no clear idea of the sequence of events and were thus led to make many vague, contradictory and confusing statements. The same applies to the provincial parts of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and *Tārīkh-i-Firīshṭa*. Evidently the authors of these various works were not in possession of contemporary records. No notable attempt has so far been made to collate the accounts of these historians with contemporary sources and to remove the inaccuracies and uncertainties of the former. Even in the ably-edited Ma'sūm's *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, the editor contents himself with pointing out the contradictions in the account of Mīr Ma'sūm. The gross mistakes which Henry Cousens has made in the historical outline in his otherwise valuable "Antiquities of Sind" is an indication of the confusion prevailing in this field.

In this paper I have chosen a small and well-defined period of the Sind history and have tried to provide an account of it on the basis of authentic contemporary records. My basic sources of information are:—

- (1) *Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf—Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, which is a well-known work.
- (2) *Sīrat-i-Firōz Shāhī*, (Aligarh Manuscript) a court chronicle of the first half of Firōz's reign. Copy of the unique MS. in Bankipore Library.
- (3) *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* (Aligarh MS.)* being letters of 'Ainul Mulk Māhrū Multānī, who was Governor of Sind in the early part of Firōz Shāh's reign.

* It is a transcription from the unique MS. in Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta. The MS. suffers from frequent textual inaccuracies and uncertainties

(4) *Malfūzāt-i-Makhdūm-i-Jahāniān* (MS.), being the table-talks of Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhārī, the leading saint of Sind (Asiatic Society of Bengal MS.).

(5) *Sirāj-ul-Hidāya*, another collection of the table-talk of Makhdūm-i-Jahāniān. Two MSS. of this work, slightly differing from each other, are in the State Library, Rampur.

THE SUMERAS

One of the most important events in the local history of Sind is the replacement of Sumera by the Sammas¹ as the ruling dynasty of Sind. It has not been definitively fixed as to when the Sammas came into power. *Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī*, as well as the other several histories mentioned above place the rise of Sammas some time before the reign of 'Alāuddīn Khiljī. These chroniclers were, it appears, not sure of themselves in this matter for almost all of them contradict themselves on this point in their accounts of the Sultans of Delhi.² The story related by them of the Samma Jām Tamāchī being carried to Delhi during the reign of 'Alāuddīn Khiljī and of the return of his son to Sind during the same reign is nothing but an anticipated version of a similar event of Firōz Shāh's reign, and cannot be accepted.

When Ibn Battūta arrived in Sind in 1333 A.C. during the reign of Muḥammad Bin Tughluq he found Amīr Wunnar,³ chief of the Sumera tribe, living in Siwistān. Ibn Battūta mentions him twice as head of the Sumeras. He was an eye-witness to the events in which Wunnar was a principal participant. His account should therefore be accepted as authoritative. Later chroniclers such as Mīr Ma'sūm⁴ give a very different account of these events which is very confused and place them before the reign of 'Alāuddīn. Ibn Battūta's evidence, however, shows that Sumeras were the leading tribe about the time of his visit. The Sammas had not appeared on the scene by this time for he makes no reference to them in his vivid and interesting account of Sind.

Speaking of the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's death, Baranī⁵ refers to the Sumeras and particularly the Sumeras of Thatta, which indicates that they were still the ruling tribe. He also mentions the Jāms of Thatta,

1. Samma is written both as Sāmāh (سامه), and as Samma (سمة). Sumera is written as Sumura (سمره), Sumēra (سمره) and Sumērā (سمره). Their plurals in Persian are written as Sammagān and Sumirgān (سمرگان, سمرگان). I have throughout this essay used the following form: Samma, Sumera.

2. *Ma'sūmī*, pp. 46, 51, 62-63; *Tuḥfatul Kirmān*, III, pp. 33, 49-52.

3. This Wunnar should not be confused, as is sometimes done, with Unnar of the Samma tribe. Ibn Battūta is quite definite that he was the head of the Sumeras, and there is no reason to doubt his evidence.

4. *Ma'sūmī*, pp. 62, 63.

5. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī* of Dīlāuddīn Baranī, pp. 523-24.

which may be taken to mean that about this time the Samma Jāms were also becoming an important factor.

The best contemporary authority for the decline of Sumeras and the rise of Sammas is a letter from 'Ainul Mulk Māhrū, who was Governor of Multān in the early years of Firōz Shāh's reign addressed to Malik-ush-Sharq Iftikhārul Mulk Šāhib-i-Dīwān-i-Istifā-i-Mumālīk, the Governor of Gujrat. The letter was evidently written in the early years of Firōz Shāh Tughluq's reign. The following is a translation of the relevant portions of the letter :—¹

The plant of the existence of Hamīr Dōdā Sumera has been afflicted by the violent wind of calamities. The pure water of your patronage has given it a new lease of life, and it is to be hoped that it will flourish and bear fruit under your generous care. The purpose of all this enunciation is, as everybody knows, that Bānhbīna Unnar² has raised the standard of rebellion, has turned away from the path of loyalty and has made a habit of spreading desolation in the realm and bringing in the Mongols (for that purpose). He has given himself up to these ambitions. Accordingly he had once invaded the Punjab along with the Mongol hordes. But, by the grace of God, imperial reinforcement arrived from Multan and he had to run away, shedding off all his sense of manly honour and valour. This has already been brought to your notice. Before that and after that he has on several occasions turned his attention to Gujrat, as is well known to yourself. For the purpose of destroying and annihilating this root of all troubles and rebellions, His Majesty has turned his gracious attention to the welfare of Hamīr Dōdā, and has honoured him by the grant of rank and fixation of salary. To crown all these, he has been entrusted to the charge of Malikul 'Umarā Ruknuddīn Amīr Ḥasan. The reason for this is that the territories of Gujrat are under your care and that Malik Ruknuddīn Ḥasan is your younger brother, he has been brought up by you and owes his position in the imperial court to you.... This humble servant hopes that.... the position of Hamīr Dōdā will be strengthened as is desired by His Majesty, and both the territories of Sind and Gujrat will be freed from the menace of Bānhbīna Unnar. Otherwise nothing can present these handful of damned people from bringing infidels (Mongols) into the territories of Islam whenever they like and looting and carrying off as slaves the subjects and the Dhimmīs of Dar-ul-Islām. This trouble-monger Bānhbīna, whenever he gets an opportunity, overcomes the Muqaddams of Gujrat, imprisons them and extorts (money) from them by threats and violence. The bad plight of the Gujratīs is self-evident. They are in need of assistance and support.

1. *Munshat-i-Māhrū*, letter No. 42, f. 115-78.

2. i.e., Bānhbīna bin Ummar. It was a general practice to add father's name without putting "bin" in between. Cf. Mu'izzuddin Muḥammad Sam, Muhammad Tughluq, *Sheikh Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri*, etc., etc.

(It would be desirable) if you encourage and persuade them, saying "you people of Gujrāt. . . are a proud people. How have you fallen so low that you find yourself helpless in the face of a handful of wretched cowards. If all of you muster strong and gird up the loin of retaliation, we would send the armies of Islam to your aid. You may then very well hope to make short work of all these rebels and thus to wash off from your foreheads the mark of their ascendancy by the sweat of your valour."

It is evident from the letter that the Sammas under the leadership of Bānhbīna were a rising power and were giving much headache to the provincial governors of Multān (Upper Sind Province) and Gujrāt by their insubordination and their raids. The influence of the Sumera chief had greatly dwindled, but he was being pampered up by the imperial court and the Governors as a counterpoise to the rising Samma power. In other letters of 'Ainul Mulk dealing with Sind affairs, obviously written a bit later, Hamīr Dōda Sumera is not referred to at all, signifying his disappearance from the stormy politics of Sind.

The Sammas had probably appeared as a political force during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.¹ In any case it can now be taken as settled on the basis of reliable contemporary evidence that, after some struggle for supremacy with the Sumeras, they came to power finally early in Firōz Shāh's reign. Even though this contemporary evidence needs little corroboration from much later sources, yet it may be noted that at one place 'Alī Shēr Qāni, author of *Tuhfatul Kirām* gives the date of the Sammas displacing the Sumeras as 752/1351-2 and gives Hamīr as the name of the last Sumera chief who was overthrown by the Sammas.²

How and why the Sammas were able to defeat and displace the Sumeras, it is very difficult to say. The contemporary writers do not tackle this problem. In the absence of reliable data it would be better to leave over this very important problem for further research. It may, however, be noted that Mīr Ma'sūm remarks that the last Sumera ruler was so cruel and oppressive that people got disgusted with him and resolved to depose him and put an end to him. The notables among the people entered into a conspiracy with Unnar who was a distinguished man of the Samma tribe. The Sumera ruler was as a result murdered. Unnar was in his place elevated to the throne.³ Mīr Ma'sūm says that the Sammas had come from Cutch, had settled in Sind and had established friendly

1. See Barani's evidence noted earlier.

2. *Tuhfatul Kirām*, III pp 39, 49 *Tārīkh-i-Tāhīrī* also gives the name of last Sumera ruler as Dōda Sumera and describes him as an oppressive ruler (E & D I, 271)

3. *Tārīkh-i-Tāhīrī* says that through the tyranny of the Sumera ruler the river by the town of Alor became dry, the passage of the river of the Punjab came to be made near Siwan, and the consequent want of water ruined the lands of the tribe of Sumera (*Tārīkh-i-Tāhīrī*, E & D, p 271). This change in the course of the river is mentioned in the *Tuhfatul Kirām* (III, 44) also, though in a different way. It is

relations with the indigenous population of Sind which enabled them to displace the Sumeras and to rise to power. The period of their advent to Sind is not given but the context strongly suggests that they came there not long ago.¹ The Sammas however had been in Sind for a fairly long time. According to *Chachnāma*, the Sammas came playing and dancing before Muḥammad bin Qāsim in order to give him a welcome after their own tribal custom. This happened in 94/712, soon after Muḥammad had conquered Brahmanābād and settled its affairs.² Muḥammad bin Qāsim appointed one of his own companions, Kharim bin 'Amr, to the charge ('amārat) of the Samma tribe. Approximately about a century and a quarter after this we come across one Amīr Muḥammad who was the ruler of a place described as Sawandi Samma. This Sawandi Samma was not far away from Brahmanābād and was evidently a stronghold or a town of the Samma tribe.³ Amīr Aḥmed was

however an accepted fact of historical geography that the river Indus has changed its course considerably towards the West. Raverty (J.A.S.B., 1892, p. 316) says that originally the westernmost branch of the Mehran used to flow past Aror and to unite with the main river near Maṣūra. Later on the 'Āb-i-Sind began to incline towards the West. This was in all probability a natural change and in some way allied with the drying up of the rivers of what is now the northern portion of the Indian desert, which (rivers) were all tributaries of the Hakra or Waiḥinda, now dried up. The change might have been assisted to some artificial means as is hinted at in *Tuḥfatul Kirām* (III, 44) and *Tārīkh-i-Tāhīrī* (E. & D. p. 266) but this is rather unlikely. The following remark of General Cunningham (*Ancient Geography of India*, p. 296) may also be noted in this connection. "The ruins of Alor are situated to the South of a Gap in the low range of limestone hills, which stretch from Bhakar towards the south for about 20 miles, until it is lost in the broad belt of the Indus, on the west. Through this gap a branch of the Indus once flowed, which protected the city on the north-west. To the north-east it was covered by a second branch of the river, which flowed nearly at right angles to the other, at a distance of 3 miles. At the accession of Raja Dahir in A.D. 680, the latter was probably the main stream of the Indus, which had been gradually working to the westward from its original bed in old Nara. According to the native histories, the final change was hastened by the excavation of a channel through the northern end of the range of hills between Bhakar and Rori." On the basis of the above discussion, and in the absence of contemporary and more authentic evidence we may conclude that the end of the Summeras as a ruling tribe came partly as a result of their having lost the confidence of the people and partly due to geographic changes which ruined the prosperity of their strongholds.

1. *Ma'sūmī*, p. 61.

2. *Chachnāma*, p. 220.

3. *Chachnāma* says that during the reign of Sehras bin Sahsi (circa, in the first half of the 7th century A.D.) who was a very powerful Raja and whose kingdom extended from the border of Kashmir to the Arabian Sea, the realm was divided into four parts. The Brahmanābād or the middle portion of it had a town named Samma which might have been a stronghold or a town of the Sammas. Another reference in *Chachnāma* to the same town runs as follows:— "(Chach) started for the Budhia fort and Siwista (Sehwan)... He crossed the Ab-i-Mehrān (Indus) near a place called Dhiyyat. This place is (on the boundary between Sammas and Alor (Aror). From here he set out for Bodhia." (*Chachnāma* p. 39; p. 264) identified as Dahat a town on the northern border of the Kandhiaro pargana which is known to have been the border of the Sammas lands. The old river channel still exists here. (Hodiwala p. 84).

If this Sammas be taken to be a Samma town, it would mean the Sammas had a very long association with Sind. This as will be seen later is partially supported by *Tārīkh-i-Tāhīrī*.

a contemporary of the author of the original Arabic *Chachnāma*, who quotes him as one of his informants.¹ Apart from these few tantalising references there is little contemporary evidence to help us to determine as to the origin of the Sammas, when and whence they came to Sind and when they embraced Islam. Their title of Jām would suggest that they had close affinity with the Jāms of Cutch and Kāthiāwār.² Their partly Hindu names also point to a Hindu origin. This is supported by Ma'sūmī's statement about their coming from Cutch. *Tārīkh-i-Tāhīrī* gives a different account. According to it the Sammas originally lived in Sind. When the Sumera regime there became very oppressive, they left Sind and set out for Cutch. There they were given land by the ruling tribe and they carried on for some time as a peaceful, law-abiding agricultural community. After some time, by means of a stratagem, they captured the fort and established their rule in Cutch. "Thus the country which lies along the sea became subject to the people of the Samma, and their descendants are dominant there to this day.... The Rajas of both great and little Kach are descended from the Sammas tribe." Soon after came the decline of the Sumeras in Sind. "As no man was left in Sind, among the Sumeras of sufficient power to govern the country, the Samma people set to work to cultivate new territories on another part of the river."

To revert to the period under study, we find the Sammas firmly saddled in lower Sind early in the reign of Firōz Shāh. The first Samma ruler was Unnar according to *Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī*.³ This is partially and indirectly corroborated by contemporary sources. The first Samma rulers to be mentioned in contemporary sources are the Jām and Bānhbīna who were joint rulers of Lower Sind. The Jām was the brother of Unnar and Bānhbīna the son of Unnar.⁴ Incidentally there has been much confusion about these names. Raverty⁵ went to the length of holding that Bānhbīna is really Bānī-i-Thatta (literally founder of Thatta), while another modern historian⁶ opined that Jam-Bānhbīna constitute a single name and that Jām and Bānhbīna were not two separate persons. Both these views are patently absurd, and it will be waste of labour to adduce reasons against them. The word Bānhbīna itself has been written variously in the chronicles of various periods. Professor Hodiwala⁷ remarks, "The fact is that 'Bābāniya' is a corruption of 'Bānānio,' a name which occurs frequently among the ruling dynasties, not only of Sind, but of Kachh and Kathiawar." On the other hand, Professor Daudpota⁸ says "In my

1. *Chachnāma*, p. 218.

2. Hodiwala says: "The rulers of Kachh and Nawānagar are Jadeja Sammas, i.e., Sammas descended from Jada." Hodiwala, p. 118.

3. *Ma'sūmī*, p. 62.

4. *Afif*, p. 199; *Sirat-i-Firōz Shāhī*, f. 86.

5. J. A. I. B., 1892, p. 329 n.

6. Ishwan Prasad—*Medieval India*, p. 278.

7. Hodiwala, p. 104.

8. *Ma'sūmī*, p. 294-5.

opinion the correct writing of this name is Bānbhah or Banbhah (Sindhi, Banbhu) for this name with this pronunciation is still well known among the Jāms of Sind." I beg to differ on this point, in view of the evidence of contemporary manuscripts.

As the *Sīrat-i-Firōz Shāhī* has it, the full name of Jām is 'Alāuddīn Jām Jūnā (or Jaunā)¹ and of his nephew, Šadr-ud-dīn Bānhbīna bin Unnar. Three contemporary manuscripts, *Sīrat-i-Firōz Shāhī* (f. 87), *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* (f. 237-41) and *Malfūzāt-i-Mahdūm-i-Jahāniān* (f. 170), spell the latter's name in this way, viz., Banhbīna, (بانهينه) and I think it may be taken as finally correct.

Jām Jūna and Bānhbīna are mentioned as joint rulers of Thatta (Lower Sind) in some letters of 'Ainul Mulk which seem to have been written in the early part of Firōz Shāh's reign. One of these letters speak of Bānhbīna's mischievous activities in Sind while Firōz Shāh was away from Delhi campaigning in Bengal.² Firōz Shāh's two campaigns in Bengal occurred in 1353-54 and 1359-61. The letter may be referring to any of these two expeditions. Probably the latter, because it entailed a longer absence from the capital as well as a misadventure when Firōz Shāh lost the way during the return march from Jājnagar. The period of the second expedition was obviously more suitable for rebellious activities. Assuming that the above-mentioned letter refers to the second Lakhnauti expedition, 'Alāuddīn Jām and Bānhbīna had succeeded jointly to the government of Thatta some time before 1359. *Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī* and *Tuhfatul Kīrām*³ both give to Unnar, the first Samma ruler a reign of three and a half years after which he was succeeded by Jām and Bānhbīna.

In dealing with the affairs of Jām and Bānhbīna we are on surer ground because there are several contemporary accounts of their relations with the Delhi Sultan and with his Governor of Multan. These accounts were no doubt written from the imperial point of view and have therefore a bias against Jām and his nephew. This of course, will have to be taken into consideration. But it is a pity we do not possess contemporary local chronicles of Sind which might provide the other point of view.

To begin with it appears rather strange that two persons, an uncle and his nephew, should jointly rule a principality. It does not appear to have been in accord with the traditions of the country. Nor does there appear any warrant for such a course in the customs and practices of Sind or of the Jādejas. But at the same time this joint rulership is not an isolated instance among Samma Chiefs, for, as we shall see in detail later, it is followed immediately by two more consecutive joint rulerships. But after that this arrangement was entirely given up and we do not come across any more joint rulers. I have not been able to find a satisfactory solution of this strange political phenomenon.

1. *Sīrat*, f. 87; *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* (f. 237) also calls him Jām Jūna.

2. *Munshāt-i-Māhrū*, p. 218.

3. *Ma'sūm*, p. 62; *Tuhfatul Kīrām*, III, p. 50.

When the Samma Chief Unnar overthrew the Sumeras, the latter did not disappear all at once from the scene. They carried on an unequal struggle to regain their position and in this they were helped by the Delhi Sultanate and its representatives in Sind and Gujrāt. This struggle continued for sometime and had not ended by the time when 'Alāuddīn Jām and his nephew succeeded Unnar. This we have already observed in the letter of 'Ainul Mulk Māhrū, the Governor of Multān to the Governor of Gujrāt. But the Sumeras' days of prosperity were over and nothing, not even the imperial favour and succour, could save them from their final downfall.

RELATIONS WITH DELHI SULTANATE

Not much authentic information is available about the relations of the Sumeras with the Sultanate of Delhi. About the only contemporary notice of these relations is a passage of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* in which he describes events witnessed by himself. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reached Sind in 1333 during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq (1325-51). The passage runs as follows :—

"In this town (Siwistān or Sehwān) lived the chief of the Sumeras . . . as well as Amīr Qaiṣar-i-Rūmī. Both these were servants of the Sultan and had under them a contingent of 1800 horse. A Hindu, Ratan by name, also lived in this town. This man was an expert in accounts and composition, and through the good offices of some noble he presented himself to the Emperor. The latter appreciated his worth and appointed him governor (ḥākim) of this part of the country. . . . Siwistān and its neighbouring territory was conferred on him as Jāgīr. When he returned to his town (viz., Sehwān), Wunnār (the Sumera Chief) and Qaiṣar felt very reluctant to serve under a Hindu and plotted to murder him. . . . Their men murdered him and. . . .looted the royal treasury (of Sehwān) and appointed Wunnār as their Governor (ḥākim). He took the title of Malik Firōz and distributed the contents of the treasury to the soldiers. But Wunnār now became apprehensive (of imperial punishment) as he was away from his home and tribe. Taking his followers with him he left for his tribal territory. The remaining soldiers elected Qaiṣar-i-Rūmī as their Chief."

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa goes on to describe the expedition sent against Qaiṣar and the horrible punishment inflicted on him and his followers.

It appears from the above passage that the Sumeras, or a part of them had accepted the authority of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq and remained loyal to him till 1333. But the passage does not warrant the assumption that all the Sumeras and all those parts of Sind which were under them had accepted the suzerainty of the Sultan. In any case it

* Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Safarnāma*, page 9.

seems that after 1333 the Sumeras withheld allegiance to Delhi. Muḥammad bin Tughluq remained too much engrossed with troubles and rebellions in other parts of the country to bother about enforcing his authority over the Sumera Sind. He, however, had to come to Sind in the last year of his life in pursuit of Taghī who was his servant and had raised the standard of rebellion in Gujrāt from where he had escaped to Thatta. Taghī was supported in his rebellion by the people of Thatta. In this context Baranī¹ speaks of Sumeras as well as Jāms both of whom assisted Taghī. Thus it appears that while the Sammas and Sumeras were struggling for supremacy in Sind about this period (as described earlier), both of them were opposed to Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Muḥammad, as is well known, died in the vicinity of Thatta before he could chastise Taghī and his supporters, and was succeeded by his cousin Firōz Shāh.

The Sumeras could not keep up their anti-Delhi attitude for long. In Sind itself they were fast losing ground to the Sammas. It appears that in this contingency they sought the assistance of the Delhi Sultanate which readily came to their support in order to check the intransigent Sammas as had been noted in detail earlier.

The Sammas on the other hand stood for local independence, and this is probably the explanation of the unfailing support which they received from the people in their unequal but valiant struggles against the Delhi Sultanate. Their attitude was bound to bring them into conflict with the Sultanate sooner or later. A curious thing is that Jām Jūna and Bānhbīna appear to have taken somewhat different attitudes towards Delhi. This is the impression which one gets from three letters of 'Ainul Mulk as well as from 'Afif's chronicle.² All the three letters reprove Bānhbīna, praise Jām Jūna and ask him to set things right. At the same time there is no evidence of any breach between the two. The uncle and the nephew seem to have continued together quite well in spite of the curious constitutional position in which they were placed and their differences in matters of foreign policy.

Quite early in Firōz Shāh's reign Bānhbīna in complicity with the Mongols created trouble on the Punjab and Gujrāt borders. In the case of Punjab, the army from Multān came in time to check them. On the Gujrāt side they led more than one ravaging expedition and greatly harassed the Muqaddams. But they were ultimately checked and beaten back by the Muqaddams with the support of the imperial troops.³

1. Baranī, p.

2. For references see detailed discussion below.

3. For all this, see Māhrū's letter to the Governor of Gujrāt quoted earlier. Dīa'uddīn Baranī (p. 601) also in his account of the first six years of Firōz Shāh's reign mentions one Mongol invasion of Gujrāt. Evidently these Mongols came from the Makrān side and could have reached Gujrāt only through Thatta and with the active assistance of the rulers of Thatta. Baranī further says, "Some of these (Mongols) died due to scarcity of water, some others were killed by the army of Islam while yet others were destroyed in a night attack by the Muqaddams of Gujrāt."

This however did not put an end to Bānhbīna's activities on the border. When Firōz Shāh was away from Delhi campaigning in the East (in all probability the second Lakhnautī expedition, as earlier pointed out), Bānhbīna again brought his Mongol allies and created trouble on the Punjab border. He even harassed the Shahnās (Supervisors) of the Sultanate who were working in those areas. Being afraid of reprisals, he wrote a letter to Māhrū justifying his action. All this information we get from a letter of 'Ainul Mulk Māhrū¹ which he evidently wrote in reply, Māhrū's letter is a fairly long one of which the following is a brief summary, taken from an analytical summary of *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* prepared by the present writer :—

This letter is in reply to a letter from the addressee (viz., Jām Jūna) which is frequently quoted and whose statements it seeks to disprove. The addressee in his letter had protested loyalty to the Sultan and offered excuses for encountering the Shahnagān, etc. Māhrū tells him that he should have submitted the matter to him, for, says Māhrū, "I am the absolute Amīr and Hākīm (of these areas) on behalf of His Majesty."

اسر و حاکم مطلق العنان از جهت خداوند عالم خلد الله ملکه من -

He accuses Bānhbīna of complicity with Mongols who had raided the Sultan's territories, adding

نیکوسره بگوئید که خداوند عالم را در کتب باری عز اسم در لکهنوی سنیده بودم و لست کرملتان آوان کرده دانسینم، بنا بران (دک سود) - ؟

Translation :

How fine of you to say "We had heard that His Majesty was in Lakhnauti under the divine protection. We took the army of Multan to have been dispatched (to Lakhnauti). Therefore....??"

Māhrū reminds him how the earlier rulers of Sind had been loyal to the imperial governors (of Multan and Uch). He rebukes him for contumacy after having sent his daughters to the imperial harem,² and draws him in an unfavourable comparison with Hindu chiefs. He rebukes him for boasting of a large following. He chides him, his secretary and adviser for the inopportune wording of his letter.

As to the addressee's objection against Māhrū's army having captured Muslims and sold them as slaves, Māhrū says that this was not done by his order but killing of such Muslims as invade and ravage Darus-salām is permitted by the Shari'at.

1. *Munshāt-i-Māhrū*, letter No. 88, f. 216-24 The text is obscure at several places and one can only guess the purport with the help of the context.

2. This is the only reference to the Jām sending his daughters to the imperial harem. It is not corroborated or even mentioned by any other contemporary or later historian.

Māhrū says that breaking of the pledged word and chicanery is an old habit of the Sindhis and he goes on to relate the whole episode of Muḥammad bin Qāsim and the daughters of Raja Dahir.* Māhrū therefore disbelieves the above charge but promises to enquire into the matter on coming to Siwistān.

To the addressee's threat and boast of having a large army, Māhrū retorts, "The more numerous the prey, the greater the bag." As to the addressee's excuse that the charges against him had been fabricated, Māhrū says that his men have assured him of Jām's loyalty and attributed the disturbances to the people of Thatta. But, says Māhrū, Jām should be held responsible for the conduct of his relations.

The letter belongs to Firōz Shāh's reign and was written some time after the Lakhnauti campaign.

The last part of the letter alluding to Jām Jūna's loyalty is possibly a diplomatic flourish, meant to keep the Jām humoured. The letter indeed is a curious combination of threats and persuasions, partly accusative and partly apologetic. It shows the literary power of 'Ainul Mulk Māhrū as well as the diplomatic art of the period. Another thing to be noted is the Jām's protestation of loyalty to the Sultan which is mentioned in the letter. This protestation of loyalty, however, was hollow, and but thinly covered the Samma rulers' passion for local independence. It was just a piece of diplomacy and nothing more. Māhrū's letter to the Jām, it appears, had some effect but only a temporary one. After some time there was again a renewal of Bānhbīna-cum-Mongol raids into imperial territory. All these developments are alluded to in Māhrū's next *parwāna* addressed to the Jām and Bānhbīna. It is significant that this dispatch is described as a *parwāna* (i.e., an official order addressed to a subordinate) and not a *maktūb* (letter). This is due partly and mainly to the position of vassalage which the Samma rulers had accepted temporarily, and partly to the admonitory and threatening tone of the contents.

The following is a brief summary of the despatch, taken from my analytical summary of *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* :—

The *parwāna* is addressed to Jām Jūna who is praised for loyalty and Bānhbīna who is censured and threatened. The *parwāna* quotes the '*arḍdasht*' which they had submitted and which had been accepted by Firōz Shāh due to the intercession of Shaikhul Islām Ṣadrud-dīn and Sayyid Jalāluddīn Bukhārī. Under the '*arḍdasht*' they had promised to give fifty horses worth one lac tankas. The undertaking was not fulfilled and Bānhbīna raided the imperial territory in conjunction with the Mongols. Bānhbīna is threatened with dire punishment in default of submitting to the *parwāna*.

The most important passage in the *parwāna* is obscure in several places. I am giving here the text as well as the translation as I do not

* It is hardly necessary to point out that this story, which owes its origin to *Chachnāma*, is no longer accepted as sober history. See Daudpota's note, *Chachnāma*, pp. 267-69.

feel sure of the accuracy of the translation in view of the textual uncertainty.

شیخ الاسلام صدر الدین و سید جلال الدین بخاری (را) در میان آورده بودند و چنان عرضداشتت معمول (معمول؟) "ولایتی که در تصرف داریم همه وقت در وجهه حشمها و خرجها درین دیار بمصرف می رسید و بخزانہ موفور چیزے و اصل نمی شود اکنون ما بندگان رعایا فرمان برداریم و از راه معنی لشکر اسلام هستیم - هرچه درین حدود ان لشکر می گردد تا گجرات و ستیکر هر جان (؟) بمعنی فرمان رسد اطاعت بنائیم و به پنجاه سراسپ که قیمت از یک لک تنکه (باشد؟) ببارگه بر سائیم هم عرض لشکر و هم خزانہ حاصل باشد،... شیخ الاسلام و سید جلال الدین... عرضداشت ایشان را به عزاجابت مقرون گردانید (ند) ¹

Translation :

"They (i.e., you) had brought for intercession Shaikhul Islām Sadrud-dīn and Sayyid Jalāluddīn Bukhārī and (had submitted) such 'Arḍdāshṭ purporting (as follows),² (The income of) the territory that is in our possession was always spent in (paying) the salary of the armies and (defraying) the expenses (of administration),³ so that nothing could be remitted to the prosperous (Imperial) Treasury.⁴ Now, we are servants and obedient subjects (of His Majesty), and are intrinsically (part of) the army of Islam (i.e., the Imperial army). Whenever⁵ that (Imperial army) moves in these (our) territories up to Gujrat (in the south) and Satikar Harjan⁶ (? on the north ?), we will carry out the (Imperial) firman regarding supply and commissariat. And we will send to the Court fifty horses worth one lac tankas. This will serve the purpose of the Army as well as meet the demands of the Imperial treasury." Their 'arḍdāshṭ was accepted (by the Emperor) through the good offices of Shaikhul Islām and Sayyid Jalāluddīn.

Sayyid Jalāluddīn Bukhārī,⁷ more popularly known as Makhdūm-i-Jahāniān Jahāngasht was the leading saint of the fourteenth century Sind.

1. *Munshāt-i-Māhrū*, letter No. 99 ; f. 237-41.

2. *Munshāt-i-Māhrū*, f. 238.

3. This can be translated in a number of ways.

4. This sentence of the text has possibly some technical sense.

5. This is a very difficult sentence. It can also be translated as follows:—

All this Army (of ours ?) that moves in (i.e., belongs to ?) these (our) territories, up to Gujrat and Satikar Harjan (?) will obey any commands that reach us (from the Emperor).

6. Satikar Harjan cannot be identified. Satikar might be Sukkar or Sekar which is on the Indus in the vicinity of Alor and Rohri and is in the northern corner of the present Sind province. Satikar has also some resemblance with Satgarha, but this place is rather too farther north, being situated on the Ravi, roughly 120 miles north-east of Multan.

7. See 'Afif, pp. 514-16 ; also frequent references in the *Malfūzāt* of the Saint.

He was a close friend of Firōz Shāh and visited Delhi several times in order to see the latter. The saint was greatly influential in Sind. He played an active part in the transactions between the Samma chiefs and the Sultanate of Delhi. He used his influence on more than one occasion to keep or restore peace between the two. He generally put his weight on the side of the central authority and exercised a stabilizing and moderating influence on the Sind politics. He died in 1385.

Sheikh Šadrūddīn was a descendant of the famous saint Shaikh Bahā'uddīn Zakariyya of Multan. He occupied the highly dignified position of Shaikhul Islām under Firōz Shāh. He was the Chief of the Suhrawardīa silsila.

The arrangement made through the effort of these two religious leaders did not last for long, because the Samma rulers did not abide by it¹ and Bānībīna once again brought the accursed Mongols into the imperial territory.

It may be pointed out here that the events which have been recorded here on the basis of the two despatches of 'Ainul Mulk Multānī to the Jām and Bānībīna, took place some time between 1360 and 1365.

Provincial action having failed to curb the insubordination and turbulence of the Samma rulers, Firōz Shāh had to take the field personally. This was possibly necessitated by the death of 'Ainul Mulk Māhrū, which, I presume, occurred some time before Firōz Shāh's Thatta expedition. Absence of any further dispatch or even reference to Sind affairs in *Munshat-i-Māhrū* and a similar absence of all reference to 'Ainul Mulk Māhrū in the detailed accounts of Thatta expedition in *Sirat-i-Firōz Shāhī* and 'Afif's *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī* tends to confirm the assumption that 'Ainul Mulk had died some time before 1366 when Firōz Shāh undertook his Thatta campaign.

A detailed account of Firōz Shāh's Thatta expedition is given in 'Afif's *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī* (Bibliotheca Indica). *Sirat-i-Firōz Shāhī* which was compiled about 1371 contains an earlier and more contemporary account of the expedition, but 'Afif's account is fuller, more systematic and more reliable.²

First as to the date of the expedition. The date is nowhere mentioned in contemporary or later works. The present writer, however, has been able to fix it with a reasonable amount of certainty. The expedition was contemporaneous with the revolt of Bahrām Khan Māzandarānī which occurred in 1366. By September, 1367, we find Firōz Shāh already back in Delhi, busy transplanting the Asoka pillars. The Thatta campaign may have covered a few last months of 1365, the whole of 1366 and

1. A rather vague reference to this non-fulfilment is made in Māhrū's only letter to "Sayyid Jalāluddīn Ahmad Bukhārī" *Munshat-i-Māhrū*, Letter No. 22, f. 63-69.

2. A detailed and critical account of the Thatta campaign is given in my monograph on Firōz Shāh.

about the first half of 1367.¹

The next thing to be considered is Firōz Shāh's motives in leading the expedition against Thatta. 'Afif would like us to believe that the Thattians' support to Taghī's rebellion against his late imperial cousin, Muhammad bin Tughluq and the tragic circumstances of the latter's death near Thatta had left a deep impression on Firōz Shāh's mind. He wanted to avenge himself on the people of Thatta and to teach them a lesson.² Whatever might be the strength of that memory, the real causes of the expedition lay in other direction. First and foremost was the aggressive insubordination of the Sammas and their offensive alliance with the Mongols who had been for so long the terror of the Delhi Sultans. The appointment of an administrator of outstanding ability and long and varied experience such as 'Ainul Mulk Māhrū Multānī, was in itself an indication of the grave importance which Firōz Shāh attached to Sind affairs. Further there is sufficient evidence, in Māhrū's letters, of Firōz Shāh's keen personal interest in Sind affairs. So, to sum up, the Thatta campaign was inspired mainly by the Bānhabīna-cum-Mongol menace, which in the context of not very distant history, had possibilities of becoming grave any time. The removal of the able and experienced 'Ainul Mulk by death also possibly made it imperative to take quick and firm action. Secondly it should not be forgotten that Firōz Shāh, in spite of his affectations of pacifism and his "Victories of Peace" (*Futūhāt-i-Firōz Shāhī*) was not without ambitions of territorial expansion. In fact, he was as great an expansionist and imperialist as any who ever sat on the throne of Delhi. He led expeditions in every direction that he could. He even led an abortive expedition to Deccan which was abandoned after the first stage, and would have led another campaign in that direction but for Khān-i-Jahān's powers of dissuasion and the lesson learnt in the costly and all but disastrous campaigns in Bengal and Sind.

THATTA CAMPAIGN

Firōz Shāh set out from Delhi with large forces. Passing through Ajodhan and Bhakhar, he reached Siwistan where he requisitioned a fleet of 5000 boats. The fleet sailed down the Indus while the emperor marched along the bank with the army till he arrived in the vicinity of Thatta. The town was obviously situated on the bank of the main channel of the Indus in those days, and spread on both sides of the Indus.³ Both

1. Firishta, pp. 292-94; 'Afif, p. 250, Sirat, f. 92, 187. The whole thing has been more fully discussed in my monograph on Firōz Shāh.

2. 'Afif, pp. 191-92.

3. Thatta. It is wrong to suppose that Thatta was founded by the Sammas. Barani, in his account of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign, speaks of Thatta-i-Sumargan or Thatta of the Sumeras. The Samma Jāms, however, made it the capital of their principality of Lower Sind.

Thatta's Geographical Position :

"The city of Thatta is situated in a low swampy valley, three miles from the western bank of the

the parts possessed mud fortresses, from where Jām Jūna and Bānhbīna launched attacks on the imperial forces. Attacks and counter-attacks went on for some time during the course of which the imperial army ran short of food and fodder. An epidemic spread among the horses, claiming three-fourth of them. Firōz's position thus became untenable. Making an attack against the Thattians to push them back Firōz decided to withdraw towards Gujrat, intending to return next season. The Thattians pursued the army, hanging on its flanks, cutting off stragglers and looting supplies. Firōz Shāh deputed Zafar Khān with his Bengalis to guard the rear. The entire fleet, however, fell into the hands of the Thattians.

Firōz evidently got the worse in this first round. This is evident from 'Afif's account as given above which is decisively corroborated by a reference in the *Malfūzāt* of Makhdūm-i-Jahāniān. It is not clear how far the natural calamities mentioned above were a potent cause of his failure and how far they are used as cloaks for Firōz's military set-back. Afif puts the strength of the Thattians as 20 thousand horse and 4

Indus... Captain Hamilton (1699 A.D.) describes it as situated about 2 miles from the Indus. It is highly probable therefore that the town originally stood on the bank of the river, which has been gradually receding from it." (Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, pp. 330-31). This view is corroborated by 'Afif's description, viz., "The City of Thatta lies in two parts. One part is on the bank of the river Sind towards Delhi (i.e., Eastern bank) and the other part lies across the river." ('Afif, pp. 199, 200, also see p. 235).

This description of Thatta should be read along with the following observation of Major Raverty and Major Haig:—

"The Sindhū, Nahr-i-Sind, Ab-i-Sind or Indus was a tributary, along with other rivers, now forming the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, of the Hakra or Waihindā, which having all united into one great river at the Dosh-i-ab formed the Mehrān of Sind or Sind Sagar. Lower down this point of junction, it sent off a branch to the westward which passed Aror, the ancient capital of Sind, which again united with the main channel above Mansuriah. (Later) Ab-i-Sind began to incline more towards the west.... and deserted the other tributaries of Hakra. (Later still) other changes occurred, the Biah and its tributaries left Hakra altogether and a new Panch Nad was formed by its joining the Ab-i-Sind. Ab-i-Sind inclined to south-west, passing the present Larkana on the west, and then inclining southward in the direction of Siwistān." (Raverty—*Mehrān of Sind*, J.A.S.B. 1892, p. 316).

"Kalri on the bank of which Thatta is situated must have been a perennial stream. (It has now been converted into a canal, vide *Sind Gazetteer*). It carried the main body of the Indus for some time. (Major Haig, *Indus Delta Country*, p. 77. This is not an exact quotation, but the purport of Haig's words).

The court-poet Muṭahhir in his Odes gives a different description of Thatta, which is as follows:—

دریا و پنج آب زهر چار سوے او گشته یکے دو چشم تو چندانکہ کار کرد
تہہ کہ آن جزیرہ بلادیست بر کہف دریاں یک طرف شدہ پنجاب یک طرف

Translation—The Darya and the Panj Ab surround it (i.e., Thatta) on all his four sides. (They all) formed one (sheet of water) as far as the eye travelled. Thatta which is an Island country, full of caves and defiles, (has) the Darya on its one side and the Panj-Ab on the other.

I must confess I am not able to understand with certainty Muṭahhir's two verses quoted above. What he says is that Thatta was bounded by the Darya on one side and the Panj Ab on the other. Darya

lac foot. This is also probably an exaggeration meant to offset the military set-back of Firōz Shāh.¹

In the journey from Thatta to Gujrat, the imperial army had to undergo untold suffering. While crossing the Rann of Cutch the army lost its way and wandered on foot in a traceless and waterless sandy desert for some time, losing all hope of life. The journey took a heavy toll of men and beast in the imperial army.² Reaching Gujrat, Firōz made great preparations for a second invasion of Sind. Men and supplies were requisitioned from Gujrat as well as from Delhi in order to equip and reinforce the army. The loyal and able Wazir, Khān Jahān Maqbūl sent a huge consignment of supplies from Delhi.³

normally would mean sea. Panj Ab might stand for Mīhran or the main stream of the Indus in Sind. If on the other hand Darya stands for the main stream, Ab-i-Sind might mean some deltaic branch of the Indus. Thatta stands on the head of Indus delta, and, considering the mutability of streams in a delta, it is by no means unlikely that Thatta was at one time surrounded, in the fashion of an Island, by rivers on all sides.

According to one of Haig's maps, Thatta, before the eighteenth century, stood in a sort of water-bound triangle whose sides were formed by the river Kalri (which carried the main stream) and the river Baghor. This might be the clue to Muṭāḥhir's verses. Still it is not easy to adjust the descriptions of 'Afif and Muṭāḥhir, both contemporaries.

A more reasonable view would be that Thatta stood in those days very near the sea, as the poet Muṭāḥhir implies in his description. The position of land and sea on the estuary of the Indus was definitely not the same some centuries back as it is today. The delta has, as Mr. Consens has remarked, been always pushing forward its coast line (*Antiquities of Sind*, p. 3). Raverty remarks, "A vast deal of the delta is of comparatively recent formation; for the small district dependent on Badin was the most southerly part of Sind in Akbar Badshah's reign, and now it is over seventy miles from the southernmost part of the delta. . . . It is supposed and with very good reason, that the greater part of delta between Thatta and Karachi has been formed since the Ab-i-Sind or Indus deserted the channel which passed by Nasrpur and took a more westerly course" (Raverty, the Mehran of Sind).

1. 'Afif, pp. 200-02; *Malfūzāt-i-Makhdūm-i-Jahānīān*, f. 170. Later chroniclers like Yahya Sirhindī (*Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*), Nizamudin Bakhshī and Mir Ma'sūm assert that Firōz had to retire due to scarcity of food and fodder, flood, and horse epidemic.

It may be observed here that the season in which the above events took place was in all probability summer. It is in this season that Sind is visited by floods. According to *Sīrat* when Firōz Shāh retired from Thatta it was the month of Ramaḍān. This corresponds with May, 1366. Firōz Shāh passed the rains in Gujrat and returned to Sind in winter when the rabi' crops were unripe.

Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, p. 234; *Ma'sūmī*, p. 51; *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 131; *Sind Gazetteer*, p. 6, *Sīrat* f. 88.

The court chronicler who compiled *Sīrat* gives an entirely different account of how Firōz fared in his first invasion of Sind. He says that the imperial forces penetrated and encircled Thatta and Damreila (on the west bank of the Indus) and Jām Jūna and Bānhabīna made their submission to the Sultan. They executed treaties of submission and presented their sons and daughters, along with elephants and other valuables to the imperial court. But as soon as the Sultan reached Gujrat, Jām and Bānhabīna overthrew allegiance. All this is of course unacceptable in the face of the unanimity of more independent contemporary accounts like 'Afif and *Malfūzāt-i-Makhdūm-i-Jahānīān*, supported by later chroniclers. *Sīrat* f. 87-89.

2. 'Afif gives a very graphic account of this misadventure. 'Afif, pp. 208-218. Also see *Sīrat*, f. 89-91.

3. 'Afif, pp. 219-25.

Thus fortified Firōz Shāh once again marched to Thatta to retrieve his lost prestige and to chastise the Thattians. The Thattians were not expecting the Sultan to return so soon. They were in fact exultant over the unceremonious exit of Firōz Shāh. They had been able to defeat two consecutive invasions by Delhi, the other being under Muḥammad bin Tughluq, who had died near Thatta without having achieved any success. These victories turned their heads and some unkind spirits among them coined a saying which became current among the Thattians. It ran thus :—

به برکت شيخ تها الك موا الك تها

Hodiwala's reading is :—

به برکت تها الك موا الك بهگا

Translation :—

By the grace of Shaikh Pattha¹
One died, the other fled away.

Thus confident of their prowess and their security, the Thattians had resumed their normal activities and had tilled and sowed their fields.²

When Firōz Shāh returned to the charge rather unexpectedly the Thattians destroyed their dwellings on the eastern bank of the river and shut themselves up in the mud fort on the other side of the river. The crops which the Thattians left behind them were at that time, half ripe.³ So the prices of grains in the imperial camp were still high. But before long the crops ripened and there was plenty of grains. Some 4000 Sindhis, all Muslims, who had not crossed over to the other side were captured and kept as prisoners by the soldiery of Firōz Shāh. He ordered their release but directed them to be kept under surveillance and provided well.

1. 'Affif, p. 231.

Hodiwala says about Shaikh Pattha :— "Shaikh Pattha or Fir Pattha is the patron Saint of Thatta. His shrine in Makli hills near the town has been for centuries a noted place of pilgrimage. (*Tārīkh-i-Tāhīrī*, in E. & D. I, 274), and it is so still. The author of the *Ma'āthirul Umera* writes that "his real name was Ibrāhīm and his laqab Shāh-i-'Ālam. He was the disciple and deputy of Shaikh Bahāuddin Zakariya of Multan and his Shrine near Thatta is visited every week by high and low. (Bib. Indica Text, III, 311)."

Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī also mentions him as a great saint and describes him as Qutbul 'Arifin Shaikh Pattah. Mīr Ma'sūm makes him contemporaneous with Sultan Nāsiruddīn Maḥmūd of Delhi as well as with Doda Sumera, ruler of Sind.

It may be observed that the popular saying noted in the text is an indication that Persian and the Indian dialects had already begun to commingle together to form a new popular dialect. Other evidences of this process, which are by no means few, have been noted in my monograph on Firōz Shāh.

2. 'Affif, p. 231-32.

3. 'Affif, p. 232. Also see Hodiwala, pp. 323-24.

But the enemy had escaped in strength to the other side of the river. Firōz Shāh now wanted to send the 'Arīḍ-i-Mumālīk 'Imādul Mulk Bashīr and Zafar Khān (whom he had appointed as Governor of Gujrat during the recent visit to that province) across the river to have a trial of strength with the Thattians. The latter, possessing a good fleet, a strong army and the advantage of being in their own land, contested the ferries. The fleet with Firōz Shāh on this occasion was very small and he soon realised that the task of fording the river in the face of opposition was a hopeless one. He therefore, sent Zafar Khān and 'Imādul Mulk with large forces northwards along the river. They crossed the river at Bhakhar and came down along the river towards Thatta.¹ The Thattians sallied out of their stronghold and a tough encounter between the two forces ensued and continued for a whole day. When the night fell Firōz Shāh sent word across the river to 'Imādul Mulk Bashīr and Zafar Khān to return. The two generals had to plod their way again up to Bhakhar and down to the camp opposite Thatta.²

Firōz Shāh now sent 'Imādul Mulk Bashīr to Delhi in order to bring reinforcement. His idea was to augment his strength to such an extent that he should be able to cow down the antagonists by mere show of overwhelming force, without the necessity of having resort to actual hostilities. Khān-i-Jahān Maqbūl at once sent orders to provincial capitals to send their contingents; these along with the contingents of Delhi were sent under 'Imādul Mulk to Thatta.³

When the Thattians came to know of it they were greatly dismayed. Their home front had already been deteriorating: the crops on the eastern

1. Bhakhar was an Island fortress in the Indus where it passes between Sukkar and Rohri. Its approximate distance from Thatta is 250 miles. 'Afif also puts the distance at 120 kerohs. 'Afif, p. 234

2. 'Afif, p. 233-36.

It is not quite clear why Firōz Shāh recalled the generals with their armies. The reason given by Firōz Shāh himself, namely, the desire to avoid shedding Muslim blood, seems unconvincing. The real cause appears to have been partly Firōz Shāh's weakness as a general and his vacillating and weak temperament and partly strategic considerations. The imperialists across the river were certainly in a dangerous situation. If the wily Thattians were to cut their lines of retreat, the fate of the Delhi forces was sealed.

Sīrat-i-Firōz Shāhī gives a different account of the strategic situation. It says, "on the last bank of the Sind, the imperial forces were ranged for 30 kerohs; on the north and the west (of Thatta) 'Imādul Mulk and Zafar Khān were stationed with their armies; towards the south, where the river is adjacent (to Thatta), the imperial fleet barred the escape. Thus for two years Thatta was hemmed in from all sides." *Sīrat* f. 82. I prefer 'Afif's account as more reasonable and consistent.

According to *Sīrat-i-Firōz Shāhī*, Firōz Shāh was encamping near Ghāziptūr which was founded by Ghiyāthuddin Tughluq, whose title before accession was Ghāzi Malik. The fort was in a dilapidated condition and Firōz got it repaired thoroughly. 'Afif also refers to Firōz Shāh's intention of founding a big city near Thatta. *Sīrat* f. 92-3; 'Afif, p. 236. Also see Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 331.

3. 'Afif, pp. 236-38. According to *Sīrat-i-Firōz Shāhī*, Firōz Shāh sent collectors to Delhi and other parts of the empire to raise a large force of horse and foot.

side of the river had been entirely lost, their supplies were running short and prices were soaring high in their markets. The morale of the Thattians fell low and there were numerous defections from their ranks.¹

Jām Jūna and Bānhbīna now bethought themselves of making their submission before it was too late. They at once sent men to Sayyid Jalāluddīn Bukhārī of Uch entreating him to come and intercede on their behalf. The saint came from Uch to the imperial camp at Thatta. Firōz Shāh welcomed him with reverence and affection. The Thattians, when they came to know of his arrival at the camp, sent him message after message, explaining their troubles and difficulties and soliciting his intercession. He put their case before Firōz Shāh who readily agreed to accept his recommendation.²

This account of Sayyid Jalāluddīn Bukhārī's peace mission is based on 'Afif. But the reference to it in the Sayyid's own *Malfūzāt* gives a somewhat different impression. The relevant passage runs as follows:—

ایشان در تہتہ کہ بار دوم سلطان مرحوم فیروز شاہ بقصد بانہینہ و جام رفتند حضرت
مخدوم قطب عالم نیز برائے آوردن جام با نہینہ رسیدہ اند نا اصلاح دہند زیرا چہ کرت اول
کہ سلطان مذکور مرحوم قصد تہتہ کردہ بودند خیلی خرابی مسلمانان شدہ بود⁴

"...for the second time the late Sultān Firōz Shāh went to Thatta with the intention of attacking Bānhbīna and Jām, and Ḥadrat Makhdūm Qutb 'Alam (Makhdūm-i-Jahāniān Sayyid Jalāluddīn Bukhārī) also arrived at Thatta in order to bring Jām and Bānhbīna (to obedience) so as to establish peace, for in the first invasion of Thatta by the above-mentioned late Sultān, the Muṣṣalmans (the imperial army?) had suffered considerably."

The above passage suggests that the saint played a more active part in bringing about peace and that his efforts were directed at not only rescuing Jām Jūna and Bānhbīna from a difficult situation but also at saving the military the political prestige of the imperialists.

Another contemporary account of the whole episode is found in *Sirājul Hidāya*, which is also a collection of the table-talks of Makhdūm-i-Jahāniān, two MSS. of which, slightly differing from each other are in the Rampur State Library. The account is a highly coloured one and in tune with the beliefs of the times. It may not, however be taken as correct as it is a contemporary account. The text of the following passage is based on a collation and judicious consolidation of the texts of the two MSS., only slightly differing from each other.

1. 'Afif, pp. 239-40, *Sirat*, f. 93-4.

2. 'Afif, pp. 240-42.

3. *Malfūzāt-i-Makhdūm-i-Jahāniān*, f. 170, Majlis 59th.

حکایت : اندرانچه سلطان السلاطین فیروز شاه در تهنه برفت از هر دو جانب مرد مان گفتند اسلام روی خرابی آورد لیکن دست شفاعت بر (؟) سید جلال الدین آورده ایم - اصلاح (به) برکت خاندان رسول (ص) خواهد شد - شب جمعه میان شب قطب العالم از نماز تهجد فارغ شدند - فرمود (ند) دستار شیخ رکن الدین بیا رید - آوردند - در سر بستند مناجات کرد (ند) خداوند اجم بهمین را بر بادشاه دهلی برسان - آواز از غیب شنیدند ماعاء نراقبول کردیم - بغیر مشقت ما ایشان را بر بادشاه دهلی آریم - بامداد شد - ابن کیفیت بر سلطان فیروز شاه ارکان دولت او گفتند و جمله لشکر شادان گشتند - وقت چاشت ندا آمد که جام خدمتی بر فیروز شاه آمد - بعضی ارکان دولت گفتند بزرگ بهمین است - چون او نیاید اصلاح نیست - باز شب سید السادات مشغول شدند - ناگاه میان شب گفتند کسی از آن بهمین این جاست - سید قاسم بیدار بود - گفت نیست - فرمودند تو بیا و هفت بار بگو بهمین بیا - سید قاسم بر حکم اشارت سید السادات گفت - بامداد شد - دوازدهم ماه ربیع الآخر بهمین بامتعلقان خود آمد و در پای عمار الملک افتاد و وی وقتی خوب سلطان فیروز شاه را ملاقات کنانید -

Translation :—

Account.—When Firōz Shāh went to (the conquest of) Thatta, people from both sides remarked, "The (people of) Islam are in a difficult situation. But we have brought (into the affairs) the interceding hand of Sayyid Jalāluddīn. Peace would come by the blessings of the progeny of the Prophet. In the middle of the Friday night the Qutbul 'Ālam (Sayyid Jalāluddīn Makhdūm-i-Jahāniān) having finished the midnight prayers, ordered the dastār of Shaikh Ruknuddīn to be brought. He wound it round his head. He then prayed, 'O God, Bring Jām (and) Bahman to the (presence of) Bādshāh of Delhi.' A voice came from ghaib (secret): "We have accepted thy prayers. We will cause them to come before the Bādshāh of Delhi without (the latter having to make) any effort. (When) it was morning, the Ministers reported this matter to Sultān Firōz Shāh. The whole camp was happy (to hear the news). At the breakfast time it was announced that the Jām had come to make his submission to Firōz Shāh. Some of the Ministers pointed out, "Bahman is the elder (of the two). Unless he comes, there is no peace." Again in the nighttime the Sayyid-us Sādāt (Makhdūm-i-Jahāniān) became engrossed (in prayers). Suddenly about midnight he called out, "Is there any of Bahman's men here." Sayyid Qāsim was awake; he replied in the negative. The saint said, "You come here and shout out seven times, 'Bahman come,'" Sayyid Qāsim acted according to the direction of the

*. This is wrong. The Jām was the uncle of Bānhabīna. The compiler of the *Malfūzāt*, Maulāna Aḥmad Mo'in Siāhpōshī belonged to Iraj and met the Shaikh at Delhi. He is obviously ill-informed about Sind affairs. Hence also his mis-spelling of names.

saint. On the 12th of Rabi'ul Ākhir (768 ? December, 1366). Bahman came with his men and prostrated at the feet of 'Imādul Mul̄k. He presented him before Sul̄tān Firōz Shāh at a convenient time."

In any case the influence which the saint possessed over both the parties was responsible for the establishment of peace and for securing the submission of the Samma rulers to Delhi. They now prepared for presenting themselves before the Emperor. Bānhbīna said to his uncle Jām that as Firōz's ears had been particularly poisoned against himself (Bānhbīna) it would be better if he (Bānhbīna) went first for obtaining the Sul̄tān's pardon. To this the Jām agreed. Bānhbīna went to the Sultan's camp in the guise of repentant criminals, with his turban wound round his neck and a sword hanging from it. Firōz Shāh received him graciously, patted him on the back and said to him : " Bānhbīna, why were you so afraid of me. I hurt nobody, much less yourself." He ordered an Arab horse to be given to him. The same day Jām Jūna also came to make his submission, with his turban on, as Bānhbīna had already been pardoned. Firōz treated him in a like manner and gave him an Arab horse too. Later he ordered gold embroidered robes to be bestowed on Jām Jūna and Bānhbīna."¹

The Jām and his nephew Bānhbīna, with their record of contumacy and broken pledges, could no longer be entrusted with the Government of Sind. Firōz Shāh therefore ordered that both of them should accompany him to Delhi along with their household. Some big muqaddams and zamindars were also ordered to come along to Delhi.² Jām Jūna's son and Tamāchī, Bānhbīna's brother, were left to rule jointly in Vilāyat-i-Thatta or Lower Sind. They presented four lac tankas to the Sultan and promised to send several lacs every year along with horses and other valuable things.

Having made these arrangements, Firōz Shāh started for Delhi. Jām Jūna and Bānhbīna were ordered to be kept with honour and dignity adjacent to the Sultan's apartments in the camp, and Malik Saifuddin Khojū was directed to initiate them into court etiquette as well as to keep a watch over them. One day it was rumoured that the boat carrying Bānhbīna's household had capsized. He at once ran towards the bank of the river. The Malik, suspecting Bānhbīna's intentions, communicated the matter to Firōz Shāh who sent him word not to bother about him. In the meantime Bānhbīna returned to the camp, the rumour having proved to be false.³

1. 'Afif, pp. 242-46.

2. *Strat-i-Firōz Shāhī*, f. 94-5, *Mubārak Shāhī* p. 131; *Ma'sūmī*, p. 51.

3. *Afif*, pp. 248-49.

Mir Ma'sūm, erroneously putting Jām Khairuddin in place of Bānhbīna, says that when the camp reached Siwistān, he deliberately ran away towards the river with the intent of taking a boat and escaping to Thatta, but was prevented from doing so. He was then taken to Delhi with his feet enchained *Ma'sūmī*, p. 51.

I prefer 'Afif's account.

When Firōz Shāh reached Delhi along with his distinguished captives, there were celebrations on the grandest scale.¹ Jām Jūna and Bānhabīna were given quarters near Sarā-i-Malika which appears to have been a very respectable locality in the then city of Firōzābād. This locality soon came to be called after them as Sarā-i-Thatta. An annual grant of two lac tankas was fixed on each of them. Over and above this Firōz Shāh used to send them robes and gifts from time to time. In the durbar they were given seats of honour on the right of the throne and sat close to the Šadrus-Šudūr-i-Jahān who was the Minister of Religious and Judicial Affairs. They were thus treated well and the contemporary chronicler remarks that they were so happy and contented at Delhi that they forgot all about Thatta.²

It appears that even after the imperial victory over the Samma dynasty the control of the Central Government over the Lower Sind was slight. Probably it did not go beyond a formal recognition of the suzerainty of the Sultan of Delhi and payment of an annual tribute to him by the Samma rulers who, in effect, continued to rule Sind. In any case it was not long before Bānhabīna's brother, Tamāchī, who had been left behind in Sind to rule jointly with the Jām's son, rebelled and overthrew allegiance to Delhi. Jām Jūna, who had all along shown more loyalty than Bānhabīna, was now sent back to Thatta to put down the rebellion of Tamāchī and to send him to Delhi. The invaluable services of Maḥdūm³ i-Jahāniān Sayyid Jalāluddīn Bukhārī were again utilized in this matter. He came from Delhi, where he was staying at the moment, to Thatta and took back Rai Tamāchī along with him to Delhi.⁴ Thus Bānhabīna and his brother stayed at Delhi while the Jām ruled in Thatta with the help of his son.

1. 'Afif, p. 252. The court-poet Muṭahhir of Kara gives a colourful account of the festivities in his Ode on the conquest of Thatta. Oriental College Magazine, May, 1935, pp. 140-45.

2. 'Afif, pp. 253-54, 281; also see *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 131.

3. 'Afif, p. 254; *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* records that towards the end of the 'seventies, there was a recrudescence of the Mongol trouble from the Khorasan frontier on such a large scale that none of the Amirs on that side were really able to meet it and Firōz Shāh was obliged to transfer Malikush Sharq Naṣīrul Mulk Mardān Daulat, who was evidently a strong governor, from east to the western frontier (*Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 131). It is not improbable that Tamāchī, following the example of his brother had a hand in the reappearance of the Mongol menace Tamāchī's rebellion, it may be noted, occurred some time between 1370 and 1380 more possibly in the latter half of this decade.

About Jām, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* says "When he had served the Sultan for a long time (at Delhi) the latter again conferred the aqā' of Thatta on him and sent him off with all ceremony." *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 129.

4. The cryptic reference to this in the *Malfūzāt-i-Maḥdūm Jahāniān* runs as follows:—

مجلس معلا در آنکه حضرت محمد وم جها نیا ن ارتهته باز گشته می آ یند که براے درآوردن راے بما چي
رفته بودند -

The only piece of authentic information¹ regarding subsequent events is that 'Alāuddīn Jām Jūna was still ruling in Sind as vassal of Firōz Shāh in 782/1380. This is based on the evidence of an inscription in eastern wall of a Khānqāh (convent) attached to the tomb of the Saint Bu Turāb in the village of Gujju, ten miles from Thatta, in the Taluqa of Mirpur Sakro. The convent was built by the order of Jām 'Alāuddīn in Šafar, 782/May, 1380.

The inscription runs as follows:—²

بعهد شهریار دهر سلطان - داور . . . شه فیروز منصور و مظفر در صف میدان - باسر
سرفراز سند خاص حضرت عالی - که پامے قدر او اعلیٰ زفر فرقد تابان - ستوده جام جم سیرت
علاء الدین دریا دل - که از (مهمانی؟) لطفش جهان شد جمله آبادان - برآمد این چنین گنبد معلا کز
صفا گوی - بسان بیت مسعود آمد است از هاراین ایوان - مقام شیخ حاجی بو ترابی آن ولی الله -
که بر درگاه او گردد روا حاجات خلق آسان - بسال هفصد و هشتاد و دو از هجرت احمد -
زعون ایزد و ذوالمن والافضال و الاحسان - بنا شد ثالث ماه صفر این روضه میمون - بسعی
کمترین بندگان موسی بن شهجیان -

Bānhbīna continued to stay at Delhi till after the death of Firōz Shāh. When after his death, his grandson Ghiyāthuddīn Tughluq Shāh II came to the throne in 790/1388, the latter sent Bānhbīna back to Sind, after conferring on him Chatr-i-Sapeed (white canopy) as a mark of royal favour. Bānhbīna, unfortunately, died on the way to Thatta.³ The manner in which Bānhbīna was being sent to Thatta would justify the inference that 'Alāuddīn Jām Jūna had died in the meanwhile and that Bānhbīna was being sent to fill the gap and to rule in Thatta as vassal of Tughluq Shāh. A more conclusive evidence on this point is, however, lacking.

In the general disintegration and decay of the Sultanate which followed the death of Firōz Shāh, the Samma rulers of Thatta assumed

1. *Sirājul Hidāyah* has a cryptic sentence:

بوقت باز گشتن سید السادات از مهم تہ در سمت حضرت دارالملک دہلی درماه مبارک رجب سنہ اثنان و
سبعین و سبعمائه -

Translation: At the time of the return of the Saiyidussādāt from the Thatta expedition to the capital Delhi in the month of Rajab 772 A.H./January, 1371.

No expedition in that year is recorded in any other work. Either the saint went just on a political errand, or the compiler has given a wrong date. As observed earlier, the author of *Sirājul Hidāyah* is not very well informed about Sind affairs.

2. *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, February, 1935, pp. 140-41.

3. *'Afif*, p. 254.

complete independence and severed all relations with Delhi. Evidence is lacking to give us any idea of the social policy and administrative system of the Samma rulers. That the Sammas were able to rule Sind and keep their grip on it for a little less than two centuries is significant. Even Firōz Shāh's two expeditions and his victory over them could not uproot them from Sind. Partly this was due to the weakness of the central authority in the second half of the 14th century and its subsequent decay. But partly it must have been due to the support and good-will of the people which the Samma rulers enjoyed. There is sufficient evidence of this in Firōz Shāh's campaigns and the tough resistance put up by the Thattians. This popular support could not but have been the result of the policy of the Samma regime. The Sammas stood for the independence of Sind and one can imagine that the people of Thatta looked up to their ruler, with a sense of local pride and patriotism, as defenders of provincial independence.* The Sammas were evidently good rulers who by their policy and administration, were able to win the confidence of the people over whom they ruled.

RIAZUL ISLAM.

*. The value of such sentiment can be seen in the successful resistance put up by Bahādur Shāh of Gujrat against the Mughuls. The strong public sentiment in his favour was certainly one of the main causes of his recovery and success.

SAYYID AHMED SHAHĪD'S END

WHAT was the end of Sayyid Ahmed Shahīd's eventful career? Does the tomb at Balakot really enshrine his corpse? So far no definite reply has been given to these questions. But from such records as are available in the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi, it is evident that Sayyid Ahmed was slain in the battle of Balakot on May 8, 1831, and "his body was identified and burnt by the Sikhs."* His tomb is no more than a local habitation for the affection and sentiments of his followers.

The defeat at Balakot completely wrecked Sayyid Ahmed's puny power and with that vanished the hope of the Muslims ever to come into their own. Fond hopes and depressing realities drove them to adopt a sort of escapist policy. They refused to believe that Sayyid Ahmed could die without winning power. They persuaded themselves to believe that he had disappeared and would come forward at an opportune moment.

In his book *Swāneḥ-i-Aḥmedī*, Moḥammed Ja'far Thāneswari has quoted five statements relating to Sayyid Ahmed's end from Maulvi Ja'far 'Alī Naqvi who was the bodyguard of the Sayyid and also fought in the battle at Balakot. His first statement is that he was standing shoulder to shoulder with the Sayyid when he suddenly disappeared. His second statement is that people said that he had received a bullet wound in his leg, he sat down on a stone with his face towards the Qibla and from there he disappeared. The third statement is that he learnt at Shimlai that some shepherds took the Sayyid to their place while he was yet alive. The fourth statement is that the eight years' old son of Sheikh Wazīr, the artilleryman, said, "After the battle of Balakot, the Sikh army arrested me and took me to the place where the slain Muslim fighters were lying. They asked me to identify the corpse of the Sayyid. According to my intelligence, I specified one corpse as the Sayyid's. Raja Sher Singh then got it covered by a *Dushāla*. The funeral prayer was offered by his Muslim soldiers and the local Muslims and the body was buried with great respect." The fifth statement is, "After the battle of Balakot, the Sikhs

*'Pol. Consult. June 17, 1831, No. 39.

got the corpse of the Sayyid identified by some wounded *ghāzīs*. The headless body was covered with a *Dushāla*. After the funeral prayer, it was buried with great respect." Moḥammed Ja'far Thāneswari's own comment is that the lapse of about sixty years compels disbelief in the disappearance version and that the Sayyid must have died a martyr.

But this disappearance version was in fact a mere stunt to save the followers from the agony and shame of letting the Sikhs burn the corpse of Sayyid Ahmed Shahīd and to continue recruiting support for a cause, irrevocably lost. The end of Sayyid Ahmed is a standing disgrace to the Muslims.

This stunt, however, worked admirably. Hunter writes, "But the Khalifs or Apostolic Successors, whom the Prophet had appointed at Patna, came to the rescue. They produced eye-witnesses, who declared that in the thick of the battle the Prophet had been snatched away from mortal sight in a cloud of dust. They assured the multitude that he had himself foretold his disappearance. The Prophet had indeed prayed that his grave might be hidden from his disciples, like that of Moses of old, so that no impious worship might be paid to his bones. They preached that the Almighty had withdrawn him from a faint-hearted generation; but that when the Indian Muslamans, with singleness of mind, should join in a Holy War against the English Infidels, their Prophet would return and lead them to victory. In all this, there was nothing incredible to a Musalman. 'Such things had happened before. It was therefore incumbent for the Faithful to re-enter on the Holy War with fresh vigour.'

"For a time, the well-attested miracle of the Prophet's apotheosis overawed inquiry, and all went well. One of the most devoted of the Lower Bengal missionaries, who had preached 'throughout the Eastern Districts, particularly in Dacca and Sylhet' marched northwards 1800 miles to the Frontier with a thousand men. But the protracted absence of the Prophet greatly exercised his faith, and after a short campaign he resolved to penetrate to the distant mountain cave in which the Lord had hidden his Apostle. His zeal for the truth surmounted the watchful jealousy of the more interested party leaders; and having reached the hill sanctuary, he found in it 'only three figures stuffed with straw.' The disillusioned missionary fled from the accursed den, commanded his followers to return to their homes, and wrote a long indignant letter to his converts in Calcutta, who still kept forwarding money and men.

" 'Salām 'Alaikum,' he wrote, 'the peace and blessing of God be upon you. Mulla Kadir prepared an image of the Prophet, but before showing it to any person he made the people promise that they would never attempt to shake hands with the Prophet or speak to him; for if they did, then the Prophet would disappear for fourteen years. The whole people, deeply affected, viewed this lifeless image from some distance, and made obeisance to it. But to all their supplications never an answer came, and the people grew desirous of shaking hands with their Prophet. Then

Mulla Kadir tried to allay their suspicions, and said that if any one should attempt to shake hands with the Prophet without giving previous notice, the Prophet's servant would pistol him.' The letter goes on to relate how the astute Mulla reproached the people with their want of faith ; how the image was removed from public view ; and finally, how, 'after a great deal of entreaty, they obtained an inspection of it. They examined it, and found that it was a goat's skin stuffed with grass, which, with the help of some pieces of wood and hair, was made to resemble a man. Your slave inquired of the priest about this. He answered that it was true, but that the Prophet had performed a miracle and appeared as stuffed figure to the people. The errors and falsity of these impostors are now as clear as noonday, and I have saved my soul from sin.'"¹

The facts, however, are narrated in two letters which C. M. Wade, Political Assistant, wrote from the Punjab to H. P. Princep, Secretary to the Governor-General. His letter of 17th May, 1831, states, "I have the honour to transcribe an extract from the report of the newswriter at the Court of Maharajah Runjeet Singh dated the 10th instant, viz., 'Dispatches arrived from Kour Sher Singh and Bheman Singh, the Governors of Kashmir, stating that having obtained information of Sayyid Ahmed being at Doobh in the midst of Hills difficult of access, they left their position and engaged him. As the troops of the State were ignorant of the strongholds and passes of these Hills they were defeated with the loss of nearly three hundred men killed and about the same number wounded. At length, finding it impossible to maintain the contest they retreated seven or eight kos and encamped. They added that it was their intention to resume the offensive immediately, but that grain was very dear in their camp—5 small seers of wheat for the rupee.

On hearing the intelligence the Maharajah sent for the astrologers, Senkernath and Medsoodeen, and after explaining the affair desired them to ascertain by astrology whether Kour Sher Singh would be victorious or not, in his intended attack. They replied that they would inquire and let him know.'

"Since the receipt of the foregoing information, letters have been received by the different members of the Maharajah's Mission announcing the entire defeat of the fanatics by the Sikh troops, in which the Syed himself and 500 of his followers were killed.

"It appears that Syed Ahmed had taken post in a strong place called Balakot when Sher Singh proceeded to attack him. The Syed left this position to receive the attack and was overpowered. Ranjit Singh is elated with joy at a victory which has relieved him of a constant source of agitation to him and to his Government. He ordered a Royal salute to be fired, and the city of Amritsar to be illuminated in honour of the event. The Syed's body was identified and burnt by the Sikhs."²

1. "The Indian Musalmans" p. 39-40.

2. Political Consult. June 17, 1831, No. 39.

The second letter which is dated 18th May, 1831, reads, " The following is a translation of a further report from the newswriter of Maharajah Runjeet Singh, dated the 14th instant in confirmation of the intelligence which I forwarded to you yesterday, viz.,

' A dispatch arrived from Kour Sher Singh stating that Syed Ahmed with a force of two or three thousand men, consisting chiefly of the peasantry of the country, established himself across the Nullah at Balakot, he, the Kour advanced about noon on the 8th instant, aided by some zemindars of that part of the country, with the forces of Pertab Singh, Atiriwallah, Retten Singh, Gherchakee, and other Sirdars, amounting to about five thousand men, and crossing the Nullah by a ford took the enemy by surprise, and investing them on all sides, drew their swords from their scabbards, and killed the Syed with five hundred of his people, taking their tents and baggage, an elephant, several swinels and swords the rest of the party seeking their safety in flight. The Maharajah delighted with the news presented the messenger with a pair of gold bracelets valued at rupees 300, besides a turban and a pair of shawls, and sent a letter to the Kour acknowledging the receipt of his dispatch, the important service he had rendered and that he should be rewarded with an additional Jageer when he returned to his presence. An order was dispatched at the same time to Faqir Imam-ood-deen, the Governor of Govindgher, to fire a salute of 11 guns from every gun in that Fortress in honour of the event.' '* The Muslim version of this battle is given in my article published in *Islamic Culture*, April, 1945.

ASLAM SIDDIQI.

* Political Consult. June 17, 1831, No. 39.

EARLY INDO-MUSLIM MYSTICS AND THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STATE

(I) INTRODUCTORY

MUSLIM Mystics of the early Middle Ages gave a wide berth to the government of the time and developed an attitude of contempt and indifference towards it. This spirit of isolationism mingled with poignant hatred of all things associated with the State, embodied the reaction of the religious-minded Mussalmans to the Saltanat which they regarded as un-Islamic and the government which to them was an evil though a necessary one. They regarded with dismay the sad spectacle of Muslim rulers drifting away from the ideals of Islam and wallowing in the mud and mire of sordid materialism. To them Islam stood for things nobler and purer than what the rulers conceived it to be. It had come not to establish empires which perpetuated differences between man and man but to bring them liberty and equality and give them the opportunity of self-realisation. That ideal being relegated to the background, they turned their back on the State. They could not bow their knees before thrones. The days when the service of the State meant the service of Islam were dead. The mystic was not prepared to serve class interests and direct the energies of a world-force into the parochial channels of dynastic ambitions.¹

This spirit which developed very early in the history of Islam deprived the State of the services of men of character and ability. The affairs of the State naturally fell into the hands of mediocrities.² Eminent Muslim saints and scholars refused to serve the State. Imām Abū Ḥanīfa turned down the request of Khalīfa al-Manṣūr (752-775 A.D.) to accept the post of Qāḍī.³ Khwāja Fudāil b. Iyaz first declined to grant an interview to Khalīfa Hārūn al-Rashīd (786-808 A.D.) and when he persisted

1. Shaikh 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Jullabī al-Hujwairī, the famous author of *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, writes:— "A dervish was asked why he wore blue? He replied: 'The Apostle left three things—poverty, knowledge and the sword. The sword was taken by potentates who misused it; knowledge was chosen by savants who were satisfied with merely teaching it; poverty was chosen by dervishes who made it a means of enriching themselves. I wear blue as a sign of mourning for the calamity of these three classes of men.'"—*Kashf al-Mahjūb*, translated by R. A. Nicholson (Luzac, 1936), p. 53.

2. cf. 'Allāma Iqbāl, "Islam and Ahmadism," (Meerut), p. 20.

3. *Kashf al-Mahjūb* (Urdu translation), p. 145; *Sīrat al-Nu'mān* by Maulānā Shibli Nu'mānī (Agra 1892), pp. 59-62.

in his request, the saint met the Khalifa and upbraided him severely.¹ When Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik visited Medina to pay his respects to Ḥadrat Ta'ūs, the latter met him with indifference and disdain.² Imām al-Ghazzālī made a vow in 499 A.H. at the mausoleum of Ḥadrat Ibrāhīm Khalīl-ullāh not to visit the courts of kings.³

Some went to the extreme in their disgust with an aversion toward kings and nobles. To them everything associated with the ruler and the State became an obnoxious symbol of materialism, to be despised and abjured. Imām Hanbal refused to eat anything from his son's house because he had served for one year as Qāḍī of Iṣfahān.⁴ Shaikh Abū Sa'īd Tabrizī ordered his servants to remove the earth from those parts of his khānqah which the hājib (messenger) of the king trod.⁵ Khawāja Suhail Tastari felt deep contrition for having visited the court of the ruler of Iraq and repented for it for full seven years.⁶ Khawāja Dhunnūn al-Miṣrī severely reproved one of his disciples who had visited the courts of kings and nobles and ordered him to put off the mystic garment and burn it.⁷ Muslim mystics who entered India during the Middle Ages brought with them this tradition of keeping aloof from temporal authority. Throughout the early Muslim period in India there was a constant endeavour on the part of the kings to win over the mystics not out of conviction but out of expediency; in order to exploit them to their own purposes and to make use of their influence over the masses. This the mystics of note resisted but later the lesser amongst them accepted jagirs and kingly favours and according as their saintliness diminished their worldly pomp and pelf increased.

(II) TWO EARLY SILSILAHS AND THEIR DIFFERENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE STATE

Of the two mystic orders—Chishtiya and Suhrwardiya—that flourished in India during the early period of Muslim history, the members of the former cut themselves off completely from kings, politics, shughl⁸ and wealth; while the latter considered such attitude as unnecessary and freely mixed with kings, accepted government posts and amassed wealth.

1. *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, p. 154; *Siyar-ul Auliya* by Amīr Khurd (Lahore), p. 33.

2. *Kimiya-i-Sa'ādāt* by al-Ghazzālī (Urdu translation), (Newal Kishore, 1866), pp. 60-61.

3. In a letter he says—

”بر مشهد ابراہیم خلیل اللہ عہد کرد کہ ہرگز پیش هیچ سلطان نہ رود و مال هیچ سلطان نہ گیرد“
—*Maktūbāt-i-Ghazzālī*, p. 7.

4. *Ihya-ul-'Ulūm* by al-Ghazzālī.

5. *Fawa'id-ul-Fuwād*, table-talk of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliya of Delhi, compiled by Amīr Hasan Sijzi (Newal Kishore, 1885), p. 181.

Siyar-ul Auliya, by Amīr Khurd, (Lahore), p. 520.

Khair-ul-Majālis, table-talk of Shaikh Naṣīruddīn Chirāgh Dehlavi, compiled by Hāmid Qalandar, Conversation 46.

6. *Rāḥat-ul-Qulūb*, *Malfūzāt* of Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar edited by Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliya. (MS.) 7 (b).

7. *Rāḥat-ul-Qulūb*, (MS.) 8 (b).

8. In medieval literature the term shughl is almost invariably used for government service.

When any one objected to this, they promptly replied, "Poison does not harm one who knows the antidote."

The saints of the Suhrwardī Silsilah believed that one could attend to temporal affairs without any harm to his spiritual practices. The founder of the Suhrwardī Silsilah, Shaikh Shihāb-ud-dīn 'Umar, author of the famous 'Awārif-ul-Ma'ārif—a 13th century Manual of Medieval Mysticism—performed the onerous duties of such a high diplomatic office as the ambassador of Baghdad at the court of Arbal.¹ The first Suhrwardī saint in India, Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariyya Multānī, accepted the office of Shaikh-ul-Islām under Iltutmish.² Another saint of the same Silsilah, Shaikh Nūr-ud-dīn Mubārak Ghaznavī, also held the post of Shaikh-ul-Islām and freely attended the court of Iltutmish.³

Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariyya Multānī possessed great wealth and when he died he left millions.⁴ His granaries were so well stocked that even the Wālī of Multan borrowed corn from him.⁵ He was perhaps the richest saint during the early period of Indo-Muslim history. His contemporaries, in spite of their profound regard for his high spiritual status, were unable to understand this. To them there was in it something inconsistent with mystic traditions in it, and two great saints, Shaikh Jalāl-ud-dīn Tabrizī and Shaikh Hamid-ud-dīn Sawālī Nagūrī had long controversial correspondence with him on this point. Shaikh Tabrizī wrote in his letter that one who associated his heart with villages and gardens became a worldly man.⁶ In Shaikh Hamid-ud-dīn Nagūrī's correspondence, many problems relating to *faqr* (poverty) and *ghina* (richness) came up for discussion. Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muḥaddith Dehlvi has included the substance of some of his letters in his *Akḥbār-ul-Akḥyār*. In one of these letters Shaikh Hamid-ud-dīn has expressed his surprise as to how rich saints could have the requisite spiritual power to work miracles (خوارق و کرامات).⁷

Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariyya was a reputed saint of the Suhrwardī Silsilah. His sanctity, his profound devotion and his spiritual greatness were established facts. But his contemporaries who regarded saintliness and wealth as incompatible, were simply nonplussed when they found him yoking together two opposites. Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariyya made every possible effort to convince Shaikh Hamid-ud-dīn that it was not so much the wealth as its improper use, that was detrimental to spiritual progress, but the latter stuck to

1. *Ḥama'at* by Nawāb Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Khān Shērwanī (Aligarh, 1937), p. 112.

2. *Siyār-ul-'Arifīn* by Maulānā Jamālī (MS.).

3. *Fawā'id-ul-Fuwād*, p. 223.

Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī by Barani (Sir Syed Edition), pp. 41-44.

Akḥbār-ul-Akḥyār by Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Dehlvi (Delhi, 1309 A.H.), pp. 28-30.

4. *Fawā'id-ul-Fuwād*, p. 223.

Siyār-ul-Auliya p. 141. (Lahore).

Gulzar-i-Abrār by Moḥammad Ghauth (MS).

5. *Fawā'id-ul-Fuwād*, p. 223.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-100.

7. *Akḥbār-ul-Akḥyār*, pp. 29-30.

his views and repeatedly told him : " Two opposites cannot meet at a place" (الفدان لا يجتمعان).¹

Apart from this conception of wealth which he had, Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariyya once did a thing which indirectly brought him into the vortex of politics. He is said to have addressed a petition to Sultan Iltutmish against the irreligious activities of Qubacha.² The petition was actuated, without doubt, by a desire to reform the king but it was bound to have political repercussions of a very serious nature. Iltutmish was an adversary of Qubacha and such correspondence—whatever its motive—was bound to be interpreted as an act of treason by Sultan Qubacha.³

Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariyya's sons and successors mixed freely with kings and accepted jagirs. Shaikh Ṣadr-ud-dīn married the divorced wife of Balban's son Prince Muḥammad and consequently the relations between the saint and the Prince, who was the Governor of Multan, were estranged.⁴ Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn Multānī frequently visited the courts of the Delhi Sultans. He even accepted a jagir of 100 villages from Sultan Muḥammad bin Tughluq.⁵ Besides being a saint and a scholar, he was a capable and wise administrator. He managed the jagir well and kept the spiritual organization of the Silsilah expanding. But after him there was gradual deterioration. His successors who were ignorant of the "antidote" that neutralised the evils of wealth, drifted away from the spiritual path, and became the grandees of the realm. A grandson of Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariyya, Shaikh Ṣadr-ud-dīn by name, accepted the post of Shaikh-ul-Islām under Firōz.⁶ Shaikh Hūd, another descendant of the great Shaikh, had none of the mystic veneer. He lived in clover. When the Sultan learnt of the improper use⁷ of the income of the villages endowed to the Khānqah, he ordered a search of his house. A pair of shoes studded with gems was found.⁸ The Sultan, thereupon confiscated the jagir. Shaikh Hūd then attempted to incite a revolt against the Sultan. The conspiracy being discovered, he was captured and executed. Later history of the Suhrwardi Silsilah shows that the saints of Multan continued to mix with kings and take part in politics. Sayyid

1. *Siyar-ul-Auliya* (Delhi), p. 166.

The wealth of Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariyya's family was so well known that robbers and thieves coveted it. A son of Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn was kidnapped by a robber and was released on payment of a huge ransom by Shaikh Ṣadr-ud-dīn. Vide *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 167.

2. *Siyar-ul-Auliya* (Lahore), p. 537.

Fawā'id-ul-Fuwād, p. 119.

Ferishtā, p. 627.

3. There are other instances recorded in mystic annals where the Ṣūfīs disgusted with the political conditions prayed for or requested the intercession of foreign rulers.

4. *Ferishtā*, p. 68.

5. *Ibn-i-Battūṭa* (Urdu translation), p. 120.

6. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta), p. 124.

Ferishtā, p. 124.

Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh, Sujān Rai, p. 245.

7. Shaikh Hūd was taken to task because he was spending the income of the jagir on his own person. This shows that endowments to khānqāhs were made not for the personal use of the saint but to be disbursed among the poor. As thousands assembled in these khānqāhs, mostly poor and needy, money and food could be very justly and properly distributed to the deserving people.

8. *Ibn-i-Battūṭa* (Urdu translation), pp. 152-154.

Jalāl-ud-dīn Bukhārī, popularly known as Makhdūm-e-Jahān, used to come to Delhi frequently and was always a state guest. He was on the best of terms with Sultan Firōz Shāh Tughluq. His recommendations for favours and grants were invariably accepted by Firōz. He secured the Sultan's pardon for Jām Khair-ud-dīn and Bānhabīna.¹ He exercised so much influence in Sind that even a strong governor like 'Ain-ul-Mulk had to write to him soliciting his help in the realization of Kharaj.² Some decades afterwards, during the reign of Sultan Bahlul Lodi, we find Shaikh Yusuf,³ descendant of Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariyya, ruling over Multan.⁴

Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariyya had truly stated that : "Poison does not harm one who knows the antidote," and it was in obedience to this maxim that Shaikh Ṣadr-uddīn, son and successor of the great Shaikh, had distributed to the people entire wealth that had come to him as his share, saying—

اندیشه مندم که مبادا مال دنیوی مرا فریب دهد -

(I fear lest the worldly wealth may lead me astray).⁵ Later saints disregarded that principle with disastrous consequences. Wealth tainted their spiritual attributes. Saintly simplicity of life was replaced by aristocratic ways of living. From sainthood to kingship there is a long way to cover but the transition became easy through wealth and power. Wealth slowly but steadily led them into the whirlpool of politics.⁶ So long as great saints were at the helm of the spiritual organization of the Silsilah it went on well, but when saints of lesser stature came in, shughl, politics, and royal patronage came to be coveted.⁷

The Chishtiya saints, on the contrary, eschewed, from the very beginning, the society of kings and nobles. Bāba Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar's clarion call to his disciples was :—

لواردم بلوغ درجته الکبار فعلیکم بعدم الالفاظ الی ابناء الملوك -

(If you desire to attain the position of great saints do not pay any attention to the princes).⁸

1. "History of Firōz Shāh Tughluq"—by Dr. Riaz-ul-Islam (unpublished). I was able to read this thesis before publication through the kindness and courtesy of my revered teacher, Prof. Shaikh Abdur Rashid of Muslim University, Aligarh. Dr. Riaz has discussed at some length the relations of Makhdūm-e-Jahān with Sultan Firōz.

2. *Munshat-i-Māhrū*—Prof. Shaikh Abdur Rashid's MS. (f. 63-69). This manuscript has been copied from the only known manuscript in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. For an account of *Munshat-i-Māhrū*, vide Prof. Shaikh Abdur Rashid's article in *Islamic Culture* and Proceedings of the I. H. Congress, Hyderabad Session.

3. *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, by Mohāmmad Ghauth (MS). He has included him among the list of saints. Abbās Khan Sarwānī also calls him "the spiritual successor of Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariyya Quraishī."

—Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, p. 306.

4. For details of his rule and subsequent fall, vide *Journal of the Aligarh Historical Research Institute*, (April 1941), pp. 74-76.

5. *Ferīshṭa* (last volume on saints, Cawnpore), p. 66.

6. Khwāja Mīr Dard, a great saint and poet of Urdu, says in his illuminating work *Nāla-i-Dard* (نالہ درد), "جمع اسباب دنیاوی آدمی را ته باری سازد و بدام توسل امراء و سلاطین می اندازد" p. 37.

7. Mīr Khurd on the incompetence of the successors of Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariyya Multānī, vide *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 167.

8. *Siyar-ul-Auliya* (Lahore), p. 68.

The saints of the Chishtī Silsilah displayed a spirit of complete indifference to kings and politics. They regarded the society of king as miasmatic, inhaling the infection of worldly love and ambition. Shah Walī-ullāh of Delhi writes:—¹

” در بعض ملفوظات خواجگان چشتیه مذکور است که هر که نام او در دیوان بادشاه نوشته شد
نام او از دیوان حق سبحانه برمی آید “

(“ It is written in some Malfūzāt of Khawājagān-i-Chisht that the name of any one entered in the *dīwān*² of the king, is struck off from the *dīwān* of God”).

Why did the mystics of the Chishtiya Silsilah disassociate themselves so completely from kings and nobles? An answer to this is to be found in their philosophy of life.

(III) PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

To a medieval mystic the *summum bonum* of his life was cosmic emotion (محبت)³, and naturally therefore he always strove to “live for the Lord alone.”⁴ That alone was life.⁵ The yearning of his soul was:

مقصود من خسته ز کونین توئی
از بهر تو میرم از برای تو زیم⁶

He consecrated every moment of his life and dedicated every fibre of his being to Him and Him alone. He craved for communion with the Infinite and the Eternal so that the distinction between “I” and “Not-I” might disappear in the mystic absorption of the human soul

1. *Anfas-ul-Ārifīn*, Shah Walī-ullāh Dehlvi, p. 69.

2. *Dīwān* originally was used for the place where state registers were kept. Later on it came to mean the Revenue Ministry or Minister of Revenue. Here it is used in the sense of court or state records.

3. Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Auliya says in a letter to Maulānā Fakhr-ud-dīn Zarradi: “The highest purpose and the supreme aim of creating mankind is the ‘love of God’.... Hence it is incumbent upon every one to free his heart of everything besides God (غیر حق) and devote himself exclusively to Him.”—*Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 413-14 (Lahore).

4. Shaikh Al-Hujwairi cites this sentence of Shibli

الفقر لا يستغنى بشئ من دون الله

(The poor man does not rest content with anything except God).

In his *Kashf-al-Mahyūb* and then says, “because he has no other object of desire.” (English translation, p. 25, Urdu translation, p. 57).

A very pathetic story of a mystic trying to live for the Lord alone may be read in the Conversations of Shaikh Naṣir-ud-dīn Chirāgh Dehlvi. (*Khair-ul-Majālis*, Conversation 52).

5. “ حیات آن است که درویش بذکر حق مشغول باشد ” *Fawā'id-ul-Fuwād*, page, 20.

(That alone is life which is spent by a darvesh in meditation (ذکر) of God.

6. *Fawā'id-ul-Fuwād*, p. 203. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 110 (Lahore).

in the Absolute. If a single moment was spent in *Non-Absolute* غیر حق it amounted to spiritual degradation.¹

Gnosis (معرفت) or Union (وصل) being his cherished ideal he strove to achieve it. It was believed that prayers and penitence, vigils and fasts could best help him in the pursuit of his ideal, but there was one essential requisite without which all efforts of the mystic were bound to prove futile. It was "concentration" (حضور قلب), and so they laid great emphasis upon the training of the heart. Shaikh Naṣir-ud-din Chirāgh Dehlvi, citing a saying of the Prophet,² told his disciples that the training of heart was essential for spiritual progress.³ Bāba Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar told Shaikh Nizām-ud-din Auliya:⁴

”اصل درین راه حضور دل است و حضور دل که حاصل شود از لقمه حرام پرهیز کند، و از مجلس ملوک“

(“The real thing in this path is the concentration of the heart (on God), and this can be achieved only by abstention from the prohibited food and the assembly of kings.”)

Two things distract concentration—government service and appetites (شغل و شهوات). They are the barricades (حجابات) between God and Man, and retard the pace of spiritual progress. Royal society strangles those qualities of heart which keep it in tune with the Eternal and the Infinite. Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd said:—⁵

”من اثر صحبة الاغنيا على مجالسة الفقراء ابتلاه الله تعالى بموت القلب“

(“Whoever prefers association with the rich to the company of the poor, God afflicts him with the death of his heart.”)

Indeed if the mystic desired to achieve his ideal, it was incumbent upon him to reject government service and overcome all appetites. Without this there was no hope of a healthy development of cosmic emotion, because appetites excited the call of flesh in man and state-service divided

1. In *Miftāḥ-ul-'Ashiqīn*, Shaikh Naṣir-ud-din Chirāgh Dehlvi says:—

”هر دم که بیرون می آید و فرو نشیند اگر در آن دم سالک در یاد حق جل و علا نباشد پس در آن دم عام مات است و حیات آن است که در یاد حق گذرد“ page 9.—

In *Khair-ul-Majālis* he repeats the same thing. (Vide Conversation, 80).

Stories are not wanting in mystic literature when a moment's engagement with (غیر حق) has been considered as spiritual death and mystics have appeared in sack-cloth and ashes on that account.

Siyar-ul-Auliya, p. 400.

Fawā'id-ul-Fawā'id, p. 224.

Khair-ul-Majālis. (MS).

2. ان فی جسد ابن آدم لمضغته اذا ملحت صلح البدن الا وهي القلب.

3. *Khair-ul-Majālis*, Conversation, 14, 13, 97.

4. *Rāḥat-al-Qulūb* (MS).

5. *Kashf-al-Mahjūb*, p. 225, (Urdu translation).

the loyalties of man. It was therefore fatal for a mystic to join government service. The days when government service was a service of religion were dead and gone. Now it was the service of class interests and hence state service amounted to signing one's own spiritual death-warrant.

Imām al-Ghazzālī objects to government service on religious and practical grounds. He says that contact with kings affects one's spiritual integrity. If you find them doing a wrong thing and maintain silence it will amount to your tacit approval of that act. If you object you will infuriate them without any hope of reclaiming them. They are incorrigible, and therefore no useful purpose will be served by associating with them.¹ The only advisable course is:

” الحالة الثانية ان يعتزل عنهم فلا يراهم ولا يرونه وهو الواجب اذا سلامة الافيه فعليه ان يعتقد بعضهم على ظلمهم ولا يجب بقائهم ولا يثنى عليهم ولا يستحرج عن احوالهم ولا يتقرب الى المتعاملين بهم “

(“ The other alternative is that a man should keep aloof from kings so that he may not come face to face with them and this alone is feasible for there is safety in it. It is obligatory to have the conviction that their cruelty deserves to be condemned. One should neither desire their continuance nor praise them nor enquire about their affairs, nor keep contact with their associates.”)

Besides, Imām al-Ghazzālī raised objections on religious grounds to the service of kings in his *chef-d'oeuvre*, *Iḥyā-ul-'Ulūm*. He contested that as salaries were paid from revenues acquired by means other than permitted by the *Shara'*, the mystics were not right in taking them. Thus, Imām Ghazzālī, as usual, rationalized the attitude of the saints [towards] government services.²

ان اسوال السلاطين في عصرنا حرام كلها او اكثرها فكيف لا والحلال هو الصدقات والفتى والغنيمة ولا وجودها ولم يبق الا الجزية وانها تؤخذ بانواع الظلم لا يحل اخذها به

(In our times, the whole or almost the whole of the income of the Sultans is from prohibited sources and why should it not be so? The permitted income is only *ṣadaqāt*, *fai* and *ghanimat*. And these have no

1. Just an illustration of nobleman:—

A Turkish nobleman built a mosque in Delhi and appointed Shaikh Najib-ud-din Mutawakkil, brother of the famous Bābā Fārid of Pak Pattan, as Imam and allotted him free quarters also. Soon afterwards the nobleman spent extravagantly upon the marriage of his daughter. The Shaikh objected to this. He was dismissed from the Imamate. . . . *Fawā'id-Fuwwād*, p. 64.

2. Ḥaḍrat Sufyān Thawri wrote in a letter to Ḥaḍrat 'Ibād bin 'Ibād:—

” اياك والامراء ان تدنو منهم او تحاطبهم في شيء من الاشياء و اياك ان تحدد و يقال لك لتشفع و تدوم من مظلوم او ترد مظلمه فان ذلك خديعة ابليس “

(You abstain from mixing with nobles, and abstain also from being deceived by saying that you go to the rich just to recommend some one, or to defend some innocent man, or to establish some one's right. All these are deceptions of the devil.)—Cited by Maulāna Sa'īd Aḥmad Akbarābādī in his excellent editorial in *Burhan*, April 1948.

existence in these days. Only the Jazia remains and that is realised by such cruel means that it does not continue to be permitted).*

Thus religious objections combined with other considerations made the Muslim mystics decline government service and eschew the company of kings.

(IV) ABSTENTION FROM KINGS AND COURT

For these considerations the Muslim mystics of the Middle Ages, particularly those belonging to the Chishtī Silsilah, severed their connection completely from the State. The court patronage smacked too much of materialism and therefore it was condemned outright. The sayings of the Prophet :

من اتى ابواب السلاطين افتن

(Whoever came to the door of a king fell into disgrace)

and the words ما از داد احد من السلطان دنوا الا از داد من الله بعدا

(The nearer a man to the king, the remoter he is to God). were frequently cited to secure a sanction for their policy of retirement. Hagiological and mystic literature is replete with instances of spiritual mentors warning their disciples against the evils that followed in the wake of the patronage of kings. The mystic disciples were repeatedly warned.

صحبة الا غنيا للفقرا سم قاتل

(The society of the rich is venomous for the darveshes). and rarely, if ever, any transgression of this principle was tolerated. It was impressed upon their minds that it was suicidal for a mystic to cherish love of gold or glory. These were "fetters that consumed the soul with poisonous rust," and as they were forged in the service of king the only way to ensure free and spontaneous development of the soul was to keep out of the court. The same knee could not bend both before God and king. If any one attempted such a thing, he was regarded as a cheat. Severance from all earthly connections was indispensable for spiritual advancement.

All the notable saints of the Chishti Order in India adhered to this principle and very scrupulously avoided the company of kings and nobles. Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyār Kāki who came to Delhi during the reign

* *Iḥyā-ul-'Ulūm*, by al-Ghazzālī, Chapter IV. In this very chapter the Imām very emphatically proclaims :—

جميع ما في ايديهم حرام

("All that is in the hands of these rulers is prohibited.")

Vide also *Kimya-i-Sa'adat*, page 57 et seq.

Shah 'Abdul Ghani, a great saint of Delhi during the closing years of Muslim rule, did not taste Indian fruits for the simple reason that the procedure adopted for their sale and purchase was not sanctioned by the *Shara'*. . . . *Athar us-Sanādīd*, p. 27, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. (Oldest edition).

of Sultan Iltutmish received a cordial welcome, bluntly refused to stay with him.¹ In spite of the Sultan's profound regard and persistent requests the Shaikh avoided visiting the court. The only occasion on which the Shaikh visited the court, was out of consideration for his pir Khwāja Mu'in-ud-din Chishti and to prevent his pir's going to the court. Khwāja Mu'in-ud-din Chishti's sons owned a village near Ajmir. Harassed by government officials of that place they forced their aged father to proceed to the capital and seek imperial redress. When he reached Delhi, the Shaikh requested him to remain in his house, while he himself went to Durbar.² Except on this occasion, the Shaikh never visited the Sultan who sincerely loved and honoured him. This was against the established practice of his Silsilah. In such matters he had made Ibrāhīm Adhām³ and Khwāja Abū Muḥammad Chishtī⁴ his guides and was not prepared to go against the established rule. The Sultan's piety or his respect for the saints could not persuade him to ignore the traditions of the Silsilah, and in this way he always avoided the company of the Sultan all his life. After him his chief disciple and khalifa Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar, took up his residence far from the hurry and bustle of the metropolis. His instructions to his disciples and devotees were clear and unequivocal on this point. He would not permit his disciples to live in the capital and wallow in the dirty waters of politics. "If you desire elevation of your spiritual ranks do not make friends with princes," was his constant admonition to them. In the two apocryphal Malfūzāt of Bābā Farīd—Asrār-ul-Auliya and Rāḥat-ul-Qulūb—there were numerous passages in which mystics were warned against the terrible consequences of the court patronage. When Sayyidi Maula sought Bābā Farīd's permission to leave Ajohdan and to go to Delhi he half-heartedly permitted him saying:—⁵

” اما یک نصیحت من نگه داری - باملوك وامرا - اختلاط نه كنى - و آمد وشدا سنان را درخانه خود از سهلكات تصور كنى - كه هر درودشے كه در اختلاط باملوك وامرا بكشاید عافیت او وخیم گردد ،،

(“ But keep in mind my one advice. Do not mix with kings and nobles. Take their visits to your house as calamities. Every darvesh who opens the door of association to kings and nobles is doomed).”

1. Shaikh Mohammad Ikram, I.C.S., says in Chashma-i-Kauthar (page 217) that Qutb Sahib participated in politics also and acted as a mediator between Bahram Shah son of Iltutmish and his nobles. This is absolutely wrong. The Shaikh never participated in any political affair. He died during the life-time of Iltutmish. How could he take part in a struggle between Bahram Shah and his recalcitrant nobles?

Shaikh Ikram has confused another scholar of the same name (but not Kaki) with the great saint. Briggs (Rise of the Mohammadan Power) was the first to commit that mistake. Many modern writers (e.g., S. M. Jaffar in 'Education in Medieval India') have been misled by Briggs translation.

2. Siyar-ul-'Auliya.

3. Siyar-ul-'Auliya, p. 35 (Lahore).

4. Siyar-ul-'Auliya, p. 37 (Lahore).

5. Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhi, by Barani, p. 207, (Sir Syed Edition).

Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya'¹ of Delhi, who lived to see more than half a dozen rulers occupy the throne of Delhi, never visited the court of any Sultan. He even refused to grant interviews to them. Sultan Jalāl-ud-din Khilji repeatedly asked him to grant an interview. He also sought the mediation of Amīr Khusro, the favourite disciple of the Shaikh and the Mushaf-bardār of the Sultan, but to no avail. At last the Sultan thought of paying a surprise visit to the Shaikh. Informed of the Sultan's intention by Amīr Khusro, he left for Ajodhan to avoid meeting him. This shows how the great medieval Indian saints abstained from the society of kings and great men. However great the Sultan may be and however insistent his requests, the Shaikh would never deviate from his principle. The Shaikh refused to see Sultan 'Alā-ud-din Khilji and when he insisted, his reply was: "My house has two doors. If the Sultan enters by one, I shall make my exit by the other."² Afterwards the Sultan never insisted on meeting him. His son, Mubarak Khilji vainly demanded the Shaikh's presence at the court to offer him felicitations on the first of the lunar month. The Shaikh who had stuck to his principle and had refused to see rulers like 'Alā-ud-din Khilji could hardly yield to the threats of Mubarak Shāh. His curt reply to the insolent demands of the Sultan was:³

”من مرد منزوی ام - جائے نروم و نیز رسم پیران من نبود کہ بہ بادشاہان مصاحب
شوند - مرا معذوری باید داشت“

("I am a man of retiring temperament and I go nowhere. Moreover it was not the practice of my elders to become the companions of kings. I should be excused.")

This attitude of superb indifference displayed by the great Shaikh infused in his disciples a remarkable spirit of self-reliance, independence and courage. They faced every hardship with courage and never associated with kings or dabbled in politics. Muhammad bin Tughlaq's efforts to rally round him the disciples of Shaikh Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya' and to assign duties to them raised grave resentment in the religious

1. Professor Mohammad Habib of Aligarh has protested against the title 'Auliya', saying that it was a mistake made by the people of Delhi, in utter disregard of Arabic grammar. 'Auliya', he says, means not saint but saints, which is absurd. With great diffidence I beg to differ from him. Far from being absurd, the title is highly significant. It expresses the feeling contained in the couplet:

ان یجمع العالم فی واحد
بس لله مستنکر

This great Indo-Muslim saint was esteemed to be equal to many saints and hence called 'Auliya'. There are many precedents of it. Even in the holy Qur'an, Hadrat Ibrahim is called 'Ummat.' In mystic calendar, Shaikh 'Obeid-ul-lah is called Ahrar, Ka'ab is called Ahbar, though these are all plural terms.

Vide also Shāh 'Abdul 'Aziz Muḥaddith Dehlvi's excellent commentary on Qaul-ul-Jamil of Hadrat Shah Waliullah Dehlvi. (Cawnpore, 1291 A.H., p. 137).

2. Siyar-ul-'Auliya, p. 120 (Lahore).

Barani (p. 366) lays entire blame upon the Sultan and says that it never occurred to his heart either to visit the Shaikh or to invite him. Professor Mohammad Habib is inclined to accept Barani's statement in preference to Mir Khurd. Vide his Amir Khusro of Delhi.

3. Siyar-ul-'Arifin, by Darvesh Jamali, (MS) p. 78.

circles. They were not willing to carry out his behests. They never left their *khānqāhs* as long as they possibly could. It was only on warrants from the court and under duress that *Shaikh* Quṭb-ud-din Munawwar, a disciple of *Shaikh* Nizām-ud-din 'Auliya, left his *khānqah*. While leaving it he turned his longing eyes towards the tomb of his grandfather, the famous *Shaikh* Jamāl-ud-din Hansvi, and said : " I am not leaving the *khānqāh* of my own free will."¹ *Shaikh* Nāṣir-ud-din Chirāgh Dehlvi went to Thatta to meet the Sultan under royal summons.²

Indeed none of the early saints of the *Chishtī* *Silsilah* mixed with kings or officials. Any one who disregarded this practice of the earlier saints was looked down. *Shaikh* Nāṣir-ud-din Chirāgh Dehlvi says : " There are two kinds of abuses among mystics—*Muqallid* and *Jurt*. *Muqallid* is a mystic who has no master. *Jurt* is a mystic who asks people for money, who wraps himself in a costly cloak, puts on mystic cap and goes to kings and high officials."³

KHALIQ AHMAD NIZAMI.

1. *Siyar-ul-'Auliya*, p. 221-223 (Lahore).

2. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

3. *Khawr-ul-Majāhs*, Conversation 23.

(To be continued.)

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

A Visit to Maulvi 'Omar Yāfa'ī's Private Library .

IN the issue of "Information Bureau" (معلومات عامه) of Amardad 1352 Fasli, appeared a short note on the private library of Maulvi 'Omar Yāfa'ī Shāhib which informs us that it contains a handsome collection of about 20,000 printed books besides 2000 manuscripts. There is enough material to keep a number of conscientious and diligent scholars occupied for a number of years.

As far as the published works are concerned it is not necessary to say anything more than that the library contains a valuable collection with some rare books.

The manuscripts may be divided into sections such as History—Indian and Deccan ; Literature—Persian, Arabic, Urdu and Travels, etc. Among these MSS. are a few *Asnādāt* (Documents) of historical importance of the Mughal and the Asafia periods in addition to a number of Firmans. Some of these Firmans are of unique importance. There are also parvanas, and host of other material of historical interest tied in bundles.

Manuscripts :

Some of the more important manuscripts are described below :

(1) *The Mir'at-i-Sikandarī* (Tārīkh-i-Sikandar Jāhī).

This important manuscript by Sulṭān Nawāz Khān Mūsavī is of a large size written in 1240 A.H. (that is within the last 4 years of the reign of the Nawab Sikandar Jāh). It is $14\frac{1}{2} \times 10.7$ and possesses 378 pages, each having 19 lines.

The first chapter covers 44 pages, and deals with the reign of Nawab Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. The second chapter deals with the reign of Nawab Nāṣir Jung to which 19 pages are devoted.

The reign of Nawab Ghāzi-ud-din Bahadur is dealt with in the third chapter, while the fourth is taken up by the reign of Nawab Ṣalābat Jung Bahadur Amir-ul-'Omerā [58 to 78 pages]. The fifth chapter starts with the reign of Nawab Ghufrān Ma'āb Nizām-ud-daulah Nizām-ul-Mulk Faṭḥ Jung Sipāh-Salār Yār-i-Wafādār Rustom-i-Daurān Mir Nizām 'Alī Khān Bahadur Āṣaf Jāh-i-thānī.

The sixth chapter is devoted to the reign of Nawab Shuja'-ul-Mulk Amir-ul-'Omerā (78 to 218 pp.) and gives a good deal of matter relating to the social and cultural side of his reign.

Up-to-date biographical sketches of the period are given of the writers, poets, calligraphists, etc. We also find details of the repairs of historical buildings and gardens.

Then comes the seventh and the last chapter of *Mir'at-i-Sikandarī* which deals with the reign of Haḍrat-Dīn-i-Parwār-Jahān Panāh Mir Akbar 'Alī Khān Bahadur. An account of the reign of this king is given from pages 218 to 378.

It is to be noted, as stated earlier, that the author has dealt with a part of the reign of Nawab Sikandar Jāh, and has utilised the contemporary sources to which he refers, now and then, in the course of his narrative.

When we compare this Manuscript with the *Tārīkh-i-Gulzār-i-Āṣafī*, we are surprised at the similarity of matter, treatment and style. This convinces us beyond doubt that the author of *Gulzār-i-Āṣafī* has used *Mir'at-i-Sikandarī* as a basis for his book. He has utilized much of its material for the first few chapters of his book. Very shortly, we shall have occasion to refer to this book again.

2. *The Original Manuscript of the Tārīkh-i-Gulzār-i-Āṣafī :*

Before we take up the original Manuscript of the *Tārīkh-i-Gulzār-i-Āṣafī*, we would like to say a word on the published copy.

The famous Hakīm Khwāja Ghulām Hussain Khān wrote this book in 1258 A.H. and Maulvi Mir Ahmed Alī Mūsavi sent it to the press. After necessary correction and editing Rustom 'Alī Khān, a bookseller published it in 1308 A.H.

As for the original Manuscript, in possession of Maulvi Yāfa'i, it is of a large size (14"×10") and has 612 pages. Each page has 15 lines and sometimes more. On some pages we come across poems, verses, etc., with alterations or corrections, made by the author in his own hand. Sometimes, the author has introduced additional matter, as it appears on second thought.

A careful comparison of the original Manuscript with the published copies will give the reader an idea as to the material that has been left out in the published work.

3. *Kashkōl* :

The *Kashkōl* contains many sundry things—chronograms, poems, verses, couplets—prose passages, memorandums, etc., and deals with the period 800-1200 A.H. Each page exhibits a different type of handwriting—varieties of handwritings, signatures, autographs, notes, and notices. Sometimes a poet has written a qaṣīda, or panegyric, and at other times, a writer of note has scribbled something of personal interest. In short it is a heterogenous composition, but all the same deserves careful study. We shall give one example of such scribbling, by Mir Muḥammad Sa'īd Mir Jumla in his own hand who mentions the earthquake shock felt in Hyderabad on Saturday the first of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 1064 H. The Yād-dāsh reads :—

یاد داشت شبیه سلخ شهر جمادی الاول
هزار و شصت و چهار سنه (۱۰۶۴) در حیدرآباد قریب یک ہر و شش گھڑی
زلزلہ واقع شد و ربع گھڑی رفتار می لرزآ (ند ؟)

Similarly we find that the date of the Hajj performed by Shaikh Muḥammad Khātūn (خاتون) a famous savant of Qutb Shāhī period, written by Mir Muḥammad Raḍā-i-Unju, the chronogram reads :

حج شیخ قبول
1059 A.H.

4. *Gulistan*.

There is a copy of the *Gulistan* transcribed by Mir 'Imād in Muharram, 1021, who copied it from the manuscript written by Sa'di Shīrāzī himself. Muḥammad Sāqī, the well-known calligraphist of Aurangzib's period copied it in 1116 A.H. The Nasta'liq writing closely resembles that of 'Imād.

5. *Manuscript copy of the Sharḥ Ghālib* :

In this connection we invite the attention of our readers to an article of Mirza Rafiq entitled, "The Ancestry of Mirza Ghālib," that appeared in the July issue 1922 of "The Urdu Quarterly." Mirza Rafiq mentions that Khwāja Qamruddin Khān Rāqim, son of Khwāja Mir Amān (translator of Bostān-i-Khayāl), grandson of Ghālib, wrote a Sharḥ (commentary), and his article was based on a few scattered fragments of this Sharḥ. It was given to Nawab Dhulqader Jung Bahadur for favour of publication, and as far as we know it, has not yet been published.

A copy of it (150 pages) is safely lodged in the Yāfa'ī collection. In its introduction (مقدمہ) there is a discussion on the ancestry of Ghālib. One also finds a difference between this note and the one published in the "Urdu Quarterly." The name of the Sharḥ is Bostān-i-Khirad

dated 1323 A.H. It is written in a peculiar style and the commentator gives us an insight into the working of the poet's mind when he composed verses.

بہ شعر قصہ طلب ہے - جسکو کوئی نہیں جاننا کہ ساعر کیا کہتا ہے اور مقصود کیا ہے - یعنی غالب مغفور نے اپنے برادر زادوں خواجہ سمس الدین خاں اور خواجہ بدر الدین خاں پدر عم راقم سے جاگیر نہیں چاہی - کئی برس جھگڑا طے نہ ہوا حضرت کلکتہ گئے وہاں سے ناکام آئے - انجام کار جاگیر ضبط ہو گئی - اور اسکی نقدی سرکار انگریزی نے خاندان میں نام بنام تقسیم کردی - اوس زمانہ تہدستی اور پریشانی کا حال بیان کیا ہے - واقعی خاندان میں تا انفصال مقدمہ بہت محتاجی رہی ہے کہ مغفور اوس محتاجی میں سوا ہراگندہ حواس رہے یہاں تک کہ جینے سے بیزار ہوئے - کتنے ہی دن پینے کو شراب نہ ملی - آخر اسی غم و غصہ میں ایک دن شام کو صندوقچہ کھول کر سنکیا کی ڈلی نکالی اور کھا گئے - اوس کے اوپر ایک گلاس برانڈی شراب کا پی لیا اور پلنگ پر دراز ہو گئے - رات بھر حقہ پیتے رہے اور نشہ کی طغیانی میں اجل کی راہ دیکھا کئے اب آتی ہے اب آتی ہے - مگر اجل خود اس دلیری سے دبک گئی - حضرت صبح کو چاق و توانا اٹھ کھڑے ہوئے - صرف کان بہرے ہو گئے - جان سلامت رہی - بس اس شعر میں یہ ہی تلمیح ہے -

We leave the subject to some Urdu scholar, who will do full justice to it. We shall, however, give a verse شعر of Ghālib, and its reference. This will give an idea as to the background of his mind when he composed these lines:—

کس سے محرومی قسمت کی شکایت کیجے
ہم نے چاہا تھا کہ مر جائیں سو وہ بھی نہ ہوا

In this connection, we invite our readers' attention to an application of Ghālib to the British Government, making certain allegations against Aḥmad Bakhsh Khān with regard to the estate of his uncle Naṣrullah Khān asking for an enquiry, [May, 4, 1829] (*vide* Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings. Peshawar Session, Appendix F, p. 6).

6. Two Complete Manuscript Copies of Gulshan-i-Hind :

As we shall have to refer to Gulshan-i-Hind again when we deal with Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm we shall be as brief as possible.

In the published copy of Gulshan-i-Hind of 'Alī Lutf we do not find *qaṣīdās*, (panegyrics) written on the princes of the Āṣafia family. There are many *qaṣīdās*, and one has this title:

قصیدہ در تہنیت بسم اللہ کیوان جاہ

7. *The Original Manuscript copy of the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm:*

We now come to a most important and unique manuscript called the *Tadhkira-i-Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm*.

In order to realise the importance of this manuscript, we shall give a brief introductory note on the published versions of *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm* which by any stretch of imagination can be said to be based on the original MSS.

It is known that this *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm* was written by Nawab 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān, the Nāzim-i-Bengal (who also wrote *Bhau Nama*) in 1196 A.H. in Persian (mark the word Persian).

Later in 1212 A.H. Mirza 'Alī Luṭf translated a selection of it in Urdu. This was published by Muḥammad 'Abdullah Khān, (late Nazim of the Aṣafia Library) with a foreword by Maulvi 'Abdul Haq, B.A., in 1906, as *Gulshan-i-Hind*. Some time back the *Tadhkira* was corrected and edited by Dr. Zore and was published by the Anjuman-i-Tarraqi-i-Urdu, and forms No. 72 of its publication series.

Having given a historical background of the published *Tadhkirās*, we now take our readers to the original manuscript copy of the *Tadhkira* which was supposed to have been lost. Indeed, all the Urdu-knowing world should feel grateful to 'Omar Yāfa'i for preserving it.

It is a rare volume but we regret that it is incomplete. This should not, in anyway, reduce its value.

The *Tadhkira* opens with the Urdu letter *و* and proceeds with *و* and closes with *ی*. The first verse has 4450 as its number, and the last verse of the volume 7178.

This manuscript was written in 1196 A.H. and the closing folios in 1198 A.H. Thus it took two years to complete from *و* to *ی*, as follows:

- (1) A short sketch of the work of the poet is firstly given in Persian prose. This is then followed by its Urdu version.
- (2) Then comes the verse, first in Urdu. Against it is followed by its substance in Persian prose.
- (3) On the margin there is invariably a complete or partial free rendering of the verse in English.
- (4) Sometimes, even an Urdu or a Persian word is underlined and an English word is written. Proper names are also written on this margin in English such as Cawnpur, Rampur, Mr. Johnston, etc. At times English initials are given as a clue to proper names, for example for *کانپور* we find 'C' on the margin.

If what we have written on the Yāfa'i-collection kindles any interest in scholars we shall feel our efforts to have been more than rewarded.

K. S. L.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

Some new Publications in Urdu :

THE following interesting works have recently appeared in Urdu and deserve to be brought to the notice of the public.

(1) *Philosophy of Ghālib's Poetry* (فلسفہ کلام غالب) by Prof. Sayyid Shaukat Sabzwari, published by Qaumi Kutub Khāna, Bareilly. The book throws light on the philosophy of the well-known Urdu poet, Ghālib, as gathered from his ghazals and other verses. The style is scholarly and the work itself has been most comprehensively undertaken. (2) *Mutafarriqāt-i-Ghālib* (منفرقات غالب) by Mr. Mas'ūd Hasan Ridvī, Chairman, Urdu and Persian Department, Lucknow University, published by the Rampur State Library, Rampur. This valuable brochure consists of unpublished writings of Ghālib, forty-eight letters, two qit'āt, two mathnavīs, one ghazal and one salām. The name of one mathnavī is (باد مخالف). The other mathnavī was compiled at the instance of the last Mughal Emperor, Bahādur Shāh, in reply to some of the allegations brought against the latter for his Shi'ah leanings. (3) *Hindustānī Lisā-niyāt kā Khākā* (ہندوستانی لسانیات کا خاکہ). This is an Urdu translation of John Beam's "An Outline of Indian Philology." The translator is Mr. Sayyid Ihteshām Husain, Lecturer in Urdu, Lucknow University. The book provides useful study in Urdu of the philological details of various Indian languages. It has been published by Dānish Mahal, Amin-ud-Daulah Park, Lucknow. (4) *Kulliyāt-i-Akbar, Vol. I.* Akbar Allahabadi, besides being a poet of a high order, was chiefly known for his "wit, humour and sarcasm stringed in golden verse." He combined the laughter of a born humorist with the charm of a great poet. He did not like the new-fangled ideas and ultra-modern tendencies of Indian society, and so, in order to purge it of these evils, he assumed the role of a satirist, though he was hailed as a moralist. Two volumes of his dīwān were published in his life-time, and the third volume was brought out after his death by his son, and now we have a fourth volume of his works published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. It consists mostly of stray verses. We would like to quote here some of these verses the humour of which is considered to be "subtle and refined with the golden thread of sound-sense running in them."

نئی منطق اب ہوئی خضر راہ وہ طریق اپنا رہا کہان

وہ اصول ہی جو شکست ہوں تو وفائے دل کی بنا کہان

کوئی ڈارون کا مرید ہے کوئی تجربوں کا شہید ہے

وہ خیال سر ازل کہان، وہ سرور یاد خدا کہان

لاکھ سمجھا تاہوں اس کو میزبر آچائے یں یہ عروس ہند اب تک کہہ رہی ہے، ہائے یں
 اب تو خبر نہیں ہے، مگر اس سے بدشتر ملا مجسٹر بٹ تھے صوفی پروفیسر
 سیدھے چلے تو دونوں میں لازم تھا اتحاد ٹیڑھے ہوئے تو کام ہی دنا کا ہے فساد
 بولے مسجد میں رات آ کے عقیل ہے محل میں نماز مجھ بہ نقیل
 وہاں قالین، یاں چٹائی ہے واں امیری ہے، یاں خدائی ہے
 اب تو زینت بجائے تقویٰ ہے کیا ہے حاجت ابو حنیفہ کی
 تیغ کی جا ہے جب ریز و لیشن تو ضرورت ہے کیا خلیفہ کی
 تو نے پڑھا ہے دنیا کو ہسٹری میں دیا کو دیکھ غافل قدرت کی مسٹری میں
 بحث بھتی ہے یہی ہم کیا کریں میں یہ کہتا ہوں کہ پہلے ہم بنیں

(5) *Tahqīqāt* (تحقیقات) is a publication of the Jalil Academy, Bareilly. It is a collection of literary and historical essays by Mr. 'Andalib Shādāni, Head of the Persian and Urdu Department, Dacca University. Most of these articles, felicitous in diction and sound in judgment, are full of absorbing interest. Some of them are:—
 ترانہ، دویتی، رباعی، یزدان، شکاری تحقیق، خواجہ حافظ اور شراب و شائد، ناک دامن

etc., Prof. Shādāni has taken great pains to show that the correct pronunciation of the 'third ruler of the slave dynasty of India is Iltitnish (ایل - ت - ت - مش). In another essay of outstanding merit he has endeavoured to vindicate the personal character of Sultāna Raḍiyya, the first Empress of India and to prove that the popular impression of her is based upon distorted facts. (6) *Bazm-i-Taimūriya* (بزم تیموریہ) by Sayyid Ṣabāḥ-ud-dīn 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān, Fellow of the Shibli Academy, 'Azamgarh. This voluminous book deals at greater length with the educational and intellectual attainments of the Timurid dynasty of India together with the scholars, poets and other literary luminaries of their court. The brilliant contributions to learning and culture made under the magnificent patronage of Babur and his descendants are of abiding value, and so this book may be commended to those readers who are not interested in the wars and conquests of the Mughal rulers of India but in their cultural achievements and literary gifts. (7) *Haḍrat Maulāna Muḥammad Ilyās*, by Maulāna Sayyid 'Abdul Ḥasan 'Alī, Nadwat-ul-'Ulema, Lucknow. Maulāna Ilyās was a silent and unostentatious but an indefatigable missionary of Islam who did not believe in proselytization but in making Muslims true to the tenets of their religion. He

worked with unprecedented zeal and toiled amongst the religiously backward classes of Muslims, and he succeeded in influencing them. A graphic account of his life and the novel ways and means he adopted for gaining his objectives has been given in the above book, written in an eloquent style. Its perusal will be a highly instructive and useful study for every Muslim. (8) *Ham Aap* (هم آپ) by Maulāna 'Abdul Mājid Daryabādi is the latest publication of the Hindustani Academy. It is a peep into popular psychology, and can be used by a layman as an introduction to the subject. The author is well known for his deep study of philosophy and psychology and his *Falsafa-i-Jazbāt*, and *Falsafa-i-Ijtāmā'* are well-known works in Urdu.

Some Manuscripts :

The monthly journal *Ma'ārif* of 'Azamgarh has given in one of its issues (February, 1948) a description of a large number of Arabic and Persian manuscripts, preserved in the State Library of Tonk. They are (1) *تفسير زاد المسير في علم التفسير* by 'Abul Farj 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān bin Abi-al-Ḥasan of Baghdad (d. 557 A.H.). This is a commentary on the holy Qur'ān from Surah صافات to the end. Its style is easy and simple. It has been transcribed in beautiful Nast'aliq. (2) *تفسير البيان لاحكام القرآن* by 'Allāma Jamāl-ud-Din Muḥammad bin 'Alī bin 'Abdullah. This is a commentary on those Quranic verses which relate to Islamic laws and regulations. The date of the compilation of this book is 808 A.H., but the date of its transcription is not mentioned in the manuscript. Two copies of this manuscript transcribed in 1169 A.H. and 1178 A.H. are found in Asafia and Rampur State Libraries. (3) *كثير الفوائد في تجميع وتوضيح امثال القرآن* This is a short but excellent treatise on the subject-matter evidently known from its title. (4) *اسئلة القرآن* by Muḥammad bin Abi Bakr 'Abd-ul-Qādir al Barazī (died 660 A.H.), the author of the well-known lexicon *مختار الصحاح*. This book may be studied in print on the margin of *اعراب القرآن للعكبري* published from Egypt. (5) *تفسير ايجاز البيان لمعان القرآن* by Najm-ud-Din Abul Qasim Maḥmud bin Abi'l-Ḥasan of Nishapore. This book, consisting of 300 pages was compiled by the author in Khujand. (6) *غريب القرآن المسمى بنزهه الخاطر وسرور الناظر* by Fakhr-ud-Din bin Muḥammad bin 'Alī of Najaf. This is a remodel of *غريب القرآن* by Imām Abi Bakr Muḥammad bin 'Azīz of Syistan (died 330 A.H.). (7) *تفسير القرآن* by Shāh 'Ahlullah bin Shāh 'Abd-ur-Raḥim of Delhi. This commentary has been written on the model of old classical commentators. Its language is pure and chaste. It bears some mystic

discussions also. Shāh Ahlullah was also the author of مختصر الهدايه (a compendium of the well-known book هدايه) and اصول فقه (Principles of Islamic jurisprudence). (8) المقدمه في اصول الترجمة (in Persian) by Shāh Waliullah bin Shāh 'Abd-ur-Rahīm of Delhi. This is a short but highly useful treatise on the art of translating the holy Qur'ān. (9) طيبي شرح مشكوة المصابيح by Hussain bin 'Abdullah bin Muḥammad at-Ṭayyebi, (d. 743). This may be regarded as the earliest explanatory note on مشكوة . (10) ضوء المشكوة . Marginal notes on مشكوة by Faiḍ-ul-Ḥassan of Saharanpur. (11) حاشيه مشكوة . This is also an explanatory note on مشكوة by 'Atā'ullah bin 'Faḍl Shīrāzi Nishāpūri alias Jamal Ḥassani compiled in 1001 A.H. (12) المصابيح على التتقيح by Shāikh 'Abdul-Ḥuq, the well-known traditionist of Delhi (13) جواهر الاصول في حديث الرسول by Abul Faiḍ Muḥammad bin Muḥammad 'Alī. (14) لباب الاصول في اصول الحديث by an anonymous author (15) مدارج الاخبار ومعارج الآثار - مشارق الانوار من مشارق الانوار is one of the earliest books on Hadīth written in India. From this book, chapters on Fiqh have been re-arranged in the above manuscript. (16) شمائل ترمذى بحواشى علامه ابن حجر عسقلانى ومبارك شاه وغيره transcribed in 1109 A.H. (17) اشراف الوسائل في شرح الشمائل by Aḥmad bin 'Alī al-Haithami al-Anṣārī known popularly as Ibn Hajar Makkī (died 973 A.H.). (18) شرح شمائل by Shāikh 'Abd-ur-Ra'ūf al-Manāwī (died 1033 A.H.). This voluminous book consisting of 400 pages, was transcribed in 1033 A.H. (19) شرح شمائل by Maulāna Isam-ud-Din Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad al-Asfaraini (died 943 A.H.) (20) مجموعه رسائل حجة الاسلام . This is a collection of [three short treatises by Maulāna Ismā'il Shāhīd. The first one is a criticism on a Fatwa issued by the contemporary 'Ulema, the second is entitled علم عقايد , and the third bears the name اصول حديث .

The Hindustani Academy of Allahabad :

This Academy, under the patronage of the U. P. Government had established a great reputation for promoting the cause both of Urdu and of Hindi literature, but its executive committee, in one of its meetings held last August, decided to publish Hindi books only. This decision

of a purely non-partisan literary body was not agreeable to the pro-Urdu group of the Academy and a deputation waited on the Hon'ble Mr. Sampurnanand, the Minister of Education, U. P., who has, however, promised to reconsider the decision of the above committee. Mr. Kishun Prasad Kaul, a member of the Servants of India Society, has taken the initiative of inviting an All-India Hindustani Convention to be held in Lucknow on the 30th and the 31st of October, 1948, for propagating the cause of Hindustani with both Devnagri and Persian scripts as envisaged by the late Mahatma Gandhi.

Medium of Instruction in Bihar and the U. P. :

Both in Bihar and the U. P. Hindi with Devnagri script has been declared to be the official language of the Province. It will therefore be the medium of instruction also. But Dr. Nares Chandra Sen Gupta, in a thoughtful and persuasive article on *The Problem of Language in Free India* in the *Hindustan Review* of Patna (August, September, 1948) has advocated the cause of English which is rich in its own literature and has inspired generations of Indians. It is a weapon which the Indians already know how to wield and it has provided them with a footing in the world of higher thought and learning. It represents a whole culture which they have imbibed, through its medium, for over a century and a half. Dr. Sen Gupta does not wish to be misunderstood to mean that he is not in favour of any of the indigenous national language ; on the contrary, he believes that all Indian languages and literatures must be given free scope for development. But he is not convinced that a common *lingua franca* is, in modern conditions, an absolute *sine qua non* of national life of India. He is of opinion that in the course of time one of the languages may become more popular than others and ultimately claim to be the unofficial and thereafter the official *lingua franca*. That would be a natural solution of the problem. Dr. Sen Gupta therefore suggests, that impetus should be given to each provincial language, so that it may in due course fully and effectively replace English within the Province for all purposes including higher education. Till then English must remain a compulsory language for all. It would be unwise to try to hustle it out. Dr. Sen Gupta does not appreciate the vanity of using an indigenous language at all costs. Referring to the past history of English he tells his readers that, long after Chaucer wrote his fine English, Latin and French continued to be the language of culture and of the Court in England. Even when the great Elizabethans, Shakespeare, Marlowe, Ben Jonson, Bacon himself and others had shown the power of the English language, Bacon preferred to write his *Novum Organum* in Latin. Later still, Newton wrote his *Principia* in the same classical language.

S. S.

FOREIGN

EGYPT

THE Convocation of the Fuad I University, Cairo, held on the 28th April was remarkable for the award of an Honorary Doctorate to the famous author, Aḥmad Ameen Bey. Dr. Aḥmad Ameen Bey was also one of the three recipients of the Fuad I Prize for Literature for the year 1948, the other two being Al-Ustadh 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād and Dr. Muḥammad Ḥusain Haikal Pāsha. Their recent publications which won them the Prize are *Zuhr al-Islām*, 'Abqariyyatū 'Umar and *Abū Bakr al-Siddīq*, respectively.

The Fuad I Arabic Academy approved, during its last annual session concluded in February 1948, the specimen of the Great Arabic Lexicon (*Al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*), the preparation of which is laid down in the Charter as one of the aims of the creation of the Academy. The specimen was prepared under the direction of, and submitted by, Dr. Tāhā Ḥusain who, it was agreed, should be the General Editor with the right to choose his own collaborators in the task. Under the words "أر" and "اجر" the specimen sets forth the various derivations, cognates in Hebrew and other Semitic languages, description of allied historical and geographical names as well as modern terms and current usage on the lines of Dozy and Lane.

It was also decided at the last session to encourage the study of colloquial Arabic and the various local dialects and to appoint some Corresponding Members abroad apart from those who are called to attend to sessions held yearly at Cairo. The Academy also has under consideration a new set of rules of orthography with a view to making it accord, as far as possible, with actual pronunciation.

Prominent among those who received the Arabic Academy Prizes for the best literary productions of the year were Al-Ustadh 'Alī Al-Jundī for his *Dīwān* "Aghārīd al-Saḥar," 'Alī 'Alī Al-Fallal for his dissertation on the poet, Miḥyār al-Dailami; and Najīb Maḥfūz and Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Uryan for the stories entitled "*Khān al-Khalīlī*" and "Alā Bābī Zuwaila," respectively.*

It has been decided to set up very soon an Institute for the advanced study of Muslim Theology attached to the Faculty of Law in the Fuad I University.

A Royal Society for Historical Studies has recently been established in Cairo. The Society will particularly concern itself with promotion of the study of Egyptian history by means of collection of manuscripts, publications, etc.

* The Arabic literary world suffered two great losses during the past few months in the death of M. Is'af al-Nashāshibi and Antūn al-Jamīl Pāshā. The former was a notable man of letters from Palestine and author of several works including: (a) شرح أمثال أبي تمام ; (b) مجموعة النشاشيبي ; (c) مقام إبراهيم ; (d) السلام الصحيح ; (e) كلمة في اللغة العربية ; (f) البستان ; (g) العربية وشاعرها لا كبراً أحد شوقي and (h) العراق في سبيل العربية ; (i) قلب عربي وعقل أوربي . Antūn al-Jamīl Pāshā was a veteran journalist and Editor of "Al-Ahram," the well-known Egyptian daily. May their souls rest in peace.

A Fatwa issued by the Committee of al-Azhar University concerns the problem of "Communism in Islam" with special reference to the views of 'Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī. The Committee declare: One of the fundamentals of Islam is full respect for the right of ownership inasmuch as everyone is entitled to adopt any of the lawful means or methods for the acquisition of wealth and for profitable investment of the same to the extent of his ability and his desire. Further the consensus of opinion among the Ṣaḥāba and other Fuqaha and the Muftahids is that the compulsory levy on wealth is restricted to the categories specified by Allah, i.e., al-zakāt, al-kharāj, maintenance of wife and dependants, and occasional emergent expenses like al-kaffārāt, the rescue of a hunger-stricken, or special defence and police tax in case the collections in the Bait al-Māl were insufficient for the purpose as well as for various other measures of public importance such as are mentioned in detail in works on the Tafsīr, Sunnah and Fiqh.

So much is obligatory. But at the same time Islam exhorts every Muslim voluntarily to spend part of his wealth for benevolent and philanthropic purposes albeit without going to the other extreme of immoderacy and extravagance.*

It was however the belief of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī that every person must compulsorily spend in the way of Allah all that he can spare after satisfying his needs and that it is forbidden to store anything which is not needed by himself or his dependants. It is not known whether any of the Companions of the Prophet agreed with Abū Dharr on the point. On the other hand a large number of 'Ulema have taken it upon themselves to refute the view of Abū Dharr and to prove beyond doubt that the other view held by the general body of the Ṣaḥāba and the Tābi'īn is the only correct one. As a matter of fact, say the Committee, it is really strange that a great Companion of the Prophet of the standing of Abū Dharr should hold a view so much at variance with the fundamentals of Islam. That is why, it must be remembered, the view was rejected by the people in his own time. Al-'Alūsī has mentioned in his Tafsīr that the people used to gather round Abū Dharr reciting the verses of the Qur'ān relating to inheritance and asking him if there was any occasion for division of property in case it were prohibited to save anything.

Thus it is clear, the Committee conclude, that though Abū Dharr deserves reward for his Ijtihād in spite of his error yet he is not to be followed in a view which is so clearly opposed to the evidence of the Qur'ān, the example of the Prophet and the basic principles of Islam.

Apropos the publication of the above Fatwa a writer in "Al-Risala" under the pen-name of al-Jāhiz recalls a different view expressed by al-Sayyid Jamāluddīn al-Afghānī about Abū Dharr and the broader question of Socialism in Islam. According to 'Allāma al-Afghānī, the

* Cf. the verse of the Qur'ān :

”والذين إذا اتفقوا لم يسرفوا ولم يقتروا وكان بين ذلك قواما“

genesis of socialism in the west lies in a sense of injustice and vengeance on the part of the working class against the capitalists. In Islam, on the other hand, socialism has its roots in religion and in the feelings and the manners of the common people. A Muslim believes himself before any other thing to be on a footing of equality with his fellow-beings and he is continuously reminded of sharing his wealth, not excluding the booty of war, with those who may for various reasons be unable to exert themselves. Then the Qur'ān also warns the people against hoarding gold and silver and praises those who offer help to others even at the expense of hardship to themselves. These principles of Islam worked out in practice quite satisfactorily during the reign of Abū Bakr and 'Umar when the society of Islam was classless. In the time of 'Uthmān, however there sprang up a class of high officials, kinsmen to the Caliph, and others who appropriated large wealth without any title to it and lived a life of luxury and extravagance while the general mass of people remained discontented with their lot. Abū Dharr was the first to foresee the dangers inherent in such a state of affairs and to protest against it with a sincerity of purpose quite characteristic of the great Ṣaḥāba that he was. His aim, according to the interpretation put on it by Jamāluddīn Al-Afghānī, was only to exhort Mu'āwīya and 'Uthmān to return to the ways of the first two Caliphs in the matter of distribution of wealth between all sections of the people. Certainly the first two Caliphs did enforce a certain type of life on their own selves as well as on high officials and all those prone to lapse into aristocratic ways and Abū Dharr wanted to see the tradition continued in his own time. Both Mu'āwīya and 'Uthmān answered his queries in the same way and expressed their inability to live up to the example set up by Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

The question however is whether the utterances of Abū Dharr were not extreme on the other side.

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A sum of £E 33,000 is earmarked in the budget of the Azhar University for the current year under the head of Islamic Cultural Affairs. The sum is to be utilised for sending Azhar cultural missions to various countries and for supporting foreign students, particularly those from the Sudan and Uganda, joining the Azhar University. In this connection His Eminence the Shāikh of al-Azhar recently expressed his intention to give first priority in sending cultural missions to peoples and countries which have so far known no culture at all such as Uganda, Eritrea and parts of East and South Africa.

A point which has received some attention in the press in recent times is that concerning the students who come to al-Azhar from various Islamic countries. It is remarked that if these students spent their time in the proper way according to a definite programme and then returned to their countries as soon as their studies were finished they would benefit their people a lot besides being a worthy medium between al-Azhar and the Islamic world. But it is noticeable that a considerable number of

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students stay on in Egypt enjoying the hospitality of al-Azhar and living quite an aimless life without doing any good to themselves, their Alma Mater or their people and their country. It would, of course, cast no slur upon the traditions of hospitality associated with the name of al-Azhar if some definite steps were taken to remedy the situation. This can only be achieved by concerted action between the authorities of al-Azhar and the countries of origin of the students.

* * *

The Hon'ble al-Sayyid Tahsîn Gendoglu, ex-Minister of Education and the present Head of the Education Committee of the Turkish National Assembly, disclosed during his recent visit to the Egyptian capital the plan for the setting up of a College of Theological Studies in the University of Islambul. Theology already forms part of the syllabus taught at the Primary and the Secondary schools. Under the present scheme a number of secondary schools will be set apart for the purpose of preparing students who would later on enter the new College of Theological Studies. Al-Sayyid Tahsîn also stressed the fact that the Turks have throughout remained Muslims with all their heart and soul and that they are now trying to link up the present with their past. There was also a proposal to make the teaching of Arabic compulsory in the Turkish schools. Latest reports from Turkey show that the National Assembly has actually passed the necessary measures for the setting up of the College of Theology and strengthening the courses of religious studies at the Primary and the Secondary schools.

* * *

Some criticism was recently voiced in the Egyptian Parliament against the Egyptian Dramatic Team, supported by the Government, on the score of the former presenting plays not agreeable to good taste. The concern of the Egyptian Government for the promotion of the dramatic art in the country is indicated by the fact that it pays an annual subsidy of £E 13,000 to the afore-mentioned Egyptian Team while another sum of £E 14,000 is earmarked for importing every year foreign troops from abroad particularly from France and Italy. Still the desired results have not been achieved. The dearth of suitable plays with sufficient local colour is felt and various ways of encouraging the writers in this direction have largely failed. Even this year the Ministry for Social Affairs has earmarked a large sum to be awarded to authors producing good plays for the stage.

* * *

The Council of the Arab League has agreed on, and advised the member governments to enforce, the draft of a law designed to protect the sole right of the authors to publish their works and to derive financial benefit therefrom in any way they like. The heirs shall have the same right for thirty years after the death of the author whereafter the book shall become public property.

* * *

Notable among recent publications are the *Kitab al-Bukhalā'* of al-Jāhiz edited by Ṭāha al-Ḥajiri, Lecturer at the Farūq I University, Alexandria, and the *Diwān* of Abū Firas al-Ḥamdani edited by Dr Sami' al-Dahhān. Both the editions are of a high price based on rare and important manuscripts and accompanied by critical appreciations and copious annotations. An Arabic translation of Lebon's book on Civilisations in India has also appeared from the pen of 'Adil Za'īter. The 4th volume of the Catalogue of the Library of al-Azhar relating to works on Lexicography, Grammar, and Rhetorics has come out quite lately.

S. M. Y.

SYRIA

L'Institut Français De Damas is a very active and learned society. Prof. Jean Sauvaget, a very active young Islamist of deep erudition is its constant collaborator. Some months ago he has produced a very interesting volume, under the patronage of the Damascene Institute on "La Mosquée Omeyyade De Médine." This monograph of 200 pages on big size studies the mosque of the Prophet at Madinah as reconstructed under the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid.

The present building dates from only a hundred years and even less, our author has tried his best to reconstruct the old picture from historical data collected from wide sources.

The interest lies therein that the reconstruction of the mosque of the Prophet was the first in date of the very many huge mosques built by the Umayyad emperors (Caliphs).

Of the 90 works of reference utilised by our author, there are all the great travellers, historians and others, both eastern and western. It seems that a Persian translation of Samhūdiy's history of the city of Madīnah (خلاصته الوفاء), completed in 1488, is attributed to our *Shihā-buddin Daulatābādī* (d. 1445). Obviously, either he is some other *Daulatābādī* or the book's attribution is wrong.

The book abounds in old and new maps, charts and other help of modern learning. The author also composes the ground plan with other Umayyad mosques, palaces and other buildings of architectural and engineering interest. This much is all very learned.

The conclusion is that a mosque, particularly the Prophet's mosque in the Umayyad period is a simple development of a living house, a hall of audience; and from this prototype mosques all over the world emerge. And like most western research, the burden of song is that there is nothing original in Islam, not even in the architecture of its mosque, the House of One God; and that its origin must be traced in Hellenistic and Roman architecture.

Apart from this misleading bias in approach, the work is well-documented and will remain for long a work of reference.

The book may be had from the publishers "Editions d'Art et d'Histoire," 3 & 5, Rue du Petit-Pont, Paris.

The Star has reproduced from the *Arab News Bulletin* an article on *Education and Health in Syria* which would be of interest to readers. There are some of the more interesting facts. In Syria the number of primary schools has risen from 508 for boys and 110 for girls in 1943 to a total of 857 in 1947, showing an increase of 239. Of pupils and teachers, there were in 1943, 1,546 and 76,500 respectively. The numbers rise by 1947 to 2,906 teachers (men and women) and 112,477 pupils of both sexes. A similar expansion was achieved in secondary education. Five boys and four girls Intermediate and Secondary Schools (some of them for boarders) were started during this period and a number of existing schools were enlarged. The increased attention given to girls' education resulted in two girls training colleges being established, one in Damascus and one in Aleppo. Adult education continued to be the concern of private organisations and charitable institutions, but the Government has given it encouragement by placing the premises of fourteen primary schools throughout the country at the disposal of these bodies for holding evening classes. At the apex of the educational pyramid, the Syrian University (a State institution) was reorganised and enlarged. Until 1943 this institution was not really a University. It had a Medical and a Law School, but in the course of the past five years Faculties of Arts and Science, a School of Engineering and a Higher Training College (for secondary school teachers) have been added so that now boys leaving the secondary school have an opportunity of receiving University education in their own country, whereas before the development, unless they were content to study Medicine or Law, they had to go to the University of Beirut or even go abroad. Plans for further development of University by adding to it the Schools of Agriculture and Commerce are now under contemplation. Notwithstanding this progress, the country's needs and the demand for University education are greater than present facilities in Syria can satisfy, and in addition to the many private students who seek University education abroad, the Government has had to institute State scholarships for sending students to foreign Universities. A good deal has also been done in the field of extramural education and general scholarship and research by the Arab Academy of Learning. This body edits and publishes ancient manuscripts, organises public lectures, maintains libraries and bestows scholarships.

S. S.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

LANDS OF THE CROSS AND CRESCENT; by C. H. Gordon; pp. 267; Ventnor Publishers, Ventnor N.J., America; Price 3.75 dollars.

THIS is a very superficial book of not much value. The author merely wants to record his visits to Arabia, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Turkey and Iran on the one hand, and Italy, Germany, France, Britain and Sweden together with U.S.A. also on the other. Something seen, something felt, all of mere pastime value, is all that we find therein. At least maps and illustrations could have been provided to lessen the disappointment of the reader.

PUBLIC FINANCE; by S. A. Siddiqi; Published by Md. Ashraf, Kashmeri Bazar, Lahore, W. Pakistan; pp. 242; Rs. 5.

THIS is a very welcome new addition to the meagre literature on the subject. The now-out-of-date book of Aghnides did not treat so extensive, and as a matter of fact even so intensively as the present work. The aspects of the subject combine both old and new; and naturally the new aspects require pioneer work in research and consequently are less exhaustive.

For instance there are only two pages on budgeting. The author surmises that Islamic budgeting proceeds from income; and expenditure is provided for accordingly, and not that income

should somehow be procured for necessary expenditure. No references are given. Elsewhere the author recognises that extra-Shari'ah taxes have from time to time been levied. Is this not in itself a proof to the contrary? Shar'i taxes did not prove sufficient for legitimate or luxury expenditures, and the rulers had recourses to new taxes! Even in the time of the Prophet, the expenditure of Tabūk provides abundant material for how the Prophet procured necessary funds for that particular year.

It is also a pity that the author does not take the trouble of referring to older, classical authorities, and is sometimes misled by degenerate late authors. For instance (p. 155) regarding مولفة القلوبهم (sic) he could correct himself easily by referring to الاحكام السلطانية of Abū Ya'la al-Farrā' (not Māwardi), that this item does not lapse even now and that it is not at all confined to the new converts: it means in fact what we now term "secret service," and he says:—

”واما المولفة قلوبهم وهم اربعة اصناف - صنف منهم تتالف قلوبهم لمعونة المسلمين وصنف تتالف للكف عن المسلمين - وصنف تتالف ليرغبهم في الاسلام - وصنف بتالفهم ترغيبا لقومهم وعنائهم في الاسلام - فيجوز ان يعطى كل واحد من هذه الاصناف من سهم المولفة مسلما كان او مشركا -“

or, ربا (p. 156) is not mere manumission, but also ransoming prisoners of war.

The printing of Arabic quotations is simply horrible. Probably the author does not know Arabic, and has used only translations.

References are meagre and often important quotations are given without giving the source.

Transliteration also leaves much to be desired. Who would reconcile (p. 237) to *Kanz Al-Da'aw* as كنز الدعا

The bibliography is not enough wide; much could be gained by the pursuit of further studies on the part of our author in "irrelevant" sources. For instance the correspondence of the Prophet (if not in the exhaustive الروايات السياسية at least that contained in Ibn Sa'd) would give the author much material on many aspects of public finance in the time of the Prophet.

We welcome the book; yet hope that this would not be the last word by our author; rather he would continue his studies. Much work on the subject has been done in the Osmania University. The work of Prof. Manāzīr Ahsan Gilānī is published; Dr. Yūsufuddīn's thesis on the "Principles of Islamic Economics" would give our author very many sources not yet tapped by him. Smaller yet informative monographs also abound both Indian and European. Of the latter our author takes no notice whatever in his bibliography.

FACTS AND FANCIES; by Dr. Hashim Amir Ali, Vice-Principal, College of Agriculture, Osmania University; pp. 75; Rs. 5/-

THE very title would anticipate the contents: Blind people; Communal parity in legislatures; Christian Missionaries; Calendars of various countries; Beautiful things.

The author would have done well to make separate collections of what he himself terms "facts" and of "fancies."

The portion of any permanent value is the research in the love of calendars,

which takes two-thirds of the volume.

The first chapter of this portion is an epoch-making article of our author. There was a separate era in Hyderabad. The author suggested and succeeded in making the "Fasli" months of Hyderabad begin and end with the months of the Christian era. This subservience justified on the only ground that Westerners have to be followed in everything, is not very pleasing even to those who know that the *Khayyamian* computation is very much more correct than the Gregorian one followed in the West.

The fifth of the series is on the Hijri calendar. After referring to the Quranic verses on (نسي) or intercalation and abolition of the same, the author says:—

My thesis is that these two verses by condemning this intercalation, an indispensable concomitant of the lunar calendar, as followed by the Jews also, had really suggested the adoption of the purely solar calendar which had been current among the Christians for the preceding six hundred years.

The four or five pages of arguments are scarcely convincing. But for want of space we could have analysed them here. It seems now certain that the Prophet tolerated two concurrent calendars in his domains, a purely solar one for agricultural revenue and assessment of harvest levies and the like; and a purely lunar one for other, particularly devotional purposes like the Pilgrimage, Fast, etc. There is documentary evidence for the first; and consensus of opinion from the orthodox caliphate down to this day as to the latter.

"Islam" is not at all affected if there were only the solar calendar for all walks of a Muslim's life; but matters of fact are certainly affected. There is as yet no evidence that in early Islam Pilgrimage was performed according to purely lunar calendar and to have changed suddenly some time later. The unorthodox Fatimids (p. 43, footnote 1) certainly would have abolished the lunar year and performed Hajj always in summer; and not otherwise! Their comrades, Qarāmitah, could even steal the Black Stone of the Ka'bah; and all

such matters of general Islamic, non-sectarian importance would be taken notice of even by non-Fatimid historians and authors.

The Quranic verses (IX, 36-37), which abolished intercalation, may or may not have *intended* adoption of purely solar calendar, yet it is unwarranted to suppose that in early post-prophetic period, Pilgrimage and Fasting months were computed according to solar calendar and that the "degeneration"

into a purely lunar calendar is of a later occurrence; or that Hindu Dasara and Islamic Hajj are the same in the origin on the meagre coincidence of ليال عشر of the Qur'ān.

However the author has done a service in collecting some readable material from sources not as easily available to general public as to the learned author himself.

M. H.